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THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII

FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE DEATH OF WOLSEY.

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BY THE LATE

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THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER XXI.

END OF THE FRENCH WAR.

NOTWITHSTANDING the laborious preparations of the Confederates, the year 1523 passed away without any decisive advantage to either side. Of all the qualifications required in the leader of a great campaign Suffolk possessed one only—the indomitable courage of big bones and Herculean muscles. Small engagements in detail, the irritation of an enemy by sacking and plundering feeble forts and defenceless villages, apparently constituted his ideal of the duties and responsibilities of a great commander. As a knight at jousts he fought valiantly—no man more so. But war was often little better than the darker shadow of mimic fights described in the pages of the Chronicler: "When they were all armed the trumpets blew; then toward the braie marched [these valiant] gentlemen, with pikes and swords, and cried *Haar, haar.* Then there was foining, lashing, and striking. They within fought mightily; and when any without clymed up the bank they within bet them doune, and they within were sometyme beten doune almoste; *but surely they fought valiantly.*" The result was as substantial and as permanent in one instance as in the other. War was, in fact, at that time little more than an aristocratic amusement. The earnest degenerated into jest; the jest as readily passed into earnest. But surely they fought valiantly.

So long as fair weather and a plentiful supply of bread and beer permitted this sort of entertainment, war was fed by war, and grew by what it fed upon. Honour dictated reprisals

to both parties, and blow was duly repaid for blow. But as the year drew to its close, came wind and rain, and with them "fervent frost, so sore that many a soldier died for cold;" for clothing and commissariat in those days were little heeded. Some lost their fingers, some their toes, many lost the nails of their hands, which, in the quaint language of the same Chronicler, "was to them a great grief." The Duke, all this notwithstanding, remembering that he came not thither to lie still, pressed on; and still it froze. In the morning the Welshmen set up a shout, and cried "*Home, home.*" They were answered by the English with contumelious and defiant cries of "*Hang, hang.*" The tumult in the camp was for the time appeased; but the Duke was compelled at last to disband his army, without waiting for orders, although he had sent Lord Sandes into England to inform the King "that his people which were in the French ground abode much misery; for the weather was wet, the ways deep, long nights and short days, great journeys and little victual, which caused the soldiers daily to die. . . . 'Well,' said the King, 'all this we knew before your coming; wherefore we have appointed the Lord Mountjoy with 6,000 men to pass the seas and reinforce them; for we will in no wise that the army shall break.'" Never had English arms been disgraced with a grosser breach of discipline. The forces under Mountjoy were recalled at the news of the Duke's mismanagement. So when "the Duke and other captains heard of the King's displeasure they were sore abashed, and did write to their friends that they had perfect knowledge that the duke of Bourbon had broken up his camp for the extremity of the winter, and also showed that their soldiers died, and victuals failed, which caused them to break the army; for, of truth, the soldiers would not abide. With which reasons the King was somewhat appeased; and so on good hope the Duke came to Calais the 12th day of December (1523), and there abode long, till their friends had sued to the King for their return. And when it was granted, and that they were returned, the Duke and the captains came not to the King's presence in a long season, to their great heaviness and displeasure. But at the last all things were taken in good part, and they well received, and in great love, favor, and familiarity with the King."[1] Whether the Duke owed this forgiveness to the Cardinal's good services, as on a previous occasion, is not certainly

[1] Hall's Chron., p. 672.

known; but, considering Wolsey's influence at the time, it is highly probable.[1]

Thus ended the last campaign undertaken by this country during Wolsey's administration. Inflamed by the idea of subduing France and carrying their triumphant arms to the gates of Paris, England had spared no cost. The ill success of the attempt was not exclusively due to the inability of Suffolk. It had been ably arranged by Wolsey that each of the three Confederates, starting from their nearest frontier, should attack France simultaneously, advance on Paris by several roads, and place the crown of France on Henry's head. But such a design did not suit the interests of Charles or of Bourbon. Neither of them desired to see an English coronation at Rheims or Paris. To humble Francis, without reducing him to despair, suited their purpose much better than transferring his crown to his English rival. That result could be accomplished with little cost to themselves by allowing the brunt of the war to fall upon Suffolk, whilst they looked on or took care of their own personal interests. So whilst Bourbon remained inactive, Charles contented himself with securing his Spanish frontier, and wresting from the French their late conquest of Fontarabia.

The selfish design of the Emperor to promote his own interests only at the expense of England, and wrest an advantageous peace out of the necessities of France at the most favourable opportunity, did not escape the penetrating glance of Wolsey. He had long ceased to regard the Emperor and his chief adviser and chancellor, Gattinara, with the complacency he had formerly entertained, if not for both, yet certainly for Charles, two years before. The Emperor was not to be trusted. He recognized no other obligation than his own advantage; and whatever way his advantage pointed, his honour followed the same direction. The Cardinal's suspicions were aroused the more by the conspicuous failure of Charles in fulfilling his engagements for supporting Suffolk. The whole campaign had failed through the Emperor's selfishness. England had been put to great trouble and expense for no purpose. Wolsey was at no pains to conceal his indigna-

[1] At Wolsey's fall, the Duke, with revolting ingratitude, charged the Cardinal with being the cause of his not capturing Paris, because he had neglected to send reinforcements. This was construed into a betrayal of the interests of England, and as a proof of his favour to France. Wolsey was as incapable of betraying the Duke as the Duke was of capturing Paris.

tion. He ordered Knight, the English ambassador, to tell the Lady Margaret that, owing to the King's services in behalf of her nephew, the Emperor had been enabled to attend exclusively to his own interests in Spain, to preserve the Low Countries from the French, to recover Milan, Genoa, and Tournay, to redeem the pension of Naples, and free himself from the obligation of marrying Renée. The King, he said, did not grudge him this good fortune; but still nothing had been for the King's profit, and no portion of his inheritance had been recovered.[1] To the excuses she had made for disbanding the Imperial contingent of Burgundians, and the irregularity of their pay fatal to their discipline and usefulness, he took the liberty of telling her, they did not expect a lady of her wisdom would have attempted to excuse such notorious wrong "by inventions and compasses, by paraboles and assimulations, interpreting his sayings, mind, and intent otherwise than, by experience of his accustomable manner, she hath found cause or occasion to do." He ended this tart message by repelling the insinuation that his master had ever separated himself from the Emperor, as her favourite minister Hoghstrate had "indiscreetly and otherwise than truly inferred."

Such language, more peremptory than courtly, especially to a lady, and the Emperor's aunt, was doubtless intended for the Emperor's ears. In Wolsey's correspondence with the Regent of Flanders he assumed a freedom and directness of speech to which crowned heads were scarcely accustomed. The restraint of official etiquette would not have permitted him to have addressed himself to the Emperor in language so uncompromising. But under the profession of friendship to the Regent, and the sincerity which such friendship allowed, he could adopt a tone of remonstrance, which he well knew would reach the quarter intended. He could speak to her with a freedom that could only be justified in an equal. With consummate and imperturbable tact, not the less galling because it assumed the mask of friendliness, he contrived to place the Emperor's aunt and himself on an equal footing. She represented the interests of her nephew as he did those of his master. As the friendship between the two Princes was inviolable, their ministers could have only one and the same object in view, and therefore might dispense with ceremony. Such a mode of address, he well knew, would be

[1] IV. 8.

far from agreeable—might provoke resentment. But he had measured his ground. It was necessary to fix the ambiguous conduct of the Emperor. Either he must prosecute the war and fulfil his engagements; or, if he declined it, and attempted excuses, it would be open to the Cardinal to make other arrangements, and anticipate the Emperor's designs.

Two alternatives were before him—to prosecute the war with vigour, and recover the English possessions in France, or let it be known that England was not so obdurate an enemy to France, but that Francis might make as advantageous an arrangement with England as any that the Emperor could offer. Either resolve was equally suitable to Wolsey's policy. To prosecute the war, he must subsidize Bourbon, at that time exclusively devoted to the Emperor's interests. To make terms with France, he must open communications with Louise of Savoy, only too ready to disengage England from the formidable confederacy by which France was threatened. From this time Louise and the Regent become prominent figures in the politics of the age. They are the intermediate agents of the most secret negociations in Europe. To search and fathom the designs of its courts, to watch its sovereigns and their ministers, until the moment came for taking the reins into their own hands, and dictating peace to all, was their exclusive and arduous task for the next six years.

But, dissatisfied as he was with the results of the campaign, it was no part of Wolsey's policy to betray his impatience, or give any advantage to the Emperor, who was only too ready to find a pretext for evading his engagements. Wolsey offered to continue the war with France. He proposed that Bourbon should be sent into Flanders with 3,000 Burgundian horse, at the Emperor's charge, and 10,000 lanceknights. His master, he said, would contribute one-half of the charge, and add 1,000 archers to pass into Normandy or Paris, "there to recover certain towns and places to the King's use; which shall be more facile for the said duke of Bourbon to do than any other person." This, he urged, would save 200,000 crowns due from the Emperor to the Duke. But for this purpose it would be necessary that the Duke should be sent at once into England, "without using such remiss manner, delay, and difficulty therein by colorable excuses, and for lack of furniture of money, as hath been done beforetime."[1] The combined

[1] IV. 26. Slightly modified in 61.

armies were to march to Paris in June. Letters at the same time were sent to Bourbon, inviting him to visit England. From the latter an ambiguous answer was returned, professing his devotion to the King's and the Emperor's service; [1] from Charles, a complaint that the English ambassadors were too hard upon him.[2] He could not consent to the proposed arrangement. Satisfied with the recovery of Fontarabia he was evidently disinclined to continue the war, and was only waiting for an opportunity of making the best terms for himself, without much consideration for his ally.

Wolsey could scarcely have anticipated, as he could certainly not have wished for, a more favourable answer. As the Emperor had declined the terms for continuing the war, the Cardinal was now free to take his own course. Charles could not hereafter reproach him with breaking their engagement, or plead its abandonment as a justification for openly coquetting with Francis. The Cardinal saw clearly that the continuance of the war on the previous terms would bring no accession of honour or profit to this country. He had done enough to secure the great aim of his policy by humbling France, and making its sovereign more dependent than before on the good-will of England. But there were other strong reasons why war was undesirable. It was not merely that all the advantages of it had hitherto fallen to the share of the Emperor, and all the cost of it on the King, but a protracted foreign war was an insupportable burthen, and contributed not a little to the Cardinal's unpopularity. So completely had he engrossed the King's favour, so generally was Wolsey regarded as his chief adviser, that every act of the government was attributed to his suggestion—every harsh and every unsuccessful measure was visited upon his head. From the bishops, the nobles, the religious orders, the people at large, he could expect no cordial sympathy or support. The civil and religious administration of the whole kingdom was concentrated in his hands. It was now growing rapidly too great for one man's energies to control. In a few months it was to be still more complicated by an unforeseen difficulty. The correspondence with the Court of Rome alone, complicated and perplexed with the subtle intrigues and conflicting interests of the statesmen and ecclesiastics of all nations, was sufficient to tax the patience and engross the attention of any one minister to the utmost. Moreover, a continental war was wholly distaste-

[1] IV. 102. [2] IV. 105.

ful to this nation. It deranged the commerce of the Narrow Seas, it disturbed the course of national trade and industry, it interfered with agricultural and mercantile employments. As England possessed no standing army, no navy, no commissariat, no store of arms, except a few culverins and great guns, the transport of troops to France and Flanders for a continental war was more costly and laborious than it is even now, when war is carried on with much larger contingents. Drawn in the main from the agricultural population, English soldiers were unused to the hardships of foreign service. The transport of troops engrossed the small coasting vessels in every available port. The supply of bread, beef, and beer—without which English soldiers pined and drooped—enhanced the price of these necessaries; whilst the licence engendered by war gave encouragement to robbery and piracy, in which allies and friends fared no better than enemies.

Up to this time the expenses of the war had been met by a subsidy from the clergy and a loan granted by Parliament in the year 1522, consisting of a tenth of the goods of the laity on all property above 5*l*. But though these contributions were readily granted they were not so readily levied. The loan "sore emptied men's purses," already reduced by the necessity of purchasing "harness and weapons." The collection of these subsidies from Michaelmas to April had already realized the sum of 228,906*l*., amounting in modern computation to two millions sterling and a half; and as every man's quota had to be paid in specie by an agricultural population of frugal habits, the tax fell with greater heaviness upon the counties. To increase the discontent, people were alarmed by prognostications of a general flood, and corn had risen in price under apprehensions of scarcity.[1] To assemble a Parliament in the present crisis was out of the question; to raise another loan without its consent was an expedient on which Wolsey dared not yet to venture, nor would the occasion warrant it. Peace, then, was desirable, if not necessary. The Emperor's reluctance to continue the war was all that Wolsey wanted.

But to have allowed his wishes for peace and accommodation to transpire, still more to make the first advances, was not for the honour of England, nor was it advantageous. All parties were equally tired of the campaign—the Cardinal, who saw no good likely to arise from it; the Emperor, who had made his market, and did not wish to incur further hazard;

[1] Hall, 675.

Francis, to divide and diminish the odds arrayed against him. But though all wished for peace, no one was willing to confess it. No one was prepared by such admission to compromise his chances of obtaining the best bargain from the fears and necessities of his neighbour. Each sovereign, therefore, held back, and shaped his policy in the hope of forcing his confederates to make the first advance. The terms addressed by Wolsey to Charles, on which alone his master would consent to renew the war, were peremptory; but the willingness of Henry to accept an arrangement, if the Emperor proposed or desired it, was tacitly insinuated. The Emperor, not less wary, would not definitively accept either alternative. If Henry would carry on the war as efficiently as before, and invade France, Charles would assist him in obtaining his rights. Or, if Henry would secure honourable and advantageous terms for himself and his allies, Charles would acquiesce, and offer no objections to a peace.

In these straits, into which sovereigns were brought by their animosity and ambition, when there was no strong public opinion to control them, and no disinterested state to arbitrate, the Pope was a convenient and indispensable referee. He was the Holy Father of Christendom. It was due to his sacred office and character to maintain peace, and not suffer his faithful sons, the sovereigns of Europe, to take each other by the throat, and fill the whole Christian world with bloodshed and confusion. The argument, always available when sovereigns desired to find some excuse for doing what they wished to do, had lately gained additional force by the approach of the Turks and the increase of the Lutheran heresy. How could the successor of St. Peter, the supreme representative of the Gospel, turn a deaf ear to such appeals —especially when they coincided with the interests of the Holy See? It was as much the policy of the Pope as it was of the Cardinal, to balance the great contending powers of Europe against each other. Nothing was to be feared from their weakness, everything from their power. The decided predominance of any one involved the dependence of the Papacy. The hopelessness of securing the freedom of the Holy See, and recovering its lost possessions, never seemed more hopeless than when one potentate of Europe was powerful and arrogant enough to overrule the rest. So in a letter[1] addressed by Wolsey to Clement VII., after profuse expres-

[1] IV. 119.

sions of gratitude for past favours and his "elegant breve," the Cardinal took the opportunity of instilling into the Pope's ears the blessings of Christian unity. The Pope desired peace. Peace, he tells the Pope, is now even more necessary than war. In a subsequent letter[1] to the English ambassadors at Rome the Cardinal fails not to urge them, in the event of any slackness on the part of the Emperor, to press the Pope "to propose, as of himself, overtures for peace."

The history of the times has been so heedlessly written, prejudice or inadvertence has imported into it so many mistakes, so much confusion, that it is almost impossible to form a correct judgment of events, still more of the actors and their motives. In thus applying to the Pope the Cardinal was well aware that Clement VII., tired, or apprehensive of the oppressive patronage of Charles V., was naturally inclined to favour the French. But he was also conscious that any open avowal of reluctance on his part to continue the war would render Francis more dangerous and more intractable than ever. If, in spite of all the efforts of the confederacy, the French King succeeded in holding the field—if the combined armies were compelled to relinquish the campaign—Francis would obtain the monarchy of Italy. He would become less anxious than before to secure the friendship of England. To avoid this contingency the Cardinal bated not a jot of his war-like demeanour. He had already entered ostensibly upon a treaty[2] with the Emperor's ambassador, De Praet, for the invasion of France. It was a threat, and a threat only; for he well knew that the season was too far advanced for active operations. If the treaty proceeded, and Charles prosecuted the war with vigour, the whole burthen of it would fall upon Bourbon, who might be assisted, and the forces under him augmented by money and reinforcements from England, as the turn of events required.[3] If the Emperor held back, and fortune inclined to the French, Wolsey could retrace his steps without any great sacrifice. Meanwhile his active brain had been already at work in providing for either contingency. Informal negociations with the French court for peace and payment of the pensions due to England[4] had been set on foot by unaccredited agents on both sides.

[1] IV. 185.

[2] Concluded May 25. See IV. 365.

[3] See IV. 374.

[4] In a reply to Wolsey's letter, Clerk and Hannibal wrote from Rome to Wolsey, April 25, to state that "they will do all they can for the French pension and the peace, and the other matters, in cipher, in

Matters hung in supsense. The hopes and demands of the combatants on both sides rose and fell with temporary successes and disasters. Every one wished for peace; but though the Pope, either on his own suggestion or at the advice of others, had sent the Archbishop of Capua to France, Spain, and England, in succession, when it came to arranging the terms no one was willing to make concessions. The main difficulty was the restoration of Bourbon, to which Francis would by no means consent, nor with it would Charles dispense. Nothing, therefore, remained for the present, except to wait upon the course of events. If Bourbon prospered, the Cardinal might find means for delaying his arrangements with France; if otherwise, they might proceed. But it was by no means easy to discover exactly how matters stood, or to penetrate Bourbon's real intentions.[1] Pace, who had been sent to reside with him, was too much influenced by partiality to the Imperial cause to be implicitly trusted. It is not easy to decide whether he failed to comprehend Wolsey's policy, or disliked it, or wished to counteract it. The freedom and boldness of his criticisms are scarcely less remarkable than their shallowness. Flattered by the attentions of Bourbon and the Imperial officers,[2] he had ceased to use his own judgment. He adopted their views and their statements without consideration, and magnified their powers and importance. In a tone of bravado he spoke of Bourbon's army "as able to fight all the power of France; and he is determined to do so! Now is the time," he continues, with more confidence than prudence, "to look to the recovery of the King's rights; for if this army, for lack of support—that is, of money from England—is obliged to retreat, such another will never be got together again."[3] As Henry laid claim to the throne of France, Bourbon, by right, was his subject. Would he swear homage to the King of England in event of the conquest of France? This was the touchstone of his real intentions. But this he evaded; yet Pace had no suspicion. He still finds Bourbon "a very substantial, wise, and virtuous prince. If he is deceived by the Duke every one is deceived. He is determined to serve the King faithfully, and neither to be made king himself, nor to allow any other;"[4]—as if when Bourbon had conquered France he would become more subservient to the King's purposes.

Wolsey's letter." IV. p. 110. See also No. 271.

[1] Wolsey to Pace, IV. 374.

[2] IV. 420.

[3] IV. p. 182.

[4] IV. p. 187.

Such airy and unsubstantial hopes did not satisfy Wolsey. He replied to this rhodomontade with admirable clearness and unruffled temper.[1] The contrast is striking between the broad, cautious, long-sighted views of the great statesman and the rash and hasty judgments of the man of whom it has been absurdly said that the Cardinal was jealous. Praising Pace for his zeal and fidelity, Wolsey proceeded to excuse his criticisms and rectify his mistakes. Pace is alone: he is necessarily ignorant of many things "which he would know if he were here." Of Bourbon's protestations and his professed anxiety for the King's rights, "it is to be considered," he says, "that Bourbon's chief reason for making war on the French king is his own private quarrel, which he could not avenge alone; and it was easy for him to see that the Emperor and the king of England were the most meet protectors of his cause, which they would not have advocated unless they had perceived some profit for themselves likely to ensue. Secondly, there is reason to suspect that Bourbon has offered the Emperor Provence, Languedoc, and Marseilles, with the subjection of Bourbonnais and Auvergne, which he refuses to hold of the king of England, affirming (as Pace had reported) that there is a treaty to the contrary; which is not true. Besides, when Provence and Marseilles are taken, to which enterprise the Genoese contribute and bear the charge, it will be more easy to recover the duchy of Bourgogne (for the Emperor); and as the French will then be kept from the Mediterranean, Naples will be open to the Emperor, and secured from the French." So all these designs, which seemed so fair to Pace, were conceived in the Emperor's interests solely. He then proceeds to show Pace that the plans of Bourbon which he had so strongly commended were contrived exclusively for Bourbon's and the Emperor's profit; as well as "the laying of an antemurale all this winter between France and Italie," contrived by Beaurain "and other fine personages, in the Emperor's interests, on the pretence that the King shall recover his crown in France." Adopting implicitly the suggestions of Bourbon, Pace had insisted strongly on the invasion of France by an army to be sent from England. Wolsey was not to be so easily deceived. Such an appeal, he replies, is premature. His master cannot be required to perform his promise of invading France, except in the event of a revolution or a victory, and up to the present

[1] IV. 510, July 17.

time (the middle of July) Bourbon had done nothing. He had not yet gained Provence, or even his own patrimony, from the French King; "and there seems no likelihood of a revolution; for the French king is not so generally hated as Bourbon would have men believe, or as Pace writes." The Cardinal then discusses, with admirable judgment and complete mastery of the subject, the advantages and disadvantages of an invasion of France, the means required for it, the localities where it might best be attempted. He shows as clear a comprehension of all these points as a practised general, and is equally at home in contriving a campaign as in building a college.

Calm, judicial, and even considerate, as was the Cardinal's despatch, the tone of Pace's reply[1] betrays his mortification. He apologises for asserting that if the crown of France was lost he should impute the fault to Wolsey (it must be remembered that his letters were intended for the King, and not merely for the Cardinal), and he did not imagine that his words would be taken seriously. It was only "to stir Wolsey to that end." Still he adheres to the high opinion he had expressed of Bourbon's good faith and sincerity. "As to the conquests in Provence, Languedoc, and Burgundy, being for other men's profit, at the King's expense, this is a great error, and the fine men whom Wolsey mentions cannot deceive Pace about that." For the irregularity in the payment of the Emperor's contingent he finds numerous apologies; all of which, it is obvious, were nothing more than a repetition of the excuses he had heard from Bourbon and the Imperial officers. It is clear that Pace was not inclined to defer to the judgment of the Cardinal. Worse than all, he suffered himself to be betrayed by the influence of bad temper. In the confidence of his own opinions, he went so far as publicly to condemn Wolsey's policy. He taxed the Cardinal with being swayed by interested motives, and allowed a licence to his tongue wholly unbecoming his position and employment. The account given not long after by the Italian, Surian,[2] to the Signory at Venice, is not calculated to raise our opinion either of Pace's temper or discretion. He went so far as to inform the Venetian envoy that on the 28th of June he had received letters from the King and Wolsey desiring him to encourage Bourbon to persevere in the campaign, with the assurances that money should be provided, and that English

[1] IV. 589, Aug. 25. [2] Oct., 1524.

troops had already been forwarded to Calais for the invasion of France. It was arranged, he said, that the Emperor should disburse 100,000 ducats, whilst England should contribute a like sum year by year until the war was concluded. The Emperor, continued Pace, never sent 100,000 ducats in one sum, but by driblets at irregular intervals; yet Pace had expended 100,000 ducats on the part of England. Of the second disbursement, which should have been made by the Emperor, not a penny had been received; and, therefore, Pace had declined—it would have been more correct to have stated that he had received the Cardinal's orders not to advance—any further sums until the Emperor's quota had arrived. Surian further assured the Signory that Pace attributed the mismanagement entirely to Wolsey, because if he had sent the English troops, as he had promised, into France, and not 100 soldiers merely, Francis would never have dared to cross the Alps, nor have made his appearance in Italy.[1]

So gross a betrayal of the secrets of his mission was far from creditable. His animosity against the Cardinal can only be justified on the plea of infirmity. What follows is far worse. He told Surian, "that, as far as he knew, no agreement, tacit or otherwise, existed between the kings of France and England, though he suspected that the Cardinal might have some secret understanding with the former through subornation, *by reason of Wolsey's very base nature;* and he founded his suspicions on the fact that for the last two months Don Joachim Passano (De Vaux), the Genoese, who was accustomed to negociate for France, had been residing constantly in England."[2]

Clever and amusing as he was, Pace was vain and boastful, and his head had been turned by sudden prosperity. Confident of his own opinions and his supposed influence with the King, he was unable to endure contradiction, and impatient of control. The sagacious Italian found it useful to cultivate the acquaintance of a man who had the opportunity of giving

[1] Venetian Calendar, III. 388.

[2] Ibid. Gattinara, the Imperial chancellor, who hated Wolsey for thwarting his master's interests, took a juster view of Wolsey's character. On the Venetian, Contarini, remarking that the invasion of France by England depended on the Cardinal's brain, "which was constituted somewhat after a fashion of its own," the Chancellor rejoined, "I tell you that, besides the peculiarity of his brain, his intentions are evil. It seems to me he would ruin the universe to contrive that the Emperor should not appear to the world superior to his master."—Ven. Cal., III. 371.

important information, and was so indiscreet in disclosing it. Though he valued the intelligence communicated by Pace, he had little esteem for his character. "Pace," he tells the Seignory in a subsequent letter, "assures me that on arriving in England, whither he is riding post, he will not cease urging his king to make a demonstration by invading France, at the latest, in spring, and taking the command in person. He added whole sack-fulls of bravadoes."[1] Whether he would have been able to carry his boast into effect, if he had been admitted into the King's presence, as he fully anticipated, can never be ascertained. Before he reached England, Wolsey had found for him an important mission. Circumstances had arisen which made his continuance in Italy indispensable.

It has been stated already that, in anticipation of a failure on the part of the Emperor, from inability or reluctance, to fulfil his engagements, Wolsey had opened indirect correspondence with France, or rather with Louise of Savoy, the Queen Mother. The person employed in these negociations was the Genoese, Passano, who held no official appointment, but was justly suspected of carrying secret intelligence between the two courts. The fact of his living incognito in England had reached the ears of De Praet, the Imperial ambassador—was transmitted by him to the Emperor; and it was doubtless from Bourbon and Beaurain, the Imperial generals, to whom it had been communicated, that Pace had derived his intelligence.[2] This residence in England of John Joachim (for so he was generally called) was regarded with suspicion by the Imperial ambassador; but with all his sagacity and watchfulness—by no means agreeable to Wolsey—he could never detect the Cardinal in any correspondence with the French emissary. To all his remonstrances Wolsey replied that there was no foundation for De Praet's suspicion. He even commanded Sampson to inform the Emperor that though an agent had been sent to him by Louise he had refused to listen to his overtures; and when required to state on what conditions the King would be willing to treat, he had replied it would be no other than the surrender of the whole realm of France.[3] As two emissaries had arrived from France at different intervals, the one a friar, the other De Vaux, this

[1] Ven. Cal., III. 393.

[2] Thus Pace, in a letter to Wolsey, June 16, 1524, tells the Cardinal, that Bourbon was in great perplexity, because he had heard that a friar had been sent into England by the French King's mother, and had held secret communication with Wolsey. IV. 422.

[3] June 4, IV. 394. See p. 377.

statement may have been literally true. It was not unlike the officiousness of friars in those ages to intrude into courts, either at their own suggestion, or on a hint from those who employed them as confessors, and assume the liberty of interviewing great personages. It might have been the fact that Wolsey had thus unceremoniously declined the French overtures. But it is also true that at the time of this denial negociations had already advanced so far that the preliminaries for a treaty with France had been agreed upon, and Francis had consented to most of the terms demanded by Wolsey.[1] To keep certain points open and undecided, to secure delay until one party or the other saw its advantage, to break off or conclude accordingly, was a feat of diplomacy thoroughly understood in those days. The formidable confederacy arrayed against him, the anticipation of Bourbon's invasion, reverses in Italy, discontent among his own subjects, a season of great scarcity,—made Francis anxious to recover the friendship of England; and Wolsey was equally anxious to extract from this wish the most favourable conditions.[2] A few months later the scale turned. Bourbon's expedition, as Wolsey had anticipated, disappointed the expectations of his friends. There was no rising in his favour. The Pope, the Venetians, and even the Imperialists, were beginning to lose confidence. The worst danger had passed away. More than all, the Emperor's health was causing serious alarm to his subjects. "Os concerning the great enterprise and expedition," writes Sampson to Wolsey from Valladolid, on the 30th of October,[3] "I shall show your Grace my poor opinion clearly. First, the Emperor is now in a quartana, I assure your Grace, very feeble, and nothing apt for the war. His remedy is in God's hand. Secondo, he is in extreme poverty: notwithstanding, to his inestimable hinder and loss, he may find money to pass the charges of it, os I think. Tercio, though his Majesty be of the best mind to observe his appointment, os without fail I think he is, yet the preparations and other ordering of the whole matter must chiefly pass by the

[1] See IV. 271–274.

[2] On the 20th of October, Charles wrote to De Praet, his ambassador in England, to require of Wolsey to dismiss John Joachim. There are, he says, a thousand suspicions, in consequence of his stay, among friends and enemies. He is told that Francis expects to get what he wants from Wolsey, and will keep on practising with him till he sees his opportunity. Francis would never have gone to Provence with his whole army, unless he had been assured that no invasion was intended from England. IV. 752.

[3] IV. 780.

Spaniardis hands here in Spain, or else they will not fail to use means the more to hinder the affairs; and the succor of Spain, by their own proverb, be very late and tardy, os by good experience I have seen here, and your Grace assuredly knoweth. Quarto, all the realm of Spain is very desirous of peace, and os weary of war, especially since they have known the return of the duke of Bourbon into Italia, and the loss of that expedition. Wherefore I fear only (every) appointment for the great expedition, onless (lest) that outher it shall clearly fail on this side, or be deferred and set forth so late that all the whole danger of the year shall rest upon the Kingis army. Moreover, it is my poor opinion that if the King's highness intend to set onything forth to his own advancement or profit, that he should only trust to his own arm and strength; and if by appointment ony other help or aid shall well chance, take it for the more advantage; for in effect it is every man for himself." Nothing could be more clear, nothing more sensible. The thunder-clouds which hung over Francis had cleared away of themselves. He was master of the situation without an effort. Had he been contented to wait a few weeks, he might have dictated his own terms. Intoxicated with his good fortune, he resolved, in an evil hour, to cross the Alps and conduct the war in person;—with what fatal results must be told hereafter.

Compelled to raise the siege of Marseilles on the 27th of September, Bourbon had retreated in precipitation to Nice.[1] The news at once determined Francis to break off all further arrangements for a truce, and take this opportunity of wreaking vengeance on his enemies. His advance was regarded with alarm. Elated with anticipated success, his demands rose high; his anger was expressed in no measured terms. Guicciardini reports that when Francis, then starting from Avignon, heard of the retreat of Bourbon, he called his officers together, and said to them:—"I have concluded and am resolved to pass in person into Italy; and whoever shall advise me to the contrary, shall not only not be heard, but incur my displeasure. Let every one, therefore, look well to

[1] See IV. 720, 724, 751. "If they (Bourbon) had made as good speed outwards," observes Clerk sarcastically to Wolsey, "as they have made homewards, they might have been at Calais long afore this time." IV. 724. Hall, in his Chronicle, represents the raising of this siege as the result of deliberation, suggested by the desire of fortifying the Milanese on the approach of the King of France, p. 686. Another version of the affair will be found in the letter of Knight and Jerningham to Wolsey. IV. 751.

the discharge of his duty; for God, who is a lover of justice, and the insolence and rashness of my enemies, have opened a way for me to recover that which has been unjustly taken from me." So determined was he in turning a deaf ear to all advice, that he avoided a meeting with his mother Louise, lest she should persuade him to remain in France, and commit the war in Italy to his captains. Three prizes were before him—Milan, Pavia, and Naples—all of which he was equally desirous of wresting from the hands of his enemies. Of these Pavia was the best provided for defence in men, munitions, and provisions. Milan, the capital of the duchy, had been visited by a plague all the summer. Its population had been diminished by war and famine, its fortifications had fallen into ruins from neglect. It was an easy prey, but worse than useless, for it could not be defended. The Imperial general, Morone, had abandoned it in despair. Naples, the seat of the Viceroy, disgusted with Imperial rule, was inclined to the French. Even if it had been as strongly defended as Pavia, the climate was more genial—it was now close on the end of October—and in the event of ill success, retreat was comparatively easy, for Francis had a fleet at Marseilles under Renzo de Ceri; whereas in the north of Italy the rivers and swamps, swollen by rain, rendered all military operations proportionately difficult; and a retreat in the winter over the passes of the mountains covered with snow would expose the French to inevitable destruction. In the face of these difficulties, Francis, listening to Italian advice, chose precisely that course which was the least eligible. He appeared before Milan only to abandon it, to divide his troops, to give his enemies time to consolidate their forces, and enable them to put Pavia in a better posture of defence.

Pavia was at that time commanded by Don Antonio de Leyva, the most active, intrepid, and able of all the Spanish generals, not to say cruel and unscrupulous—a common fault in those days. He had been a man of war from his youth, and to great physical daring added the courage of long experience. He took the odds of war with the confidence and audacity of a reckless but skilful gamester; and was as certain to win as other men would have been sure to lose at the same stakes. Yet, with all this energy, he was so crippled with the gout that he could not mount his horse, and had to be carried in a chair to battle. His spirit and determination at once inspired the discomfited Imperialists with fresh confidence, and

found a rallying point for their scattered and dispirited army; whilst Francis, distracted by a variety of projects, weakened his forces, and fell a victim to divided counsels. His only chances of success depended on his ability to take Pavia by a sudden assault before the Imperialists could recover from their late discomfiture, and once more make head against him in the field. He reached Turin on the 17th of October. Uncertain of his movements, the Imperialists posted an advanced guard of 2,000 foot and six guns at Alessandria, evacuating Milan as untenable; whilst Bourbon and Pescara, with the main body, fell back in the direction of Pavia. Leaving the right road Francis advanced by the left to Milan; thus allowing his enemies to withdraw in safety, and concentrate their forces on the most defensible spot. His advanced guard entered at one gate as the last of the Spaniards left by another.[1] There was yet time for retrieving his mistake by marching rapidly to Lodi, and falling on the rear of the Imperial troops, who were retiring in the greatest disorder. But evil counsels again prevailed, or rather, that self-confidence and contempt of difficulties which more than once have proved disastrous to the arms of France.[2] He was persuaded that his army would be set free by the capture of Pavia, and he might then conquer the whole of the Peninsula at his leisure. Arriving before Pavia on the 28th of October, he summoned the garrison to surrender. "Since writing last," says Pace in a letter to Henry VIII.,[3] "Francis has sent a herald demanding Pavia to surrender. The captains, Antonio de Leyva and the count of Sorne, an Almain, took him into the market-place, and showed him their forces, 4,000 or 5,000 foot, 100 men-at-arms, and 200 light horse, bidding him tell the King they were all determined to die rather than lose the city. Francis intends to besiege them, and is only four or five miles distant. If he take it he will probably gain all the Milanese; but it is well fortified and victualled, and cannot be captured without great loss. If he fail, he will lose as much reputation as he gained by his hasty passage over the mountains. There is great rain daily."

[1] When he took Milan, says Pace, the (Italian) exiles had led him to hope that he should obtain money; but he has not had a penny, by reason of the death and absence of the people, and he is consequently in great perplexity. Nov. 9.

[2] Du Bellay affirms in his Memoirs, on good authority, that the army under Bourbon, in returning from Provence, was in such a state of disorganization, occasioned by their long and fatiguing marches, that they threw their arms into the ditches, and were too idle to carry them.

[3] Nov. 2.

As the garrison showed no inclination to surrender, Francis determined to batter the town. I turn again, for a short account of the assault, to another letter sent by Pace to Henry VIII.[1] "A gentleman who was present at the two assaults of Pavia sent the following account to the marquis of Mantua. On the 8th (Nov.) Francis determined to give a somewhat feeble assault, to try the courage of the garrison; who defended themselves in a similar way, using no artillery but hand-guns.[2] The same night he determined on a violent assault for the following day, in four places, thinking the defence would be equally weak. To make the garrison negligent, he did not commence the assault till 10 o'clock, when he attacked as fiercely as possible, setting forward and reinforcing his men. The garrison defended themselves with equal courage, never shooting their artillery till the extreme force of the French was upon them."

"In half an hour they slew 2,000 of the French. La Palice fell mortally wounded. Longueville was slain,[3] not at the assault, but two days before, at the foot of the bridge leading into the city. The assault continued till 4 o'clock."[4] The great loss of the French was occasioned by the impatience of Francis to storm the town before the breach was practicable. The assailants were met at every step by a deadly fire poured on them from the houses, pierced for harquebuses, and their advance was obstructed by deep trenches flanked with musketry. In such a *mêlée* the courage of the French gentlemen was of little use, and served only to expose them more effectually to the fire of the garrison. Francis lost in this and in a similar effort 3,000 foot and 400 gentlemen, the flower of his troops. Of the captains taken on this occasion were "Jerome Tryulci and John Ferme—great men," says Pace, "and the chief authors of this business in Italy." After two days wasted in this ineffectual attempt, the King desisted, resolving, on the advice of a French gentleman, to turn the course of the Ticino and attack the town in a less defensible quarter. An undertaking so difficult and laborious under the most favourable circumstances, was little less than insanity in the middle of November, when the river and its tributaries were swollen with heavy rains; still more in the face of an

[1] Nov. 19.

[2] Not from any scrupulous return of courtesy, but a more sufficient motive—the want of powder, of which they had but a small store.

[3] See IV. 789.

[4] Pace, Nov. 19.

enemy jubilant with unexpected success, and now straining every nerve to rally their scattered forces and take the offensive. The Imperialists, straitened for money and provisions, were encouraged to persevere in the conviction that the siege could not continue much longer, and even if Francis succeeded in obtaining possession of Pavia he would himself be besieged in turn, cut off from all resources, and his troops diminished. The Imperial army, says Pace,[1] will be assisted with meat and drink by the towns and villages in the duchy, which had before been indifferent, if not hostile; and they have taken courage since the defeat of the French. Dangers threatened on all sides. Bourbon, Pescara, one of the ablest captains of the age, Lannoy, the Viceroy of Naples, and all the smaller states of Italy that feared the vengeance of the Emperor, were now concentrating their forces on the scene of action. "If the King raises the siege," remarks Pace, "he can only retreat to Novara and Vigevano, across the Ticino, losing his reputation and the city of Milan. If he keeps the parts of the duchy across the Ticino during the winter, by way of truce or by force, it will be very costly. He cannot retreat from the duchy of Milan without sustaining still severer losses; and I know not what hope he can have, except that the Imperials may lack money." Even before this the Abbot of Najara, writing to Charles,[2] had expressed his confident conviction of the folly and madness of the enterprise. "The king of France," he writes, "has made a very hasty invasion of Italy, and it will not be easy for him to return, without risking his life and all that he has. He finds the conquest of the duchy of Milan so difficult that there is no doubt he is persuaded that ruin is more probable than success." In that opinion the Abbot was wrong, as will appear presently.

Finding all other methods ineffectual, Francis resolved to fortify his camp, and starve the garrison into surrender. He was confirmed in this resolution by the intelligence that the troops were discontented and mutinous for want of pay; and though De Leyva and Pescara had made great efforts to supply it, they had only succeeded in staving off for a short period the resolution of the soldiers to desert. Charles, with all his extensive dominions, was as hopelessly insolvent as Maximilian. The wages of the troops were many months in arrears. Again and again the Imperial viceroys and the

[1] Pace, Nov. 19. [2] Nov. 4 (14?), Ven. Cal.

Imperial generals urge upon the Emperor that nothing can save them but a large sum of money. Either money must be provided, or a truce must be made before it is too late; if not, the French, in spite of all their disadvantages, must prevail. "England and Italy will not contribute," writes Lannoy. "Your Majesty has done enough to save your honor. Time is a more dangerous enemy to us than the French."[1]

It was probably the knowledge of this distress that induced Francis to continue the siege throughout the horrors of a Northern Italian winter, augmented by sickness and want of food. "The King," says a correspondent of the time, "is in great want of provisions. An egg costs 12 deniers, and a chicken 15 shillings. The gentlemen pensioners of the King's household and the captains send to their own homes for money. All the great lords are obliged to go and warm themselves in the King's kitchen. The infantry lie in the trenches, and dare not leave them, lest they should die of hunger and cold. It is reported that Francis will return, and leave his army in charge of the sieur de Montmorency. Villeroy and other noblemen have returned nearly dead with cold."[2]

The Pope, naturally anxious and dreading the result, fearing both powers alike, and desirous of neutralizing both, bestirred himself in the task of mediation. Lannoy, then at Lodi, was willing to accept the terms. He had little expectation of keeping the troops together. Naples was threatened by Albany, whom Francis had despatched in that direction; the Pope and the Venetians were siding with the French King, whilst Henry and his minister, Wolsey, showed no signs of assisting the Imperialists; in fact, through the intrigues of Joachim, they were generally suspected of having made a treaty with France already.[3] Notwithstanding the dangers of his position and the pressing wants of his troops, the King, at the instigation of the admiral, Bonnivet, and of Saint Marsault, his favourite, turned a deaf ear to all proposals. The siege went on.

By this time Bourbon had returned with reinforcements, and rejoined the Viceroy at Lodi. On the 25th of January the combined forces started for Marignano. From Marignano they took the road to Villanterio, intending to assault S. Angiolo on the way. "They commenced to shoot on Sunday at dawn, and took the town at 20 o'clock."[4] On the 3rd the

[1] Dec. 21, 1524, Spanish Calendar.
[2] IV. 1053.
[3] See Clerk's letter, Jan. 31.
[4] See Lannoy's letter of Feb. 1.

camp was visited by Sir Gregory Casale, who had been sent from England by the Cardinal to the Venetians, for the purpose of urging them to assist the Emperor.[1] He found the Imperialists advanced within two miles of Pavia. The French army had been drawn up in camp all day expecting battle. To-morrow, writes Casale, the King of France will be compelled to fight or raise the siege on the side by the Ticino. If this be done, the army inside will be able to join the forces of the Viceroy, and cut off the enemy's supplies. "Two gates of the park are now attacked, and 3,000 men are engaged on both sides. I never saw better forces, or more eager to fight. If I had 100,000 ducats I would spend them in the King's (Henry's) service. If the Cardinal could see these things with his own eyes, he would be of the same mind; for if the French King succeeds in putting off the battle, as he is trying to do,[2] the Imperialists will be in great danger for want of money. I expect, if they fight, the French king will be either killed or taken prisoner."[3] He adds, in a postscript, that in event of a battle the Imperialists will certainly win; but since the French have refused battle yesterday and to-day (5th and 6th Feb.), they will probably prefer disgrace to defeat, and will be allowed to retire in safety. "If so, the Imperialists will not be able to force them to fight again for a long time. If they can intercept the victuals, the French must fight. The army cannot continue together for 30 or 40 days longer,[4] unless 200,000 ducats be forwarded as promised by the Emperor. The troops are anxious to engage. The enemy's positions are being attacked by the smaller artillery and the light horse; and they are challenged to come out to a pitched battle, which they could easily do, if they chose, for the ground between the two armies is flat and open." "The war," he tells Wolsey, "is carried on most cruelly. No prisoners are saved, and no quarter is given."

"This morning," meaning Feb. 6th, "the Viceroy, the duke of Bourbon, and the marquis of Pescara came to me asking me to go to the Pope, for they had heard that he had sent commissioners to provide victuals for Albany's passage into Naples. I could not refuse them, but asked to be allowed to stay until to-day, for last night it was determined to pitch the camp so as to force the French to fight. The King is in

[1] See Pace's letter of Feb. 1.

[2] As he had been most earnestly urged to do by the Pope. IV. p. 469.

[3] Letter Feb. 4, p. 464, condensed.

[4] More correctly 20 days.

a park at Mirabello, with the Ticino behind him, and 2,000 foot to guard the bridge. La Palice with the Swiss is between the park and the Ticino, and before them is a valley with a small stream, which we have determined to cross with the artillery, drive the French from the higher ground, and march straight to Pavia. If the Swiss in the French service attempt to cross the water, we shall attack them. We rely upon the Marquis's advice, who strongly urges a battle. The park is surrounded by a wall, double the height of an English park wall, which has been pulled down by the King, so as to be able to assist La Palice. To-day we pitched our camp as was determined. Two such armies have never been seen so near each other. We are only half a mile from Pavia, with the enemies between us and the city, from which the French are protected by earthworks. We intend to attack the enemy's works to-night, and gain the higher ground, which would place them in our power. If we are not successful, we shall bring up the guns and fight them step by step. If that does not succeed, we will force our way by trenches. The enemy is ready day and night, and the King is continually on horseback." [1]

Before matters had arrived at this pass, the French King had been urged by his most experienced officers to withdraw from the dangers which every day grew thicker around him, and made all probability of success more desperate. They urged that by retiring to some strong place in the neighbourhood he would obtain victory without bloodshed; for, as the Imperialists could not hold out many days for want of pay, their armies would speedily be dissolved. They represented the danger of his present position—between an army in front, numerous, hopeful, and resolved, and a garrison no less active and resolute in his rear. It was no token of cowardice, they argued, in a general to avoid exposing his troops to obvious dangers, and defeat the purposes of his enemy by patience and skill. The same arguments had been urged by the Pope, who was perfectly well acquainted with the difficulties and intentions of the Imperialists. But the counsel of his evil genius, Bonnivet, the admiral, prevailed. The advice of more experienced officers was disregarded. The King resolved to continue the siege, trusting to some accident to relieve him from his fatal position, and hoping that his enemy, who had already shown an inclination to temporize, might be compelled

[1] IV. p. 466.

to retire from want of provisions, or the inclemency of the season. Whether, indeed, if he had followed the advice of his wiser and more experienced officers, he would in reality have escaped the dangers that menaced him, or have been besieged in turn, and cut off from all assistance and hope of retreat, it is vain to speculate. He had learned, too late, that if the possession of Pavia brought with it the subjugation of Lombardy, the loss of Pavia was the loss of all his hopes in Italy.

The Imperialists on their side were equally aware that their chance of success depended on giving battle immediately. They were as anxious for action as the French to decline it. The garrison was straitened by want of provisions. Their ammunition was exhausted. The soldiers outside were ready to mutiny for want of pay. The result would be the same whether they fought and were beaten, or retired without fighting. In both cases destruction was imminent. Already they had approached so near the French encampments, which were strongly defended, that the challenge of the sentinels at the opposite outposts could be distinctly overheard. The French were kept in a perpetual state of alarm by feints and sallies in front and rear. On the 17th of February,[1] the Abbot of Najara, the Imperial commissary, wrote to Charles to tell him that the two armies were within musket range of each other. The ground, he says, has to be conquered inch by inch, until we can reach each other with our pikes. The French are strongly fortified with deep ditches. It is impossible to attack them at once; but they will be forced to give battle within their fortifications, when they least expect it. The King of France is very obstinate, and refuses to come out. He confides in the strength of his position, in his artillery, in his 6,000 Swiss and 2,000 Germans. Skirmishes take place daily. The French are panic-stricken, and take to flight even when they meet a smaller number of assailants. The first thing to be done is to plant the camp in such a position that four or five thousand men can easily attack the enemy's quarters. Measures will be concerted for the garrison of Pavia to sally forth at the same moment.

The plan thus rudely sketched was adopted. About midnight on the 23rd of February the Imperialists began to move. They advanced in three divisions. The first, consisting of 3,000 Germans and Spaniards, dressed in white shirts, was

[1] See Bergenroth's Span. Cal. under that date.

sent forward before daybreak to breach the wall of the park, and march straight to the Mirabel, in which Francis was lodged with his men-at-arms. The second division was appointed to engage the main body of the Swiss, who were posted a little below on the left, near a thick wood;[1] thus isolating them from the rest, and preventing any combined movement on the part of the French, until the arrival of the third and the main division. The Germans were at first warmly received by the French artillery. The result might have proved disastrous to the assailants—for the French fought with great resolution, notwithstanding the difficulties of their position—had not the garrisons sallied out from Pavia, taking them in the rear. The retreat became a rout; the Swiss, on whom Francis relied, did nothing worthy of their reputation, and only increased the confusion. The slaughter was terrible, especially among the French gentlemen and nobles, cooped up in a narrow space, and unable to exert themselves—to fight or to flee. Of the Swiss 4,000 were taken prisoners and released. The King might have escaped, but fought valiantly, killing with his own hand one of the standard-bearers. Borne down by the press, and his horse wounded under him, he fell to the ground, and was made prisoner by five soldiers, to whom his person was unknown. "There is a discussion," says a contemporary correspondent, writing from the field, "as to his captor. There are some who claim him as theirs, showing his sword and his gauntlet. He was pulled off his horse by the helmet; but the Viceroy, hastening to his relief, lifted him up respectfully, and freed him from the crowd of soldiers."[2] It was generally reported that he was wounded in the face. The writer just quoted states that he received two wounds—in the hands and in the face. The Abbot of Najara, in his account of the victory, written on the same day, to Charles V., follows the common report, but the next day contradicts it, and asserts that the blood on the King's face was occasioned by a slight scratch of his fingers. So ended the battle of Pavia. So perished the expectation of France, and the flower of French chivalry.

"To-day," writes the Abbot of Najara to the Emperor, "is the Feast of the Apostle St. Mathias, on which, five and twenty years ago, your Majesty is said to have been born. Five and twenty thousand times thanks and praise to God for His mercy! Your Majesty is from this day in a position to

[1] See IV. 1123 and 1124.

[2] IV. 1124.

prescribe laws to Christians and Turks according to your pleasure."[1] Never had Fortune, in whose smiles Charles at that time implicitly believed, placed the empire of the world so nearly within the grasp of so young a man. Never since the days of Charlemagne had the world witnessed so nearly a realization of its fitful dream of a real empire of the West. Nothing remained to oppose the Emperor's wishes. He might dictate laws at his pleasure to Turks and Christians alike, as the Abbot of Najara told him, without caring much to discriminate who were Turks and who were Christians. France and Italy were equally at his mercy. With the exception of England, all the West acknowledged his obedience. And it was to England only that men now turned to see what England would do in this terrible emergency.[2] There was not a potentate in Italy who had not been flagrantly guilty of disaffection to the Emperor, had not secretly or openly abetted his enemies. The Pope, the Venetians, the Duke of Ferrara, and others, had good reason to dread his resentment. Moderate as had been his language, when success hung in the balance, and victory was uncertain; mild as were his reproofs in public, when he was informed of the defection of his former allies, Charles had not hesitated to express his real feelings in private. Some time before the battle of Pavia, in talking with some gentlemen of his court, he had so far forgotten his usual reserve as to say, "I shall go into Italy, and there have a fairer opportunity of obtaining my own, and taking my revenge on those who have wronged me, especially on that poltroon the Pope. Some day or other perhaps Martin Luther may become a man of worth."[3] In a letter to the Duke of Sessa, his ambassador at Rome, he assured the Duke, "he would maintain his army in spite of the Pope's reconciliation with the French king, and carry out his designs, even if it should cost him his crown and his life. Though forsaken by all his allies his power was not diminished; and they who have offended him should find him as hard and as resolute as ever."[4]

The Emperor heard the news of his great victory, young as he was, without openly betraying the least emotion. The intelligence reached him on the 10th of March. The court was thronged with an eager and exulting crowd. In reply to

[1] Feb. 26, Bergenroth's Span. Cal.

[2] Giberti to the Nuncios in England, March 1, Nos. 1139 and 1159.

[3] Contarini, Feb. 6, Ven. Cal., p. 401.

[4] Feb. 9, Bergenroth's Span. Cal.

the congratulations of Sampson, the English ambassador, he said, he rejoiced in his success, for three reasons: First, that God had given him the victory, who was a sinner; and in God's strength he intended to employ it. Secondly, because it would enable him to establish universal peace in Christendom, reform the Christian Faith, and apply his travails to the service of God. Thirdly, because this victory would be more profitable to his friends (alluding to the King of England) than to himself. These words, remarks Sampson,[1] were set off with great "moderation of gesture, countenance and, as it seemed, also of inward intent and mind . . . I assure your Grace there was no more semblance in him of arrogantie or change of manners to joy effusely, other in word or countenance, than if no such great thing had chaunced." So much was the simple-minded Englishman struck with the Emperor's demeanour and pious behaviour on this occasion, that he could not help adding, "I think this will induce God to give him another victory. I have learned more by this moderation than by all the books I ever have or shall read. Immediately after hearing the news, I am told he entered his chamber, and kneeled down for a good space, giving thanks unto God; and whereos he was advised by some to make great triumph for this victory, he expressly refused, since it was against Christian men. Next day he went in procession to the chapel of Our Lady, in a cape of black frieze, and said on his departure, 'Now shall we go to have a solemn mass, giving thanks unto God; and I would we should make it much more solemn with good inward devotion, than with any manner of outward pomp.' When the Emperor was advised to wear some rich and fresh raiment, to show his joy, he refused. He assured me the King should always find him of the same faithful mind never to fail, os at all times he hath else promised and said."

The same account is substantially given by the Venetian ambassador, Contarini. On hearing the news he repaired immediately to the palace. He found the Emperor pacing a long gallery with a few of his courtiers. After seven or eight turns from one end to the other, speaking all the time to those who were about him, he beckoned the ambassador to approach. Contarini endeavoured to kiss his hand, but the Emperor rejected his advances. In the full flush even of his triumph he could not forget his resentment against the Venetians.

[1] March 15. See IV. 1189. (Abridged.)

After Contarini had offered his congratulations, and expressed a hope that the time might not be long before he was crowned at Constantinople—certainly not an idle compliment to the Emperor's ears—Charles told him that he acknowledged the victory as due to God alone, who, knowing the Emperor's good intentions, had rewarded him beyond his deserts; but he added significantly, that he wished the Venetians had assisted his army, as in duty they were bound to do. When Contarini endeavoured to excuse his republic, he added, "I believe your intentions to be good; and, if not, I choose to consider them so. But look you, Señor Ambassador! although many years have passed away since any sovereign had such means and opportunity as I have of accomplishing his own ends, I thank God for this good fortune, that not only my friends, but my enemies, may know that I never had any other wish except to procure peace for Christendom, and turn my forces against the Infidels." [1]

From the Mantuan ambassador we gather a few more particulars. When the courier Spinalosa (rather Peñalosa) arrived, at noon, on the 10th, he was ushered immediately into the Emperor's presence, and said to him in the fewest possible words, "My liege, a battle has been fought under the walls of Pavia; the king of France is a prisoner in your Majesty's power, and his whole army has been destroyed!" The Emperor was thunderstruck. He could only exclaim, "The king of France in my power, and the battle gained by us!" And without another word, or waiting for any further particulars, retiring into a chamber by himself, he knelt down before a picture of the Virgin, which hung at the head of his bed, and remaining on his knees for a short time, gave thanks unto God and to Christ's mother for such a mercy vouchsafed to him. Then entering the presence chamber he desired to hear all the details. The courier, who brought no letters, produced his safe-conduct in the handwriting of the captive King in confirmation of the truth of his statement. "So the Emperor, being assured of the truth, ordered the publication of the news, but forbad any public rejoicings, except a procession and prayers for the dead, as the victory had been gained against Christians. He said that he hoped by the favor of God to obtain another greater mercy against the Infidels, and then public rejoicing should be made."

"All the ambassadors, who flocked to the palace on hearing

[1] March 12, Ven. Cal., p. 413.

the news, offered their congratulations separately; and it was wonderful to remark that neither by the Emperor's countenance nor gesture could any difference be perceived from his usual demeanor,—a thing unrecorded of any other prince, or of a few only, however prudent they may have been. His Majesty's self-control is the greater by reason of his youth, and is entirely attributed to his greatness of mind, which is neither elated by prosperity nor depressed by adversity. Although his replies were of the same tenor to all, certain expressions to the English ambassador were remarkable." They have been already given from Sampson's despatches, and need not to be repeated here. "His Majesty," the Mantuan ambassador continues, "remained until nightfall, giving his hand to all who wished to kiss it. Next morning, after confession, he went in procession to mass at a church dedicated to the Virgin, a mile from Madrid. He was clad in a cape and doublet of black cloth of frieze, as worn by him constantly since his attack of quartan ague, from which he has never entirely recovered." [1]

The political schemes of Wolsey, contrived with so much dexterity and secresy, had been suddenly overthrown like a house of cards. He had written to the King on the 12th of February, "Should the Imperialists get the worst, which is not probable, thanked be God! your affairs are by your high wisdom in more assured and substantial train, by such communications as be set forth with France apart, than others in outward places would suppose." [2] It had been his object to balance the antagonism of Francis and Charles so carefully, and adjust his assistance so exactly, that whilst neither should obtain the preponderance, both should feel themselves obliged to the friendship of his master, and be willing to reimburse his expenses. This attention to the pecuniary interests of his Sovereign was not due to Wolsey exclusively. With his tendency to extravagance, and his love of splendour, Henry VIII. had inherited the parsimoniousness of Henry VII. The money required for war or diplomacy was advanced from his privy purse—for there was no public exchequer at that time —and the King expected his minister to return the sums he had borrowed, or provide an equivalent. The alliance made with Charles V. three years before, if not influenced exclusively by similar considerations, was certainly facilitated by the readiness of the Emperor to take upon himself certain pecuniary

[1] Ven. Cal., No. 959. [2] IV. 1078. Specially p. 615.

obligations; and when the Cardinal discovered that he had no intention whatever of fulfilling his engagements, or even of repaying the sums advanced him by Henry, his hope of recovering them by a closer union with France was not the least motive which induced the Cardinal to lend an ear to the negociations of Joachim.[1] But though he showed himself favourable to the proposals of Francis, he had not failed, some time before the battle of Pavia, to secure a retreat, in the event of the defeat of the French King, by sending Gregory Casale to the Imperial camp, and assuring Bourbon of Henry's desire for the success of the Emperor. He had even given instructions to Pace to persuade the Venetians to unite their troops with the Imperialists.[2] He had reason to be satisfied with the success of his measures; for whilst he was obliging the Imperialists he was increasing the difficulties of Francis, and augmenting the value of an English alliance. The situation was critical. Uncertain of the result, in no great expectation of the success of the French at Pavia, he was evidently no more prepared than was the rest of the world for so terrible a blow, which seemed for a time to have blotted France from the map of Europe, and transferred the monarchy, not only of Italy, but of the West, at a stroke, to the hands of the Emperor.

How the Emperor received the intelligence of his good fortune, with what moderation and piety (unlike his vainglorious rival) he disavowed all merit, and rejoiced that God had given him the victory, has been told already. He was the object of Divine favour, because the Searcher of all hearts knew that he intended to use his victory for the benefit of others, and restore peace to bleeding Christendom. It might have seemed more in accordance with these declarations of universal benevolence and good will, if, in the midst of his successes, he could have forgotten the disaffection of the Venetians, and, in token of his forgiveness, allowed Contarini to kiss his hand. He was still in alliance with England, and was bound by the terms of the treaty to divide his successes with his ally. But of this he had no intention. He had carried on the war exclusively for his own benefit, without the least regard to the interests of his ally; and now when victory came that ally was as little in his thoughts as ever. Still, all men vied in praising his moderation; and Sampson, the English representative, was so deeply impressed with what he

[1] See specially IV. 1093 and 1160. [2] IV. 1107.

had seen and heard of "the good Emperor,"[1] that he could not suspect so virtuous a prince of harbouring any but the most pious intentions.[2]

Not so Wolsey. He was not weak enough to be deceived by the Emperor's professions of moderation. The capture of Francis had alarmed not only those Italian states who had good reason to fear the Emperor's resentment, but all who had any cause for dreading his power. "Many here" (at Rome), writes Clerk to Wolsey,[3] "are right glad of the overthrow of the French, but sorry to be left a prey to the Spaniards, who for their cruelty are most hated of all nations." Subsequently he writes,[4] "The Venetians are in great fear, now that they are at the discretion of the Imperialists, whom they have not treated well. They are arming themselves, and pressing the Pope to do the same . . . The effect is that the Pope, Venice, Florence, the duke of Ferrara, Sienna, Lucca, Mantua, and other meaner powers, will make a league for the defence of Italy, which they think the duke of Milan would gladly enter, as they suppose he will be for some years in no less captivity than the French king." If such a league as this were consolidated by an alliance with England, it would offer a formidable obstacle to the ambition of Charles, and neutralize in a measure the advantages of his late victory. But then the King would at once make the Emperor his enemy; the sums owed by him to England would be irretrievably lost, and all hope of sharing the Emperor's victory would have to be abandoned. In addition to this it would be necessary to undertake a second war at no inconsiderable cost, the fruits of which would fall to the Italians. Might it not be possible, then, to take advantage of the present disposition of the Emperor? Might he not be called upon to fulfil his engagements, and urged to perform his promise of invading France, and investing Henry with his hereditary provinces in that kingdom? An offer of men and money for continuing the war involved no risk. If the Emperor complied, the results would more than counterbalance the cost, as France was in no condition to resist; if he refused, neither men nor money would be required. And here my readers will be enabled to see what was the real meaning of the Emperor's

[1] IV. 1190.

[2] This is the more remarkable, when compared with Sampson's own letter, quoted at pp. 15, 16; but in this respect he was not more credulous than other Englishmen, all of whom, with the exception of Wolsey, took the Emperor at his own valuation.

[3] Feb. 28.

[4] March 19.

moderation, and what the true interpretation of his repeated assertion that he valued his victory for the peace it would enable him to establish in Christendom. He would pursue victory no further; for the best of all reasons. What more could he gain by war? Diplomacy was less costly, and more sure. The spoils which good fortune had thrown into his lap he intended to keep exclusively to himself. For the rest, he might remunerate himself for his losses by wresting Burgundy from his unfortunate prisoner; whilst Henry might prosecute his barren claims upon France as best he could, without expecting aid from his ally. Further continuance of the war involved the fulfilment of his engagements, and a just distribution between England and himself of the advantages he had gained already. This did not suit the Emperor's plans. He meant to make a merit of his moderation with Francis by extorting from his necessities the richest province of France, and declining to assist Henry in obtaining any other. So, at a very early period, he gave Sampson to understand that the King of England must not hope to receive reinforcements from the Imperial dominions, still less 100,000 or 50,000 ducats for their support. "They think, here," says Sampson, "that the King should make the rest of any conquest at his own charge."[1] As neither alternative promised much, Wolsey determined to turn both of them to the best advantage.

But at this time, whilst the Cardinal was still smarting from the failure of his schemes, and the immovable selfishness of the Emperor, an event occurred by no means calculated to improve the good understanding between them. It has been stated already that various complaints had been made by the Imperial ambassador, De Praet, of the residence of Joachim, the French agent, in England. The Cardinal had insisted more than once that nothing had passed between himself and Joachim, in contravention of the good understanding existing between the two Crowns. Joachim "was kept close in the house of Doctor Larke, a prebendary of St. Stephen's," who lived at Blackfriars, "and every day privily spake with the Cardinal."[2] His protracted residence in England, and the rumours of his intercourse with Wolsey, were by no means agreeable to the Imperial minister. He determined to watch the movements of Larke, Joachim, and Wolsey more narrowly. But whilst he was thus engaged, a messenger carrying a

[1] Sampson, April 1. See IV. p. 543.

[2] See a letter of Joachim to Larke IV. p. 539. Hall, 691.

packet of letters on the night of the 11th of February was surprised by the watch on his way to Brentford. As his letters were superscribed in French, the constables took the packet to "a man of law's clerk." It fell eventually into the hands of Sir Thomas More, in the adjoining watch, and he presented it to Wolsey on the following morning as he was sitting "in the Chancery at Westminster."[1] "Which, when I had read," writes Wolsey to the Emperor, "knowing how far the effect of them was discrepant from the truth, anon I conceived the former advertisements, made unto me touching the said ambassador's (De Praet's) accustomed usage in making sinister rēports, to be true. And perceiving by the said letters, that albeit the usage is not here, that strangers should pass through the realm without a passport, yet that one of the Fulkers was despatched by the said ambassador the day before, with letters towards Spain, wherein it was like there might be as evil or worse report than in these, I with all diligence sent to countermand the said former letters, or any other despatched at that time by the said ambassador; and so was taken also a packet of his letters directed to my lady Margaret. Which original letters . . . viewed and overlooked, and the untruth mentioned in them deprehended, I send unto your hands." On summoning De Praet to appear before himself and the Council, Wolsey taxed him with untruth, objecting to various expressions in the ambassador's despatches; viz. "*If we obtain the battle (of Pavia) all will be well; our master will escape the danger of such friends and confederates as he has hitherto had.*" "*Let me say he is little obliged to any of them, whoever they may be.*" And again: "*When matters succeed well, Wolsey knows not what to say, and when otherwise he talks wonders. I hope one day to see our master avenged, for Wolsey is the main cause of all his misfortunes.*" De Praet made no reply, except to complain of his letters being intercepted, contrary to the privileges of ambassadors. In the end Wolsey ordered him to forbear writing, saying that the King and himself would communicate the particulars to the Emperor.[2]

Such an extraordinary outrage on the privileges of an ambassador had never been known before; still more on an ambassador of the greatest sovereign of Europe.[3] "Great

[1] That these particulars were accurately stated will be seen by a reference to the list of the watch, printed in IV. 1082.

[2] See IV. 1083.

[3] De Praet's own version of the affair will be found in Gayangos' Span. Cal., III. p. 50. It does not

injury," says De Praet, "has been done to the Emperor's honour and reputation by such an act. For a thousand years there is no instance on record of ambassadors of allied and friendly powers having their correspondence violated and divulged, much less of their being forbidden to write to their kings and masters."[1] It is hard to imagine the motive for a proceeding so arbitrary and offensive, unless it were the Cardinal's intention to show how little he was awed by that authority to which the rest of the world was inclined to pay such profound and implicit homage. It could not be denied that Wolsey for some time past had expressed in very plain and unambiguous language his opinion of the Emperor, the Archduke, and the Lady Margaret. He had condemned, in terms more candid than courtly, their shallow tricks and subterfuges, their transparent excuses for evading their engagements; but he had never yet been so far transported by indignation as to impound the correspondence of their ambassadors. Strange to say, his conduct on this occasion was warmly defended by his master. The King wrote a letter, in his own hand, to the Emperor, condemning the conduct of his minister, and insisting on his punishment, in very explicit terms.[2] He carried his displeasure so far as to refuse to listen to any remonstrances that could be urged in mitigation of the ambassador's misconduct. De Praet was confined to his house until the nomination of his successor; for all reconciliation was found to be impossible.[3]

When the news reached Madrid the whole court was in a ferment.[4] So great an affront called for signal punishment, and the Emperor, it was urged, must vindicate the honour of his ambassador, lest others should follow Wolsey's example. But here, again, the moderation of Charles saved him from extremities. He wrote, indeed, to De Praet, expressing great displeasure at the insult. He did not intend to let the matter pass unnoticed, for God had given him the power to maintain his dignity; but he would for the present disguise his resent-

differ in any important particulars from that given by Wolsey, except in asserting that the packet of letters, "closed and sealed," was delivered into More's hands in the very presence of the man who had the charge of it, and by More, who was then in bed, was taken to the Legate's apartments. An English version of the same affair will also be found in the same Calendar, p. 62. (The references here and elsewhere to Gayangos are all to Vol. III. of the Calendar of Spanish State Papers, the first that appeared under his editorship.—Ed.)

[1] Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 53.

[2] Ibid., p. 74.

[3] March 16: Gayangos, p. 92. Compare also pp. 76, 78.

[4] Contarini, April 19, Ven. Cal.

ment until he had heard further particulars. Meanwhile, he desired to know whether the ambassador could not suggest some means by which the Emperor might punish the Cardinal[1] without incurring any serious risks to his own interests. Shortly after, on receiving a more explicit statement of what had taken place, he informed the ambassador that his honour was safe in the Emperor's keeping. At some future time, whenever the opportunity offered, he might be satisfied that full reparation should be demanded.[2] It is to be hoped that De Praet was satisfied with this assurance, and his wounded honour effectually salved.

To Sampson, the English ambassador, such an outrage appeared little less than insanity; still more when the Emperor, in the mildest possible way, remonstrated with him on the indignity. After expressing his entire confidence in the King, Charles could not help lamenting the shock his confidence in Wolsey had sustained by his late proceedings. The injury was the less excusable, because in this time of "most fervent war," when the French King was in prison, Joachim had been so long retained in England, that his friends believed that Henry had forsaken the Emperor, and was providing for himself. It was the more strange, he said, and indefensible, because such interception of his ambassador's letter was *violare jus gentium*;—so much Latin his Majesty had learned, remarks Sampson.[3] Some say, he continues, that unless the Emperor had been well assured of the King's constant mind, he would have taken this interception of his ambassador's letters as a clear case of rupture; for unless those who were guilty of it were punished, it must have been "a prepensed matter;" nor was it less dishonourable to the King, "that his most friend's ambassador should not be at liberty. The whole court was more moved than the good Emperor." Those who were of the best mind thought that Wolsey should accept the ambassador with a new reconciliation, for the joy of the news and victory at Pavia. "I writ, Sir, to your Grace, thus clearly to advertise the same of the truth plainly; for other towardness I perceive nothing in them or any of them; but the more that is spoken of the matter, the more they be moved."

[1] Letter to De Praet, March 26, Gayangos.

[2] Gayangos, p. 103.

[3] Letter, March 15, IV. 1190. On Contarini presenting him a letter from the Venetians, Charles remarked, "I am a bad Latin scholar. I will send it to the Chancellor."—Ven. Cal., p. 431.

Sampson was no seer. Charles knew his own interests too well to sacrifice them to any transient resentment.

Splendid and dazzling as was his fortune at this moment, no one perhaps understood more clearly than himself how slippery was the foundation on which it rested. He could not afford to quarrel with England; least of all to show his displeasure to the Cardinal, whose policy he most dreaded, and whose sagacity he had hoped to blind. He would gladly have detached the King from the Cardinal, had it been possible; and, therefore, he made it a point to insist the more on his unshaken regard and affection for the former, whenever he dropped any remarks disparaging to the latter. Though the victory at Pavia had filled Italy with consternation, it had made every Italian potentate look to his own safety, and band together for protection against the common enemy. Charles was just as unable as ever to provide the necessary sums for keeping his army on foot, and he hoped by "doulce" means and fair promises to obtain that pecuniary aid from the states he certainly would never have obtained, had he showed any symptoms of vindictiveness, or betrayed his intention of prosecuting his victory at their expense. In a curious document in the possession of Don Pascual Gayangos, and published in his Calendar,[1] a list will be found of the various sums proposed to be levied on the different Italian powers, amounting to 288,000 ducats, towards covering the expenses of the war. To any sovereign this was a large sum; to Charles, penniless in the midst of his good fortune, and without hope of extorting money from England, it was most desirable. But for any chance of obtaining it the Emperor must assume a magnanimity by no means native to his character. "The Pope and the rest of the Italian powers," writes his minister, Soria, then in Genoa, "are afraid lest your Imperial Majesty should show resentment at their late conduct, and wish to chastise them for their misdeeds. I have told them that your Imperial Majesty will forget and forgive all offences, and say to them, *Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia.* It would be advisable that all your ministers and agents in Italy *should dissemble and use a similar language,* but I hear they do not."[2]

It was then necessary for him to keep on good terms with Henry and his minister. The least show of displeasure would invest the confederation of Italy with spirit and proportions fatal to the Emperor's designs. If he resented the insult, and

[1] Gayangos, p. 106.

[2] March 2: Gayangos, p. 61.

broke with England, the sole inducement which kept Wolsey firm to his alliance would exist no longer. On his part the Cardinal was equally reluctant to come to an open rupture, for he still hoped to recover from the Emperor some portion of the sums that England had lent him, or some equivalent in their stead. The alienation of Wolsey would throw him at once into the arms of France, and relieve its King from all fears of an English invasion. Francis would become less manageable—less willing to accede to the Emperor's demands. Nor, in the view of a better understanding between the two Crowns, could the Emperor ever feel confident that any proposals he might secretly make to the French King would not be divulged to Wolsey, and be turned against himself. All that he wanted was to gain time, and in the meanwhile keep his real designs as secret as possible both from friends and enemies.

But though the Cardinal had disposed of the Imperial ambassador, and shuffled him off the stage, in a curt and unceremonious manner, it was not his policy to quarrel needlessly with the Emperor. He protested that his late act had been dictated entirely by the purest zeal to maintain undiminished the amity between Charles and his master. Nothing but Henry's implicit trust in the Emperor, which Wolsey had always used his best endeavours to promote, would have persuaded the King to tolerate an ambassador so inexpert and unmeet for his office as De Praet. "I have never done anything that I know," he says, in a letter addressed to the Emperor,[1] "to the prejudice of your affairs, or the person of your Majesty, as some ill-intentioned people may have had the boldness to surmise; which assertion, most confidently put forward, gives me courage humbly to request that your Majesty, for the purgation and discharge of my poor honor and reputation, will cast off and reject the indiscreet, disloyal, false, and abusive reports and advices of the sieur De Praet, your resident ambassador at this Court, whom I have all the time, and for your sake, treated as favorably and affectionately as if he were my own brother." The Emperor was equally civil and sincere on his part. At least he told Sampson, the English ambassador, "That he never suspected Wolsey, although some things had been done in England much to the hindrance of his affairs, and the Cardinal had many times made use of expressions which excited the suspicions of De Praet. Still he considered the Cardinal his very good friend; and as he was

[1] March 8: in Gayangos.

faithful to his master, he could not but be faithful to the Emperor also." [1]

The contest now resolved itself into a trial of diplomatic skill between Charles V. and the Cardinal. Other actors in the scene, even the Pope himself, sunk for a time into the subordinate condition of pawns in a game of chess, whose movements are determined by the will or necessities of the master pieces on the board. The ingenuity of both was sharpened in the encounter. Both were wary; both were ready to employ any device which promised advantage to either. That they should cordially hate each other was natural; but that either of them should express that hatred, as popular historians imagine, by gratuitous discourtesy, or ostentatious absence of apparent cordiality, is to mistake the character and the abilities of both. The popular belief that Charles from this time withheld in his letters to Wolsey those phrases of official deference and respect he had been wont to use at an earlier period of their acquaintance, is founded on a mistake. It rests on no better ground than the other supposition, that Wolsey postponed the interest of his country to his own passions, and revenged himself upon the Emperor for neglecting to assist him in securing the Papacy. Both felt alike that they were engaged in an intricate game; and both were too skilful, both too much interested in the result, to misapply their energies like meaner men, or expose themselves to disadvantage by any useless gratifications of ill temper. But Wolsey was unduly weighted. He had other interests to distract his attention, and other wishes than his own had to be consulted. At no period in his life was Henry the most tractable or self-denying of sovereigns; at no time would he have been slow in sacrificing his ablest minister, rather than incur the temporary odium of an unpopular measure. Whether he had at this early date begun to grow weary of Katharine it is impossible to say. Perhaps he scarcely knew himself the state of his own mind, or the exact bent of his inclinations. Still, if Katharine took any interest in politics, it was impossible that she should not view with some feeling of dislike the actions of a man whose will was, in appearance, though certainly not in reality, omnipotent with her husband. It is scarcely possible that she should not have used what influence she still possessed in favour of her nephew. That she corresponded with him is undeniable.

[1] Sampson: April 1, IV. 1237.

Charles had no intention of allowing his secret purposes to transpire. He was a master of dissimulation; and the historian finds it by no means an easy task to fathom his real designs. Great as was the victory at Pavia, it had as yet been unproductive of any advantage beyond the possession of the King's person. Its substantial importance would depend upon the amount of money or territory that Charles could extort from the wishes or the fears of his unhappy prisoner; how far, whilst his worst foe remained caged up, he might take the opportunity of securing his conquests in Italy, or invading France. But to do one or the other an army must be maintained; and Charles had no money. Negociations were cheaper, if only they were speedy, if only Henry could be persuaded not to interfere between him and his prisoner; still better if he could be induced at a moderate expense—best of all at his own sole cost—to invade France, and enhance in the eyes of the world, and of Francis himself, the Emperor's magnanimity. To avoid displeasing Henry or his great minister, to distract their attention from his own designs, to blind and amuse them, above all, to exclude them from any share in the profits of his victory, by engaging their attention elsewhere, this was the policy of Charles. But the game was a delicate one. He was deeply in debt to the King of England, and, under one plea or another, had perpetually failed to fulfil his engagements. The shabbiest of Imperial debtors, he always apologized and never paid; was always demanding an extension of time from his royal creditor, at the moment he was preparing to incur fresh obligations. With his disciplined armies and his military resources, he could have afforded to disregard the power or vengeance of England, if England had stood alone; but he well knew that the success of his design depended exclusively on the attitude taken by this country. He had his hold upon it by being its debtor; by amusing it with promises of payment; by the ambition, as he supposed, of Henry to be crowned King of France, in imitation of Henry V.; and he had as little intention of fulfilling his engagement in one case as in the other. But as every step he took towards his own designs was directly opposed to the interests either of his ally, or of his prisoner, sometimes of both, he had to fear lest haply they should come to a mutual understanding, and he should make an enemy of both. To keep them apart; if possible, to make them suspicious of each other's intentions; above all, to prevent the one from discover-

ing the exact terms in which he was shaping his measures with the other;—these were the aims of the Emperor for the present.

On the other hand, various plans presented themselves to the Cardinal for counteracting the designs of his opponent. He might organize a formidable league; for in their dread of the Emperor's resentment, and still more of his interminable exactions, the Italians were willing to contribute 500,000 ducats for the maintenance of the war, if Henry would join it, and give his daughter in marriage to one of the French King's sons.[1] Or, he might, in the next place, find it possible to re-open negociations with Louise, and obtain more from the fears of Francis than he could hope to gain from the terrors of the Italians or the gratitude of the Emperor. Thirdly, he might assume as sincere the offers of the Emperor to assist his master in recovering his inheritance in France, and profit in various ways by any opportunities that might present themselves. But to join the Italian league openly was to declare war against the Emperor at once, and sacrifice all chance of recovering the debt he owed to England. War at so great a distance was costly and unpopular. England had no generals to oppose to Bourbon or Pescara, and their veteran captains and soldiers, flushed with their late victory, and well acquainted with the hardships and dangers of an Italian campaign. To open negociations directly with Louise was hazardous. She might betray them to the Emperor, in order to obtain the release of her son on easier terms. It was still more hazardous at this moment, when she was on her way to meet Charles, and no one knew precisely what concessions she was prepared to make, or what were her real intentions. This only was certain, so great was her affection for her son, so perilous was the position of his country, so apprehensive were the French of an English invasion—their chief, in fact, their only fear[2]—that every one believed she would readily make any sacrifice, short of the dismemberment of France, to procure his liberation. Without, therefore, entirely abandon-

[1] IV. 1249, 1255.

[2] "The Regent has published all over France that the English are in mutiny" (probably she was referring to the dissensions caused by the Amicable Loan), "and would have too much to do to invade France. She told the Estates at Lyons (where she was staying) she was well assured that those who governed the King of England (Wolsey?) would do nothing; and if they attempted to invade France the Scots would attack them. Nevertheless, all through France their only fear is of England." See IV. 1364 and 1365, and further, for the condition of France at this time.

ing the prospect of either an Italian league or a French alliance, but rather, as will be seen hereafter, keeping both steadily in view, Wolsey resolved for the present to urge the Emperor to a renewal of hostilities. The Emperor had written to his ambassador in England that he did not intend to disarm, and wished the King to follow his example, and join with him in prosecuting the war. He had instructed his aunt, the Lady Margaret, to furnish Henry with troops and provisions.[1] Further, he had informed the French that the only terms of peace to which he could accede would be the cession to himself of Burgundy, the restoration to Bourbon of his rights, to Henry of his ancient provinces.

It was not for the Cardinal to betray suspicions of the Emperor's sincerity, or reject his advances. He took the Emperor at his word; and as he had suggested that both should continue their warlike preparations, Wolsey was ready with a proposition which should not only secure peace for the present, but in all time to come. This was no less than the total exclusion of Francis and his son from the throne of France. "If," he urged, "the French king, who is now a prisoner, be restored, he will not fail to seek opportunities of revenging himself; therefore the only means "of meeting the danger is that he and his succession should be utterly abolished."[2] This, he argued, would be the most effective of means for securing those rights on which Charles had insisted. As a proof of the sincerity of his intentions, he gave out that Henry was willing to join with the Emperor in an immediate invasion of France, lead his army in person, and contribute 200,000 ducats to the expenses of the war. At its conclusion the King would accompany the Emperor to Rome; "by which

[1] Charles to De Praet, March 26. This letter is very important as a key to the Emperor's intentions. It was written to announce officially to De Praet the victory at Pavia, and shows clearly from the first the dissimulation of the writer. After stating that he wishes for peace, and to practise the virtues of magnanimity and clemency, unless he is provoked to forget them, Charles directs De Praet how he is to proceed. He is to urge the King not to disarm, in order that the French may be compelled to accept the Emperor's terms. If Henry desires to prolong the war, he may do it on his own responsibility. He has written consequently to Lady Margaret to furnish troops and provisions for the English, *at their own expense, unless she thinks it best to dissemble, in which case she can pretend, before complying with their wishes, that she must consult the Emperor.* "It would be unfortunate," he proceeds, "to lose their friendship." But on no account is De Praet to enter upon any negociations with England for carrying on the war at the Emperor's expense. He has heard of De Praet's treatment, and wishes there were some good and safe means for punishing the Cardinal, but the ambassador must dissemble his displeasure.

[2] IV. pp. 528, 570.

means and the possibility of Charles's marriage to the princess Mary, he would eventually become lord and owner of all Christendom."[1] As an earnest of his intentions, it was intimated to the Emperor that the King was making all possible preparations for invasion; that he desired permission for the Lady Margaret to raise 4,000 horse and 4,000 foot at the expense of the Low Countries, to assist in the enterprise; that he intended, on his own part, to make up his army to 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse.[2] With these propositions there was sent, as from the Princess Mary—at that time a flaxen-haired child only nine years old—an emerald ring, as a love-token to the Emperor; "and you shall say," Wolsey instructs the ambassador, "that her Grace hath devised this token for a better knowledge to be had, when God shall give them grace to be together, whether his Majesty do keep himself as continent and chaste as, with God's grace, she woll, whereby ye may say his Majesty may see her assured love towards the same hath already such operation in her that it is also confirmed by jealousy, being one of the greatest signs and tokens of hearty love and cordial affection."[3] Though the Emperor was already indulging in the hope of superseding his engagements for a more advantageous match, and a less formidable father-in-law, he could not be so ungallant as to refuse the present; so he put it on his little finger, observing he would wear it for her sake.[4]

It is not to be imagined that Wolsey deceived himself with the notion that the Emperor would accept so extravagant a proposal. He could never have supposed that Charles would heartily support the interests of his ally, and enthrone an independent monarch at Paris, far more formidable than the poor King he then held prisoner at Pizzighettone. He had, indeed, promised all this, and more, to obtain Henry's alliance;[5] but the flexibility with which Charles repudiated his obligations, professed to treat them as merely ceremonial, found paltry excuses for breaking his word, pleaded his own expenses, pleaded anything, in short, rather than make good his engagements,—must long since have convinced the Cardinal that the Emperor was not to be trusted. He had

[1] IV. pp. 528, 570.
[2] IV. p. 572.
[3] Wolsey to Tunstal, etc., April 3.
[4] See IV. p. 611.
[5] "As to the succession, they are to put the Emperor in mind of his secret promise made to the King's Highness and Wolsey at sundry times and places, all tending to the expulsion of the King of France, and setting up Henry in his place."—Instructions to Tunstal, etc., March 26, IV. p. 528.

already expressed, in somewhat unceremonious language, his opinion of the Emperor's insincerity, and the folly of relying on such a broken reed.[1] He knew well that when Charles proposed an invasion of France, nothing was further from his intentions. He saw the difficulties brewing in the distance. For though Louise, uncertain of Wolsey's intentions, which apparently augured no good to France, had spoken of him unfavourably, and communicated to him none of her movements, he was kept well informed by the Pope of what was going on. Clement dreaded, as much as any other power in Italy, the cold, ambiguous, and resentful temper of the Emperor. He leaned entirely to France, and disliked the idea of a French invasion by England. He disliked still more the Imperial demand of 200,000 ducats. It boded no good to the patrimony of St. Peter that the Emperor still kept his troops in Parma, Piacenza, and Bologna, withholding their pay, and wasting the inheritance of the Church to the amount of 200,000 or 300,000 ducats more. A friend of Francis, he was not kept in ignorance of the designs of Louise, or of the offers she intended to make to the Emperor. If the Queen Mother, as an inducement to moderate his demands, betrayed to Charles any favourable advances made to her by England, the proposals offered by Charles to Louise were in their turn communicated to the Pope, and betrayed to Wolsey. In spite of appearances and professions, Wolsey knew well that war with France was not what the Emperor intended. He knew that the pay of his army in Italy, which cost 100,000 ducats a month, had fallen six or seven months in arrear; and the last instalment had been squandered by the officers, without any regard for their unfortunate soldiers. He had heard that Francis, who had always looked upon Bourbon with great disdain, "now talked and dallied with him familiarly."[2]

[1] Some kind friend had repeated, not without exaggeration, Wolsey's opinion of the Emperor; and the latter, on receiving Wolsey's letter (see IV. p. 616), had mentioned it to the English ambassadors. They report that the Emperor had told them that Wolsey had called him a liar, Lady Margaret a ribald, Don Fernando a child, and Bourbon a traitor. This report was brought by Beaurain; to whom, when he asked for 200,000 ducats of Henry for the late campaign, Wolsey had answered, the King has something better to do with his money than spend it for the pleasure of four such persons, using the above words. (See IV. 1379.) The Emperor admitted that he had not kept *some* points of the treaty, with a whining remark that it was not from want of will, but extreme need, for which his friends should not accuse him. For more to the same effect, see the conversation between the Imperial agent De la Sauch and Wolsey, in Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 216.

[2] See Charles's letter, IV. p. 588.

These signs were not lost upon him. The good intelligence between the French and the Imperialists showed no indications of war on the part of the latter. Whatever Charles might pretend, Wolsey was not to be deceived as to his real intentions.

But if there could be any room for doubt, his own letters are conclusive. In less than a fortnight after the proposal for invading France, and disinheriting its sovereign, he tells Tunstal that he had received information from the Pope that the French King's mother intended to repair to the Emperor.[1] "If she has power to treat," he adds, "it is not likely the Emperor will agree to a personal invasion, or do any great feat of war till he see what will ensue therefrom." Considering the uncertainty of all things, and the doubt how soon sufficient money could be levied, "though all the shires (in England) were ready to contribute," Wolsey had persuaded his master to abandon his design of conducting the invasion in person. Commenting on the tortuous but transparent policy of the Emperor to gain time, and avoid a direct answer, he had written to the King, "I doubt not but of your profound and great wisdom your Grace will facilely conject what this manner of proceeding doth imply."[2] The war, as he urged, would bring nothing to the King's benefit; and as for the Emperor's promises to be moderate in his demands, to the intent that the King's bargain with Francis might be the better, there was little or no chance they would be realized. The despatch received from the ambassadors then in the Emperor's Court, with Wolsey's caustic remarks on his duplicity, leave no doubt how Wolsey regarded the whole affair.

As for the Lady Margaret, she received the proposals for this formidable campaign, like a lady diplomatist, with her usual smiles and affability. For her part she preferred peace, but if the King and the Emperor desired war she would readily conform to their wishes. After many debates with the English agent, Fitzwilliam, protesting her willingness to aid, but ending in significant allusions to her poverty; after many conclusions where nothing was concluded;—she referred him to the Emperor, who would determine the arrangements himself as soon as the English ambassadors arrived at the Imperial Court.[3]

[1] Letter to Tunstal, who had not yet started, April 7.

[2] IV. p. 605.

[3] See also Fitzwilliam's remarkable letter, p. 582.

June was approaching, and preparations for war would soon become impossible. Henry sent his ambassadors to Charles, desiring a positive declaration of what he intended in their common affairs. His army, he said, was ready: he was himself prepared to lead it in person, and only waited for the Emperor's reply. Next day the ambassadors of both Courts met in Council, and the English were asked to declare their intentions. They replied they had already made their demands; repeated them, and pressed for an answer. Three days later they met again, when the Chancellor entertained them with a long oration. The Emperor, he urged, had spent above a million and a half of ducats; by the aid of the Italian powers, and of contributions from Henry, he had disbursed the pay of his army,[1] but he still owed 570,000 ducats. The revenues of the Crown had been so much impaired by the rebellion in Spain during his absence, that he had no means of maintaining the war. In this perplexity he had summoned his nobles for aid to Toledo, but they had refused their consent to his leaving the kingdom until he was married to the Princess Mary. In compliance with their wishes, he had written to Henry that she might be sent to Spain with a dowry of 400,000 ducats,[2] and if the King would contribute 200,000 crowns besides for the expense of the war, the Emperor would provide the rest. Here the Chancellor paused. He wished to know what the ambassadors had to say to this proposal. To send the Princess to Spain at nine years old, with more than half a million of ducats, was to throw more than half a million of ducats away, besides what the Emperor had borrowed already, and leave her a hostage in the Emperor's hands, not for their repayment, but their repudiation. The English ambassadors stood aghast at the unparalleled effrontery of such a proposal. They replied calmly that these conditions were very strange and discrepant from the former treaties, especially the delivery of the Princess at so young an age, and her conveyance to such a hot climate. Her dowry, they reminded the Imperial councillors, was only to be paid by instalments after her marriage, and such sums deducted from it as the Emperor owed to the King. Instead of the King contributing money to the Emperor, the Emperor was bound before the personal

[1] A falsehood.

[2] The Emperor wrote to his ambassador in England to this effect on the 31st of May, and not before, as he stated. In fact that letter was the result of this conference, and embodied the substance of it. Whilst pretending to discuss, he had decided already. See Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 174.

invasion to repay the King 150,000 crowns he had borrowed at his last journey into Spain, in addition to the King's indemnity. For the King to advance 400,000 crowns to the Emperor, 200,000 crowns for the army in Italy, and to bear his own expenses besides, were terms wholly inadmissible. They could not believe that such proposals emanated from the Emperor.

A proposition so extravagant and so unreasonable was no more than a feint on the part of the Emperor. It was his object to make his demands as impracticable as possible, that the necessity of refusing them might furnish him with a pretext for evading his engagements. Notwithstanding all the anxiety he had expressed that Mary should be brought up in Spain, to learn the language and manners of the country;[1] notwithstanding the seeming interest with which he listened to the ambassadors when they descanted on "the manifold seeds of virtues that were in my lady Princess;"[2] notwithstanding her poor emerald love-token worn on his little finger;—he had no intention to marry her. Two days passed; on Monday, May the 29th, the Chancellor told them the Emperor was greatly perplexed, as he could obtain nothing from the King—neither my lady Princess nor her dowry. Might it not be as well if the Emperor with the King's consent should take another wife; not a French woman, though great offers had been made in that quarter, but such as had been "long before motioned, and a million of ducats offered for her dote?"[3] This was his mode of announcing his determination to marry Isabella of Portugal. It was a foregone conclusion. But the ambassadors had one consolation to offer. Whatever Henry intended to do this summer—and they might equally have

[1] IV. p. 612.

[2] Mary's precociousness is beyond dispute. In the March of this same year, the commissioners from the Low Countries went to pay their respects to Katharine and the Princess, when they again met the King, who in her presence sent all manner of compliments and affectionate regards to the Lady Margaret. With the Cardinal's permission and advice, they addressed the Princess in a short Latin speech; to which she replied in the same tongue, with all the ease and assurance imaginable. (Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 82.) Pretty well for a child only nine years old. The reader will do well to turn to a letter of Katharine to Mary, by which it appears that Mary was first taught Latin by her mother. She desires of the Princess, when her master has seen her letters, "that I may see it, for it shall be a great comfort to me to see you keep your Latin, and fair writing, and all." See III. p. 681. Less than six months later, the Venetian ambassador, in a private letter, speaks of her as "a rare personage, singularly accomplished, most particularly in music, playing on every instrument, especially on the lute and harpischord."—Ven. Cal., p. 471.

[3] IV. p. 614.

said the next—he would have to do it alone, for no help could be expected from the Emperor. Wrapped in the thickest and coarsest fleece of self-interest, it would be vain to appeal to him to take greater heed to his word, and fulfil his engagements. The King might do better, they thought, by keeping my lady Princess at home until she came of age, when *many* princes might hope for her hand, and this could not be if she were affianced to *one*. "By consenting to the Portuguese marriage," said they, "the King will defeat any scheme of Charles with Madame d'Alençon (whose husband was just dead), with whom great offers will assuredly be made. The Spaniards are anxious for the Emperor to marry, as his brother Fernando is not likely to have children, his wife being corpulent; but the Council do not talk of this. We certainly think," they said, "from the Chancellor's words, that the Emperor will not co-operate with the King in an invasion either this year or the next."[1] If Wolsey ever seriously contemplated the conquest of France, or the King still dreamt of a coronation at Paris, that dream was now dissipated. It is probable, however, that the thoughts of both were turned in an opposite direction.

[1] IV. p. 615.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LOAN.

War, real or pretended, involved the necessity of a loan. It offered the readiest means for recruiting an exhausted exchequer. The governments of Europe had outgrown the old fiscal arrangements of feudalism. Wars, conducted on a broader basis, and maintained by mercenary troops, at a great expense, outran at this time the ordinary means of mediæval kingdoms. Forced and precarious loans, unwillingly paid, and collected with difficulty, were a poor substitute for modern taxation; and no sovereign—unless, like Queen Elizabeth, he practised the utmost frugality, and studiously avoided war—could sustain the drain on his finances without having recourse to some extraordinary method for recruiting them. War was exclusively the King's affair. If his subjects were willing to contribute a portion of the expense, and reimburse him for his outlay, so much the better. If not, he had to endure the loss, and find the best remedy for it in his power. In England, at the time of which I am now speaking, no Parliament was sitting, and none was summoned; whether from the necessity of speedy action, or Wolsey's experience of the last Parliament, is uncertain. To provide for war, or even the appearance of it; to raise the expense necessary for the administration, without trenching too much on the King's personal extravagance, or alarming his avarice;—money must be found. There were no bankers to farm or anticipate the revenue. In this difficulty, Wolsey hit upon an expedient, if not absolutely new, yet one that had never been enforced during that generation.[1] This was an Amicable Loan; a project derived from the old feudal obligation of contributing aid to the King when he led an invasion in person. On this subject, Hall, the Chronicler, observes,[2] that "the Council remembering that it was determined that the King *in proper person* should pass the

[1] It had been adopted by Richard III. just forty years before.—Ed.
[2] IV. p. 694.

sea, they considered that above all things great treasure and plenty of money must needs be had in readiness. Wherefore by the Cardinal were devised strange commissions, and sent in the end of March to every shire, and commissioners appointed, which were the greatest men of every shire; and privy instructions sent to them to say (assay) and order the people; and the tenor was that the sixth part of every man's substance should without delay be paid, in money or plate, to the King, for the furniture of his war." In conformity with this resolution a commission was issued to the Cardinal as early as the 21st of March to treat with the city of London "for a subsidy for the French war, the King intending *a personal invasion*." [1]

The account of the Cardinal's interview with the mayor and corporation will be found in Hall.[2] Addressing them in a speech of considerable length, he concluded by saying, "Now I ask you this question, whether you think it convenient that the King should pass the sea with an army or not; for the King will do by the advice of his subjects." Many said, "Yes." "Well," said the Cardinal, "he must go like a prince, which cannot be without your aid." Then telling them how liberally the nobles and bishops had contributed, he proceeded in the following strain:—"Forsooth, Sirs, I think half your substance were too little for so noble a prince—not that he means to ask so much; for he demands only 3*s.* 4*d.* in the pound on 50*l.* and upwards, 2*s.* 8*d.* on 20*l.* and upwards, and 1*s.* in the pound on 20*s.* and upwards, and this upon your own valuation." A feeble voice from the hall urged, in the general consternation, as citizens would urge, that business had decayed. "Sirs," said the Cardinal, "speak not to break what is concluded, for some shall not pay even a tenth—and it were better that a few should suffer indigence than the King at this time should lack. Beware, therefore, and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case; otherwise it may fortune to cost some their heads." If the Chronicler has not exaggerated—a fault to which he is liable—it must be admitted that the Cardinal had a summary method of despatching business;—an art which has since been lost in the development of Parliamentary oratory. He eluded opposition by reserving all the action and most of the speaking to himself. The citizens grumbled and consented. "When this matter was opened through England," says Hall, "how the great men [3] took it was marvel; the poor

[1] See IV. 1199.
[2] IV. p. 697.
[3] The "great men" with Hall are the aldermen.

cursed, the rich repugned, the light wits railed; but in conclusion all people cursed the Cardinal and his co-adherents, as subvertors of the laws and liberty of England."

The prejudices of Hall are too violent for his statements to be implicitly accepted wherever the Cardinal is concerned. Yet it is no new thing in our history for Englishmen to desire war without additional expenditure;—fleets and effective armies without "amicable loans" or taxation of any kind. A war with France, as we have seen, was no part of Wolsey's policy; but he was opposed by a strong war party in the Council, of whom Norfolk and Suffolk were the leaders; and when the King's inclinations took the same direction, undisguised opposition was impossible. It is beyond dispute that the war was a favourite project with the King. The moment that he heard of the news of the capture of Francis, his face was radiant with delight. When the Flemish commissioners communicated the intelligence on the 9th of March, they found him in high spirits, expressing his joy in a manner that "no prince could do better." In the course of their conversation he remarked, "Now, is the time for the Emperor and myself to devise the means of getting full satisfaction from France. Not an hour is to be lost."[1] Certainly no minister of ordinary prudence would have entered on so romantic and hazardous an enterprise as the conquest of France, if left to his own discretion; least of all when no funds existed for the purpose, and he had to devise means that could not fail to render him unpopular. That was not Wolsey's policy; nor could he have been blind to the impracticability of such an undertaking, and the vast expense involved in it. But it was his misfortune to be regarded as the author and adviser of every measure that entered into the head of his master. The King's temper was daily growing more intractable. He was surrounded by favourites. Norfolk and Suffolk, Sir Francis Bryan and Sir Thomas Boleyn, attended him in his progresses and amusements, and so far from restraining his pleasures they encouraged his extravagance. All of them, with the exception, perhaps, of Boleyn, were in favour of war—especially a war with France. It was their main opening to profit and distinction, and certainly the only method by which they could hope to counteract the Cardinal's influence. Events were now marching at a rapid pace, if they had not arrived already, which were to make them more powerful with the King than

[1] Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 82.

ever. Whether, then, this "amicable loan" had its origin with the King or with Wolsey, or was devised by the latter to satisfy the King's desire of invasion, it can scarcely be considered as emanating from him alone.

But that people "cursed the Cardinal," and vented their anger upon him without much reflection, is unquestionable. In a letter to Wolsey from Archbishop Warham, one of the commissioners of Kent, we have clear indications of the popular feeling. He tells the Cardinal that it will be hard to raise the money required, as the late parliamentary grants were still in arrears. People complained, he said, that the late loan had not been repaid, nor would this be; that too much coin of the realm was already exported into Flanders; that France would only be enriched by the money spent there; and if the King conquered it, he would have to waste his time and his revenues in a foreign kingdom. They added, that all the sums already expended on the invasion of France had not gained the King a foot more land in it than his father had, "who lacked no riches or wisdom to have won that kingdom if he had thought it expedient."[1] In a subsequent letter, the Archbishop details the arguments he employed to persuade the people of his own county. The King trusted them most of his loving subjects, "forasmuch as his Grace was born in Kent." Their backwardness would have a bad effect upon others. If gentleness would not win them, they must leave their homes, and make their excuses to the Council; no idle or unmeaning threat, for to appear before the Council was more costly than paying the tax. Neither threats nor flattery availed. At one time they alleged "poverty, with weeping tears;" at another, "they spoke cursedly," saying they should never have rest from such payments as long as *some one* was living.[2]

They were encouraged in this dogged resolution by the clergy and religious orders. The Cardinal was employed at this time in suppressing some of the minor religious houses in Kent, Sussex, and Essex, for his great foundation at Oxford. The wisdom and grandeur of the scheme his contemporaries could not understand. Oppressed by debts and encumbrances of various kinds, the smaller religious houses had fallen into ruins, discipline was neglected, the inmates were poor and illiterate. Had the property of these religious foundations been diverted in time to the purpose of education, schools and

[1] April 5: IV. 1243. [2] IV. pp. 545, 555.

colleges would have been provided for all parts of England; but even the Reformers, who hated monastic institutions, hated Wolsey still more, and could not recognize in this act any better object than injustice and oppression. Monks and friars, detesting what he had done, or dreading what he might do, through his influence with the King and his legatine authority, set themselves actively to work to counteract his plans and hold them up to popular dislike; and writers since, who should have known better, have adopted unhesitatingly these popular prejudices.[1] The secular clergy, poor and depressed, felt strongly the burthen of the loan, and pleaded poverty, more justly than any other class. The Archbishop found, upon inquiry, that there was great untowardness among them "to make contributions of the third part of their goods," as they alleged they had already to pay the subsidy granted in the last Convocation. "If they paid this third part they asserted they would be utterly destitute; and if the King should now, and also in time to come, thus, by his Grace's letters missive, privy seals, and other ways, hereafter require aid of the spirituality, as oftentimes as it should please his Grace so to do, besides the grants of Convocation—to which they knowledge themselves to be bound—the Church and the clergy would at length be put to such impossible charges as they should least be able to bear, to the utter undoing and destruction of the same." They complained further that they would be no longer able to maintain hospitality, or support their fathers and mothers; that for the sixteen years of this reign they had on an average contributed an annual tenth, and the Church was never before so continually oppressed. If the laity refused, they had greater reason, they said, to refuse also.[2] As might be expected, the religious houses were not more compliant, "sorely grudging" at the suppression of their religious foundations. They absolutely refused to give any answer until they had communicated with their different convents.[3] The letter conveying this news is remarkable for one of its concluding sentences.

[1] See a remarkable instance of this in the correspondence between Warham and Wolsey, IV. p. 656. The Cardinal was desirous of converting the priory of Tunbridge into a school for the benefit of the inhabitants; but in order to do this in a manner agreeable to their wishes, he desired Warham to consult them on the project. Although not one of them, under other circumstances, would have cared the least for the priory, yet when the alternative was proposed to them, they rejected the school in favour of the priory. It is clear that Warham went with them.

[2] IV. 1267.

[3] IV. 1263: April 12, 1525.

In suggesting that it might be as well to proceed no further at present, the Archbishop adds, "*till this great matter of the King's grace be ended. . . . It hath been thought good policy in times past not to broach too many matters of displeasure at once.*" What was this great matter of the King's? What was it that seemed so likely to create displeasure?

"The amicable loan," as it was called, was differently received in different counties. In Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely it encountered a determined opposition. Three centuries have made very little change in the tone and style of popular grievances. Some pleaded losses by fire and cattle diseases; some complained that they had over-rated themselves at the former assessment, in order to advance their names and their credit; others, that men well off before now believed they would not be worth a groat when their debts were discharged. But at last, says the Bishop of Ely,[1] to whom we are indebted for these particulars, "by fair words and the rough handling of one or two," they were induced to yield, though with much dolour and lamentation, saying that they had no money, and would gladly sell their cattle and goods at half their value to obtain it. Still, as the time was pressing, the matter honourable, and the considerations pressed upon them weighty, they would do what they could to comply with the King's demands. "It would have made a man sorrowful," says the Bishop, "though he had a right hard heart, to hear their lamentation, not only of the poor, but of those who were thought rich. Those who were before valued at 100*l.* or 200*l.* cannot now make 20 nobles in ready money, and some scarcely 40*s.*" Coin and the precious metals in outlying districts had never been plentiful, and in the pressing demand now made for raising the loan, both were less easily obtained than ever. It was a difficulty the commissioners could not overcome.

In Norwich, where the Duke of Norfolk sate as the chief commissioner, less unwillingness was evinced at first. The citizens admitted that an immediate invasion of France would be very advantageous, but it was not possible for them to furnish the sums required. The prosperity of their city, they said, depended on worsted and thread-making, "wrought by the hands of many a thousand," who must be paid weekly in ready money, which could not be spared for other purposes. They offered their gilt-plate at 4*s.* the oz., parcel gilt at 4*s.* 8*d.*,

[1] Letter to Wolsey, April 19: IV. 1272.

and white plate at 3*s.* 4*d.*[1] A fortnight after the Duke was enabled to inform the Cardinal that he had met with so much success that all the people had consented to contribute, and no other parts of the county remained to be visited, except Lynn and Yarmouth, and one small hundred consisting of inhabitants assessed below 20*l.*[2] At the end of the month the Duke wrote again that he and the rest of the commissioners had taken such order that he thought the King would have good reason to be satisfied with the grant of that shire. He adds, however, that many had been put in hopes of being released from payment because it had been rumoured that the inhabitants of London and other places had refused their consent to the assessment. "News came yesterday that you (Wolsey) had spoken on Wednesday with the Mayor of London and forty others, promising they should pay no more than they themselves would grant; on which the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich trusted that the Duke would extend to them the same indulgence."[3]

It will be seen by these remarks that the King and his ministers had already been compelled to recede from their first demand, and make concessions. As the nature of these concessions has been misunderstood, and the King's proceedings generally misrepresented, it will be necessary to explain. The author of these misrepresentations, intentional or otherwise, was Hall the Chronicler. He states that when "the mischief" (meaning the popular discontent) was shown to the King, he remarked that he never knew of the demand, and therefore with great diligence sent his letters to the city of London and to all other places, in which he "gently wrote" that he would demand no sum certain, but such as his loving subjects would grant him of their good minds toward the maintenance of his wars. Hall then proceeds to describe how Wolsey on the 26th of April sent for the Mayor and Corporation of London to his place at Westminster, and after telling them how graciously the King had accepted their loving grant, added, "Then I kneeled down to his Grace, showing him both your good minds towards him, and also the charges you continually sustain, the which, at my desire and petition, was content to call in and abrogate the same commission." The Cardinal concluded by assuring them that the King would take nothing of them except a benevolence or free grant.[4]

[1] Norfolk to Wolsey, April 1: IV. 1235.
[2] IV. 1265.
[3] April 30: IV. 1295.
[4] Hall, p. 697.

It is evidently the purpose of the Chronicler to insinuate doubts of the Cardinal's veracity, and leave his readers to infer that the King had been deceived by his minister. The notion has been adopted, not merely by historians, but by the great dramatist. What use he has made of this passage is familiar to all. It has stamped itself on the minds of his readers as an indubitable proof of the vanity and hypocrisy of the Cardinal, and of the good nature of the King, who was easily deceived by his unworthy favourite. It was the fashion of the sixteenth century to exculpate the King at the expense of the Cardinal, and attribute every unpopular measure of his reign to his minister. His devotion to his master, for whom he sacrificed all, left him none to vindicate his memory.

For those who have studied the authentic materials of the times it is impossible to acquiesce in these misstatements. The King could not be ignorant either of this or any other important measure of his Privy Council. He had signed the commissions for the different counties, without which no commissioner would or could have acted, and therefore he could scarcely be ignorant of their contents. It was not his habit to trust his ministers implicitly, or register their decrees without examination. Such a notion is inconsistent with Henry's temper. At no time in his reign was he so completely governed by the Cardinal, as is often supposed. Quite the reverse. If the Tudors possessed one pre-eminent quality above all other sovereigns, it was their ability of seeing into the characters of the ministers they employed. If they had one fault in excess, it was their jealousy lest those ministers should become their masters; it was the ruthless insensibility with which they sacrificed those who had served them. Henry VIII. was no exception to this remark. He saw all despatches; he insisted on knowing the purport of every document which was laid before him. He exacted the most profound respect from all who approached him. In his palmiest days Wolsey no more forgot the deference due to his Sovereign, or ventured to overstep it, than the proudest noble would have ventured to issue orders in the King's name, or have used his royal authority without his express permission. The King had not withdrawn the commission in the sense of abandoning the loan, as Hall would lead his readers to suppose. He had not taken any such step to relieve the oppression of his subjects. Nor did Wolsey, as represented by Shakespeare, claim an interest with the commons for an

act of generosity of which he was not the real author. A letter from Warham to Wolsey[1] justifies the Cardinal's assertion of his intercession with the King on this occasion. "From the moderation concerning the temporalty, your Grace appears a very good mediator with the King for the commons; and they are more bound to you than they have wit to consider." Warham was not inclined to flatter; and his remark would have been wholly unfounded and glaringly false if that moderation had been due exclusively to the King and "his gentle letter," as Hall asserts; for Warham was a member of the Privy Council, and could not have been ignorant of the facts. He adds, as a warning historians might do well to consider, "The indiscreet multitude is easily moved by every light tale." But this is not the only instance where Wolsey had to bear the odium, and the King carried off the praise.

To put this matter in a clearer light. In the year 1523 Parliament had granted a loan to the King, to be raised by a property and income tax, assessed on a graduated scale. This loan was to be paid in four yearly instalments; and it may have been true, as stated by some of the malcontents,[2] "that they had over-rated themselves" at this assessment, "to advance their names and their credit."[3] The Cardinal and the Court party had employed their influence with the House of Commons to enhance the rate, and abridge the periods of payment. But without success. The King's exchequer—and it must be remembered that it was the *King's* and not the national exchequer—had been heavily burthened by the late war, by his loans to Charles V., and his own personal expenditure. There existed, happily, at that time, none of the modern expedients, real or pretended, for recruiting an exhausted exchequer, war alone excepted. To assemble Parliament and propose a fresh loan was out of the question, whilst the instalments of the former loan remained unpaid. What was to be done? Abandon all hopes of fresh taxation, or abandon all thoughts of continuing the war with France? That, as I have explained, was Wolsey's policy. But the King wished to have his exchequer replenished, and the sums he had advanced for the war repaid. For what purpose did a minister or a Privy Council exist, except to be useful?

In this perplexity the Cardinal seems to have fallen back upon the old feudal notion that when the sovereign went to

[1] May 12. IV. 1332. [2] Probably Hall himself. [3] Supra, p. 53.

war in person he had a claim upon the extraordinary aid and benevolence of his subjects. In his address to the Mayor and Corporation of London he had cleverly secured their assent to the proposition that it was "convenient that *the King* should pass the sea with an army;" if so, then for the honour of the nation, as Wolsey cogently insisted, he must "go like a prince." When so precious a life was put to the venture, what ought they to give who remained quietly at home, and enjoyed the glory and the profit without the hazard of the enterprise? Surely not less than half their substance; though the King was too considerate and kind to demand so much. So it was called an "amicable grant;" a free gift—the test of their love and loyalty.

In token of this affection for his subjects, Wolsey proceeded to urge, instead of assessing the contribution at the rate of the parliamentary loan, and demanding 4*s*., the King would ask no more than 3*s*. 4*d*. in the pound on incomes of 50*l*., diminishing the rate to 1*s*. in the pound on 20*s*. and upwards, to be taken at their own valuation; or rather at the rate of their previous assessment for the parliamentary grant. Thus Wolsey made it appear throughout that it was not the citizens but the King who was granting the favour. The better to induce the commons to comply, commissioners of rank and influence in their several counties were appointed to stir up the people's liberality. How they fared has been already described, and needs not to be repeated.

But finding how strong was the opposition to the grant in most of the counties, especially when its "amicable" character was lost by insisting on a fixed and rateable benevolence, the Cardinal, and no doubt the Council, induced the King to remit so much of the demand as required that all men should contribute in proportion to the parliamentary assessment. "I kneeled down to his Grace," he tells the Londoners, "and though by your own grants he might have demanded the money as a debt"—referring to their previous admission—"he is content to release and pardon the same, and will nothing take of you but of your benevolence."[1] It was not meant by this, as is often inferred, that the King withdrew his demand, and abandoned entirely all claim to the liberality of his subjects, still less that he had been kept in ignorance of Wolsey's proceedings. He only withdrew so much of it as insisted on a rateable contribution. A benevolence he still

[1] Hall, p. 698.

expected; and a benevolence Wolsey still endeavoured to obtain.

It was in this stage of the proceedings that the Cardinal assembled the Mayor and the Corporation a second time, on the 8th of May. But on pressing the benevolence he was met by an observation from one of the citizens, probably from Hall himself, that by the statute of Richard III. no such benevolence could be legally demanded. "Sir," retorted the Cardinal, "I marvel that you speak of Richard III., which was a usurper and a murtherer of his own nephews. Then of so evil a man, how can the acts be good? Make no such allegations; his acts be not honorable." His opponent was not so easily daunted. "An't please your Grace," he replied, "although he did evil, yet in his time were many good acts, made not by him only, but by the consent of the body of the whole realm, which is the Parliament." Finding that this alternative was no better received than the former, the Cardinal consented to withdraw it, leaving it to every man to come before him, and "grant privily what he would." As no man could be compelled to appear, and there was no punishment on his refusal, the whole project fell to the ground.

As the Londoners had escaped so easily, it was not to be expected that the poorer towns and shires of England would fail to take encouragement from their example. Further pressure became clearly impossible. In Lavenham, Sudbury, and other towns, insurrection was imminent, and menaces against the Cardinal's life were not uncommon. The malcontents increased so rapidly that they overawed the more compliant. The less refractory were afraid of being hewn in pieces if they showed the least disposition to comply with the demands of the commissioners.[1] Their numbers increased daily. Not only the shires of Suffolk and Essex, but the town and university of Cambridge, had combined, to the number of 20,000, to offer resistance;[2] whilst other counties, "looking out for a stir (rising)," were ready to follow the same bad example. In Lincolnshire the news of this resistance spread like wild-fire. An insurrection of the peasantry, similar to that which was then desolating Germany, seemed inevitable, when by the middle of the month of May the whole design was abandoned, and nothing remained except to punish the ringleaders of these unlawful assemblies.

Yet the people generally had not ventured even on this

[1] See IV. 1319, 1321.

[2] IV. 1323.

amount of resistance without great reluctance; and it is hard to say how much of their discontent was due to the bad management of the commissioners themselves. Some were evidently reluctant agents; others again were severe and haughty. In Kent Sir Thomas Boleyn was roughly handled.[1] In Suffolk, where the Duke had contrived to win over the rich clothiers, the working population, consisting of spinners, weavers, and other artizans, rose in a body, rung the alarm bell, and menaced the commissioners with death. In the neighbouring county, where the Duke of Norfolk had at first been successful, the commons assembled in a menacing attitude. On his sending to learn their intentions, "they only returned for answer they would live and die in the King's cause." When the Duke made his appearance there was a general hubbub of confused voices. "Then he asked who was their captain, and bade that he should speak. Then a well-aged man, of fifty years and above, asked licence of the Duke to speak, which was granted with good will. 'My Lord,' said this man, whose name was John Grene, 'Sith you ask who is our captain, forsooth, his name is Poverty; for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing; for all these persons, and many more, which I would were not here, live not of ourselves; but all we live by the substantial occupiers of this county, and yet they give us so little wages for our workmanship that scarcely we be able to live; and thus in penury we pass the time, we, our wives, and children; and if they, by whom we live, be brought in that case that they of their little cannot help us to earn our living, then must we perish and die miserably. I speak this, my Lord: the cloth-makers have put all these people, and a far greater number, from work. The husbandmen have put away their servants, and given up household; they say the King asketh so much that they be not able to do as they have done before this time, and then of necessity must we die wretchedly.' The Duke was sorry to hear their complaint, and well he knew that it was true. Then he said, 'Neighbours' (the Duke, be it remembered, was premier duke of England, and the victor at Flodden), 'sever yourselves asunder. Let every man depart to his home, and choose four that shall answer for the remnant; and on my honor' (he spoke as a peer) 'I will send to the King and make humble intercession for your pardon; which I trust to obtain, so that you will depart.'

[1] Hall, 699.

Then all answered they would, and so they departed home."[1] The story, which there is no reason to discredit, is curious, as showing the poetical and melancholy temperament of the East Anglian, as compared with the sturdier and more prosaic element of the Southern Saxon.

"After this," says Hall, "the two Dukes came to London, and brought with them the chief captains of the rebellion, which were put in the Fleet; and then the King came to Westminster to the Cardinal's place; where upon this matter he assembled a great council, and openly said that his mind was never to ask anything of his commons which might sound to his dishonor, or to the breach of his laws; wherefore he would know of whom it was long that the commissioners were so straight to demand the sixth part of every man's substance. The Cardinal excused himself, and said that when it was moved in Council how to make the King rich, the King's Council, and especially the Judges, said he might demand any sum by commission; and that by the assent of the whole Council it was done; and took God to witness that he never maligned or desired the hindrance of the commons, but, like a true councillor, desired to enrich the King; and the spiritual men said that it standeth with God's law, for Joseph caused the king of Egypt to take the fifth part of every man's goods; *but because every man layeth the burthen from him, I am content to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noise of the people, for my good will toward the King, and comfort of you my Lords and other the King's councillors; but the eternal God knoweth all.*"[2]

Though these remarkable words seem to have dropped almost inadvertently from the Chronicler's pen, and have attracted no attention, they exhibit an important trait in Wolsey's character, which should not be overlooked. That the Cardinal meant it to be inferred that this proposal for an "amicable grant" had not originated with himself is clear. And of this there can be little doubt; for, certainly, it formed no part of his policy. He had no wish for a war with France; for, to counteract the Emperor's designs, he was at that moment secretly and cautiously feeling his way to an alliance with that kingdom. But on this, as on other occasions, he was willing to assume the responsibility of measures inaugurated by others, whether by the King himself or his Council, disregarding the popular odium which they were more fearful

[1] Hall, 700. [2] Hall's Chron., p. 700.

of incurring. He had that sense of ministerial obligation, now happily grown into an axiom, that no member of a cabinet has a right to save his own reputation at the expense of his colleagues. His acts are their acts, their acts are his.

The King withdrew the commission, and sent letters of pardon into every shire where the commissioners had encountered opposition. But he never forgot this rebuff—the first he had experienced since the commencement of his reign—especially from the spiritual men, who had distinguished themselves by their hostility to the loan, and had set an example of independence to the laity. It rankled in his mind long after, and betrayed itself on more than one occasion. "Now, here is an end," to use Hall's words,[1] "of this commission, but not an end of inward grudge and hatred that the commons bore to the Cardinal, and to all gentlemen which vehemently set forth that commission and demand."

[1] Hall's Chron., p. 702.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TREATY OF MADRID.

THE Cardinal was now at liberty to pursue his own policy without interruption. Probably he regarded the ill success of the "amicable grant" rather as an advantage than otherwise; for it stopped the mouths of those members of the Council who were anxious for war, and it crushed all their hopes of annexing France. If any portion of the King's rights, or, as they were then called, of his ancient hereditary dominions in that kingdom, were to be recovered, that might be possible to policy which was not possible to force. More might be wrung from the friendship and necessities than from the enmity of Francis. For that friendship he might be willing to part with one or more of his provinces in order to keep the rest, and avoid the necessity of ceding Burgundy on which the Emperor had set his heart. Charles was now busily and furtively employed in advancing his own projects. He had no intention of continuing the war, even if he had possessed the means. His offer of a joint invasion was nothing more than a feint intended to terrify the French, and compel Louise, now invested with the regency, to listen more readily to his proposals. Lady Margaret, the Emperor's aunt, understood his policy perfectly. She sent commissioners into England, instructed to keep the King and the Cardinal amused, partly to gain time, partly to prevent any negociations with France, or interference on the part of England with the bargain the Emperor was hoping to make in his own behalf. Exhorting Henry to arm, maintaining as much as possible the King's friendship, entering with apparent zeal into all his plans,—they were strictly commanded to conclude nothing.[1] How well they fulfilled their instructions—how closely they were pressed by the Cardinal, who immediately divined their inten-

[1] See IV. 1257; and the Emperor to De Praet, March 26, in Gayangos' Span. Cal. Also p. 111, ibid.

tions, may be seen in their correspondence published in the Spanish Calendar of Don Pascual Gayangos.[1]

As the Emperor's hopes of accommodation with his prisoner rose or fell, he temporized accordingly. He had committed the direction of these negociations with England to his aunt in the Netherlands, reserving to himself the right of accepting or rejecting any arrangements she might make, as best comported with his interests. Evidently he had promised himself an easy victory. Francis a prisoner in his hands, England lulled in secure repose by the charm of his diplomacy, none but a feeble woman left to manage negociations and a troubled kingdom, what was there to limit or hinder his ambition?

No one could question the intense affection of Louise for her son, or her willingness to make any sacrifice to procure his liberation. France was plunged into great disorder. The nobles were disunited. The people, worn out with heavy imposts, and exposed to the misery of a bad harvest, were wholly disheartened.[2] Yet, more resolute than her son, more inflexible than her people, nothing could induce Louise to comply with the Emperor's exorbitant demands. "I cannot see how any peace can be negociated here" (at Lyons), writes Beaurain, who presented her the Emperor's letters, "for they are braver than ever." "As yet," he adds, "the French show no intention of offering anything except their King's ransom, which is *not our chief object*." He urges, therefore, that though Lady Margaret had received instructions from the Emperor to come to no decision, she should now cultivate more eagerly the friendship of England, and urge them to invade. The sooner the better.[3] The Emperor was disappointed when he least expected it. His language changed with the situation; and Fitzwilliam, in his intercourse with Margaret, found that she spake "more firmly" (resolutely)

[1] It is clear that the commissioners themselves suspected that Wolsey saw through their design. Not only did he give them to understand that England had received favourable offers for a league with the Pope, but in course of his conversation with them he repeated the phrase more than once, "*Messieurs les Commissaires, pensez y bien*," which puzzled them exceedingly. At the conclusion of a conference held on the 31st of March, he insisted that Madame should punish De Praet for an example to others, subjoining, "I will speak to the King, who will, perhaps, not allow him to leave the country without putting him here on his trial," which words threw them into the greatest confusion. Such a step would have been little short of a defiance of the Emperor.—See Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 112.

[2] See IV. 1364.

[3] April 10, IV. 1256. Compare No. 1290.

than she had done for a long time in favour of a joint invasion. "He was unable to guess the reason, still less to reconcile her uncertain and contradictory assertions."[1]

Meanwhile, Wolsey had not scrupled to tell the Imperial Commissioners to their faces that he had guessed their intentions. The undisguised frankness of his remarks served better to deceive them than the most subtle artifice. He knew well, he said, that the object of their negociations was merely to gain time, and obtain more favourable terms from their royal prisoner.[2] With the most off-hand candour he made no difficulty in telling them, "I know full well that we shall never get any assistance from you; but we shall do our best, either by an alliance with the Turk (the Emperor's worst enemy), or by making peace with the French, and giving the princess Mary to the Dauphin, or by otherwise declaring against the Emperor."[3] He added, half in banter, half in earnest, that if his master once joined the league in Italy, it would be an easy matter to eject the Imperialists out of the Peninsula. To men accustomed to hear the Emperor and his power spoken of with bated breath, such audacity appeared incredible. To their unfeigned chagrin and astonishment, he was in possession of all their secrets. Through some unknown channel—probably from Joachim himself,[4] who had been dismissed from England on the 21st of March—he had learned more exactly than the commissioners themselves the state of the negociations between Charles and his prisoner. When he asked them what the Emperor was doing, and they answered, "Nothing," "I know better," replied he boldly, and then to their discomfiture repeated to them in detail the chief points of Beaurain's instructions for negociating a marriage with Francis, and another for the Emperor.[5] Prepared at all points, it was impossible to take him at disadvantage. Whilst the Cardinal was deluding them with the belief that he was eagerly bent on war, and flattered them in their persuasion that they had succeeded in diverting his attention from their real designs, he was himself turning upon them their own devices. Already he had opened negociations with the French King's mother. Early in June the irrepressible John Joachim once more made his appearance in London.[6]

[1] IV. p. 583.

[2] See Gayangos, p. 131, April 20. See also IV. p. 134.

[3] Ibid., p. 134.

[4] That Joachim kept up a correspondence with Larke, may be inferred from his letter in IV. p. 539.

[5] Gayangos, p. 164.

[6] His credence from Louise is dated June 7. See IV. 1389. How

Such an apparition was far from welcome to the Emperor's commissioners. It boded no good to the Emperor's interests. "The day before yesterday" (22nd of June), writes La Sauch to the Emperor, "was the anniversary of Jean Jockin's arrival in London. That only shows how time passes, especially in journeys; and one may guess who is the cause of all this" (Wolsey). This wily, cautious, noiseless intriguer had always been the *bête noire* of the Imperialists. More than once he had spoiled their game at the moment they imagined themselves sure of success. Again and again had Charles protested against his presence in England, and charged his ambassadors to insist on his dismissal. He was only dismissed to reappear again at the first opportunity that offered of urging the French King's interest. His confidential communications with Louise augured ill for the Emperor's projects. What was worse, Charles could make no proposals to Francis, nor sacrifice the interests of his English ally, without an uneasy suspicion that his secrets were betrayed. He and Madame Margaret, his aunt, had used their utmost skill to keep Henry in the dark as to the Emperor's intentions in regard to his prisoner; and now there was not only the danger that all those intentions would be made known to England, but they would be set in a light as little favourable as possible to the Emperor's credit.

On the day when Joachim's arrival became known, La Sauch, the chief of the Imperial commissioners, accosted Brian Tuke, the Cardinal's confidential secretary, first, however, waiting to see if Tuke would introduce the subject. "Well, what news of the sieur Jean Joakin? What has he to say for himself?" La Sauch inquired with affected indifference. "True, I forgot," answered Tuke, "to inform you of his arrival; but I will tell you all I know. Joakin called on the Legate, and delivered his message from the Queen Regent of France. When he had finished, the Legate asked him, 'Have you anything more to say?' 'No,' replied Joakin. 'Well, then,' said the Legate, 'you may return to-morrow the same way as you came. I have no more to say to you. Go.' 'But,' added Tuke, as if warning his in-

long secret negociations had been going on with the Regent before that date cannot be determined. Doubtless some considerable time. Immediately after the battle of Pavia, Ghiberto, the Papal datary, had strongly urged the French court to make terms with England without delay. To lull the Emperor's suspicions, it was given out that the Datary had entirely withdrawn from politics. See No. 1467.

terrogator not to trust too implicitly to this assurance, 'people who come on such missions don't generally disclose at their first audience the whole of their charge, and so I cannot say whether he will leave the next day, or whether he will not.'"[1] Diplomatists of the 16th century understood perfectly well the worth of such oracular responses. "I firmly believe," says the disconsolate ambassador, writing shortly after to his master, Charles V., "that the King and the Cardinal will make peace with the common enemy (the French), without securing for themselves a large or a little slice (*pieche ni piechette*), rather than prosecute a war requiring so great an expenditure, and for which they are not prepared. Money they have none; and as to getting it from the people, the expedient has been tried, and has not succeeded."[2] His mortification was pardonable; but when he attributed the backwardness of England to the want of money, he seems to have forgotten that less than a fortnight before he and his fellow-commissioners had preferred the modest request that Henry should lend their master 600,000 ducats—200,000 at once, and 400,000 more in four months.[3] He was right in his supposition that England would make peace with "the common enemy,"—whether to so little advantage as he anticipated, remains to be seen.

The commission to Joachim and the Chancellor of Alençon (Brinon) to treat for peace with Henry VIII. is dated the 9th of June.[4] But it is clear that negociations must already have taken place as to the terms upon which the treaty should proceed.[5] The King—and clearly the King quite as much as Wolsey now desired this alliance, out of some displeasure he had conceived for the Emperor[6]—had at first demanded Boulogne as the price of his friendship. The demand was met with an absolute refusal, and he consented to waive that

[1] Gayangos, p. 208.
[2] Ibid., p. 212.
[3] Ibid., p. 192.
[4] IV. 1398.
[5] Thus the Datary writes to the Bishop of Bayeux: "I beseech you do what I wrote to you the other day. More and more I see how necessary it is to use diligence. We have since received advices from England of the 14th ult. (June), which show their minds over there, and especially that of the Cardinal of York, to be, I do not say inclined to, but ardent for an arrangement with France. Write, therefore, and tell the French to conclude the league, and not endeavour, on account of the good inclinations of England, to stretch their own advantages too far." July 8, IV. 1474 and 1457.
[6] See Clerk's letter to Wolsey, IV. 1493. Wolsey also stated to Brinon and Joachim that "the King had found the Spaniards the most ungrateful nation in their prosperity, and was anxious to do what was agreeable to France." See p. 686.

claim in consideration of a large sum of money.[1] Though we have no details of the negociations, they must have advanced with a rapidity as great as their secresy; for Sanga, the Pope's confidant, had, before the end of June, informed the Bishop of Bayeux that the agreement with France was already on the point of conclusion, although, in order the better to dissemble the matter, Wolsey pretended that the negociations had been interrupted.[2] Unconscious of what was going on, the Imperial commissioners remained still in England, flattering themselves, and flattering Wolsey, "that everything would come right in time;"[3]—listening to his pathetic remonstrances that he should ever be accused of speaking ill of the Emperor; believing, or professing to believe, that the Cardinal was deeply affected by his inability to regain his good-will and affection.[4] On the 7th of July Wolsey went so far as to write to the Emperor, expressing his deep affliction and regret that the malicious reports of his enemies had supplanted him in the Emperor's favour; concluding with an assurance that he loved the Emperor, and was more ready to serve him than any other prince in Christendom, the King, his master, only excepted.[5]

It was not until the 3rd of July that Henry communicated the news to his ambassadors in the Imperial court.[6] Joachim, he said, had brought propositions of peace from France; and as the Emperor had confessed his inability to continue the war, the King was inclined to accept them. In furtherance of an object so desirable, he was willing to mitigate his demands, and content himself with such lands and sums of money as could be obtained from the French King by the Emperor's mediation. Charles listened to these communications with apparent calmness, contenting himself with observing that Joachim's intentions were delusive, and suggesting that it would be better to send them for further consideration to the Imperial court. As he had fully resolved to abandon his marriage contract with Mary, and believed that so long as he held Francis in captivity all arrangements would be at his own disposal, he had no wish to complicate matters. Even if

[1] Ven. Cal., p. 454.

[2] IV. 1522. The terms of the treaty may be seen at p. 684. The most important conditions, on which Wolsey would listen to no abatement, were a sum of two millions of gold crowns in lieu of territory, 500,000 cr. in ready money, and 100,000 cr. a year. It was also arranged that Mary should be married to the Dauphin.—Ven. Cal., p. 458.

[3] Gayangos, p. 222.

[4] Ibid., p. 221.

[5] Ibid., p. 227.

[6] IV. 1557.

he had, such was the state of his finances, and the unsettled condition of Italy, that he could only bow to necessity. A million of gold crowns with his future empress, Isabella of Portugal, would more effectually extricate him from his difficulties than to engage in useless struggles with England, and equally useless remonstrances. But the possession of the French King's person was more a specious than a real advantage. It armed against him all the powers of Italy. It awakened the suspicions of England. It revived in their full vigour the mutual rivalries of his generals, which had been suspended for a time before the walls of Pavia. He had promised his sister Eleanor, ex-queen of Portugal, to Bourbon, well aware, even if she had been willing to consent, that his subjects would never have tolerated her union with an exile and a Frenchman, or have seen him advanced over the heads of the native Spanish nobility. Ostensibly he had demanded that Bourbon should be restored to his estates and his honours. He had even gone so far as to talk of erecting Provence and Languedoc into an independent principality for Bourbon. But in proportion as he pressed the claims of others, he invalidated his own; and so resolute had Francis and his mother shown themselves from the first in resisting any attempt at the dismemberment of France, that his only hope of wringing the cession of Burgundy from the necessities of his prisoner, was to abandon the claims of others, and confine himself exclusively to his own. Henceforth this became the sole object of his thoughts. But this new conjunction of France and England, which, in common with his ministers, he attributed to the machinations of Wolsey, was a sore obstacle to his designs. The alliance between the two Crowns, already completed before it was communicated to the Emperor —formally signed, sealed, and delivered on the 30th of August[1] —was blazoned immediately over Europe. Every state that had been wavering or hostile before, was confirmed in its hostility to Charles. The French King and his mother, never inclined to yield to the exorbitant demands of the Emperor, were now more than ever confirmed in their intentions to resist. A circumstance, however, occurred at this time to shake their resolution.

Two obstacles stood in the way of the new alliance. One was the impossibility of obtaining any ratification from Francis, who had now been carried to Spain, and to whom all access

[1] IV. 1617.

was denied; the other was the difficulty of procuring a sufficient guarantee for the fulfilment of any conditions that might be agreed upon. It was even doubtful how far Louise could legally negociate whilst her son was in captivity; or how far any peace could be binding whilst Francis was in the Emperor's power.[1] It had been proposed that certain towns should become security for due fulfilment of the terms.[2] The proposal was unpopular. Paris had not yet spoken, but in the other Parliaments throughout the kingdom violent altercations arose. "The said Parliaments," says an unknown correspondent,[3] "expected the Three Estates of the realm to have been assembled; which the Regent has hindered as much as she could; for if they had met she would have been deposed; for all wise men think that as a woman cannot inherit the crown, neither ought she to rule . . . She has imposed 1,200,000 livres of additional taxes." He adds, as a curious illustration of the state of the times, "Eight or ten days ago, three men, clothed in black robes, and with green *chaperons* over their shoulders, and horns slung from their necks, like postmen, passed through the streets of Paris by different routes, and met in the court of the palace. Sounding their horns they cried aloud three times, '*The King of Fools is dead. His dolt (sotte) of a mother is mourning for him. Wise men (les saiges) don't dare mention it; fools only make it known.*' Then, scattering papers among the crowd containing these words, they disappeared by different routes."

The imprisonment of Francis, to any nation of less elasticity and less recuperative energy than the French, would have occasioned inextricable confusion and perplexity. The prevalence of communistic notions, intimately connected with the progress of the Reformation, was beginning to be everywhere felt and feared.[4] In various parts of Germany the maintainers of these tenets had been able to hold their own against all opposition. In Flanders they were kept in check by the vigorous measures of the Lady Margaret. How soon

[1] See IV. p. 700.

[2] IV. 1531.

[3] IV. 1635. See also 1365, 1759, and 1830.

[4] In the 24 articles which "the people of Almain desire to have reformed," and to "obtain which 180,000 men have already risen," among other articles identical with those of the Lutheran Reformation, are the following:—"That all persons may dwell where they please, without paying toll to the lord: That no one be allowed to engross corn, or cause dearth for his own profit: That the rich help the poor, without taking any lucre or gain from them: That such as be unable to gain their living, be supplied with what they need." IV. 1560.

they might have appeared in England, had the King persisted in the "amicable grant," and turned the commons against the gentry, it is impossible to decide. But it would be wrong to suppose that they were unknown here, or regarded with little interest. In France, the absence of the King was a signal for all the elements of discontent to rise to the surface, or at least for the *communes* to strike a blow for independence. If these attempts did not succeed, it was owing to the loyalty of the French nobility, who rallied loyally round Louise, notwithstanding their hatred of the Chancellor Du Prat, and sacrificed their resentment and their ambition to their patriotism. The impossibility of holding any communication with the captive monarch, the uncertainty as to his health and the Emperor's intentions would have paralyzed less vigorous counsels. On his capture at Pavia Francis was taken under a strong escort to the fort of Pizzighettone. To ordinary observers he had not abated a jot of his good spirits, joking with his guard, and rallying those about him.[1] But a writer, evidently friendly to the unfortunate monarch, gives a different and more veracious account of his real feelings. He contrived to gain admittance to the King, and even accompany him to the chapel of the fortress, notwithstanding the jealousy of his captors. The King wore an ash-coloured dress, trimmed with marten skins of little value (it was the month of March), which he had not changed since he was taken prisoner. He stood up at the Gospel, pensively rubbing his head with his right hand. After mass the writer managed to speak with him privately, when the captive monarch inquired eagerly after Albany and others. "I told the King," he continues, "that all was lost; at which he was much moved, saying nothing else was to be expected. I added the words, '*I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.*' Nothing more was said. After breakfast I asked him if he had any message for the Pope. He answered, '*Non altro; raccomandatemi a N. S. La fortuna,*'—and, turning away abruptly to the wall," took no further notice of what was passing.[2]

On the 17th of May the Viceroy carried off his prisoner to Genoa.[3] It was at first intended to take him to Naples, but on the 8th of June the Viceroy changed his plan, and resolved to proceed at once into Spain; much to the dissatisfaction

[1] See IV. p. 533.

[2] IV. 1219.

[3] IV. 1339, 1357.

of Bourbon.[1] Between Bourbon and the Viceroy there never had been any real cordiality. There never could be. Besides the differences of nationality, the Spaniard regarded with jealousy the favours which, as he supposed, the Emperor lavished on the French exile;—favours to be augmented still more by a marriage with the Emperor's sister. It was probably this feeling that had induced the Viceroy, before the battle of Pavia, to recommend to Charles the advantages of peace,—possibly also to exaggerate the difficulties of maintaining the campaign. The great victory at Pavia—the merit of which was mainly attributed to Bourbon—had not contributed to diminish Lannoy's jealousy of a foreign rival, whom he was resolved, if possible, to disappoint or supplant. All these causes concurred in making the Viceroy more favourable to Francis, and more lenient in the treatment of his prisoner. It is probable, also, that the Viceroy was the first to put the notion into the King's head of becoming a suitor for the hand of the Emperor's sister; so facilitating the terms of his own release, and punishing the man who had been the chief author of his misfortunes. Bourbon's offences, come what might, Francis had resolved never to pardon. Even before his arrival in Spain, it is certain that Lannoy had forwarded a love-letter from his prisoner to the widowed Queen of Portugal,—an extraordinary act of audacity, which Charles thought needful to rebuke, but never to punish. There is no ground for the popular notion that Francis was treated with unnecessary severity. Even the Emperor must have been aware that he had to hope from the accommodating temper of his prisoner more liberal terms in proportion to the mildness of his captivity.

Starting from Villa Franca[2] on the 11th of June, the fleet with the royal prisoner on board reached Palamos, in Catalonia, about the 17th of the same month.[3] By the 22nd the convoy had already arrived at Barcelona,[4] which appears to have been reached two or three days before. Here the King suffered from a slight attack of fever. At Barcelona—for the main fleet was now dismissed—he embarked on a galley for Tarragona. At Tarragona 500 of the Spaniards broke out into a mutiny against the Viceroy; and Francis, looking out of the window of the castle where he was confined, to discover the

[1] See his letter, IV. 1405, and 1439.
[2] Ven. Cal. sub. dat.
[3] See IV. p. 636.
[4] Captiv., p. 221.

reason of the noise, narrowly escaped from the shot of a harquebus, which passed within a hand's breadth over his head.[1] Here or in the immediate neighbourhood he remained until the 26th, and then sailed to Valencia. He was still at Valencia on the 28th. Wherever he touched he was received with a kind of ovation, as if he had been a conqueror rather than a prisoner. The municipality turned out to do him honour; the populace flocked about him, not only touched by his misfortunes and the celebrity of his name, but persuaded of his prerogative to cure "the king's evil." "In Barcelona, in Valencia, and other places of Spain where the King has arrived," write the French ambassadors,[2] "so vast is the number of the sick and the scrofulous who have been presented to the King for the touch, with great expectation of being cured, that never even in France were such crowds seen." Every one was exuberant in his praises. The graciousness of his manners raised up friends for him wherever he passed; and prayers were offered for his delivery. With all his vices he was the most popular monarch in Christendom, and possessed an inexplicable fascination of manner which even his enemies could not resist. In the very heart of Spain—in Madrid itself—the effect was the same. "The king of France," says the Venetian, Navagero,[3] "is at Madrid, and is expected to remain there until affairs are concluded. He makes himself so popular, and is so courteous, gracious, and generous, that words cannot exceed it. The Spaniards, who are not accustomed to such treatment, love and adore him,—more, perhaps, than some people (meaning the Emperor) would wish. Nothing else is talked of. Were he brought to Spain again, he would come in a different fashion, for he has so moved the hearts of all men, that what is said about him by the Spaniards is only too extravagant."

So great was the throng at Valencia that he was obliged to retire to some distance in the neighbourhood.[4] "The French king," writes Tunstal on the 8th of July,[5] "is now in the castle of Cabanillios,[6] in Valencia, there to tarry three

[1] Ven. Cal., July 4. Captiv., p. 236.

[2] Captiv., p. 253. Cf. p. 221.

[3] Aug. 30: Ven. Cal., p. 475.

[4] Captiv., p. 236.

[5] IV. p. 662.

[6] This seems to be the same place as Chativa (Xativa); for he writes, the next day, that the day before he had a conference with the Emperor's Council, in which they asked his advice, whether it would not be better to move the French king from Valencia to Castile, as being more inland, and because the castle of Chativa in Valencia is not honorable for him, being used only for malefactors and traitors." IV. p. 663.

or four days, unto he had taken a purgation, because he was grieved by travel by sea." Here he was visited by De Selve, the president of Paris, on Wednesday, the 15th of July,[1] and left that neighbourhood on the 20th.[2] On the 5th of August he was at Santorias; and Monday after, the 7th, at Jean de Lotera, on the road from Valencia to Madrid. He was expected in the latter place on the 12th,[3] having arrived already at Guadalaxara, "a place belonging to the duke del Infantado, one of the principal grandees of Spain." The Duke invited him to a sumptuous banquet, and had games performed in his honour.[4] On the 14th he had reached Madrid, accompanied on his road by the Infantado and others of the Spanish nobility.[5]

Already in the first week of July, Francis had despatched Montmorenci to the Emperor to express the desire he had of kissing his Imperial hands, and the entire confidence reposed by the King in the Emperor's goodness and magnanimity. He requested at the same time a safe-conduct for his sister, Madame d'Alençon, to conduct the negociations in person.[6] Though the last request was granted without any difficulty, Marguerite's safe-conduct was not signed until the 25th of August.[7] Such a favourable opportunity of making credit out of a very small capital was not to be lost; and as no danger was to be apprehended, the tenor of these overtures was immediately communicated by Charles to the English ambassadors. They were informed at their interview with the Emperor that Francis had proposed, among other things, for the hand of Eleanor (nothing of the kind appears in Montmorenci's instructions), but his proposal had been unceremoniously rejected, as she had been promised already to Bourbon. "We told him," says Tunstal, "that such a match was worth not only one captivity, but twice to be taken prisoner, as Francis would gain more by it than if he had been at liberty." Of the safe-conduct for the Duchess of Alençon they heard with ill-concealed alarm. She was a widow who had just lost her husband—a French widow, besides, of great

[1] IV. p. 663. [See his letter, Captiv., 255.

[2] Captiv., 263.

[3] Ven. Cal., 470.

[4] Ibid. "The king of France," says Navagero, writing the 12th of August, "is to arrive at Madrid to-day, and will remain there. . . . He bears his prison admirably, and in all places through which he passes is so well greeted by reason of his affability and courtesy, that he is well-nigh adored in this country." Ven. Cal., p. 470.

[5] See IV. 1569. Captiv., 305.

[6] Captiv., p. 241.

[7] See IV. 1583–4.

personal attractions and more than ordinary abilities. Like her mother, Louise, she was devotedly attached to her brother, for whose liberation she was prepared to make any sacrifice. For a lady negociator to be mixed up in grave political transactions, appeared to our serious countrymen a perilous and portentous proceeding—they knew nothing of the progress of negociations in England. It could be no less than a dire plot "to wowe (woo) the Emperor for herself, and the Queen Dowager for her brother."[1] When, therefore, the plain question was put to them, "Shall the Emperor grant or deny the request?" the point appeared too knotty for immediate resolution. They demanded time for deliberation. Next morning they gave in their answer—that the Duchess would only hinder the Emperor's profit, and comfort her brother in his obstinacy. "Besides being young and a widow, she comes, as Ovid says of women going to see a play, to see and to be seen, that perhaps the Emperor may like her; and also to woo the queen-dowager of Portugal for her brother, which no one else dares do without the Emperor's knowledge. Then, as they are both young widows, she shall find good commodity in cackling with her to advance her brother's matter; and if she finds her inclined thereto, they will help each other."[2]

As the Emperor had already made up his mind, he turned a deaf ear to their remonstrances, regardless of the warnings of Ovid. Though delays are proverbially dangerous, he had hopes that by procrastination, or at least by prolonging the captivity of Francis, he should eventually gain his end. Procrastination was his habit; and he had found it useful on more than one occasion. He had fixed his heart on the absolute surrender of Burgundy, and to this Francis would never yield an unconditional consent. Charles knew the effect of stringent durance in a gloomy tower upon a spirit however lively; or he thought he knew it. He was aware of the grief of Louise, and her profound affection for her son; and he was too well acquainted with what was passing in France not to be conscious that the King's presence would shortly be required to stay the disaffection and disorders gaining a formidable head by his absence. On the 21st of August, Navagero writes,[3] "The Emperor is determined not to have peace without the cession of Burgundy." As this was not to be had, still less

[1] IV. p. 663.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ven. Cal., p. 473. Navagero was at Toledo, all the time, with the Emperor.

after the peace of England with France, there was nothing to be done, except to wait for the coming of the Duchess.[1]

Margaret had started already from Aigues Mortes for Valencia, but before she could reach Madrid Francis had nearly slipped away from the hands of those who hated and of those who loved him, and left them to play out the play by themselves. In his written communications with Francis the Emperor had shown himself friendly and courteous. On more than one occasion he had expressed the satisfaction he felt at the King's approaching visit to Madrid, hoping, as he said, that such a step would lead to a perfect understanding between them, and end in a speedy release. He had even written to his brother, the Archduke, to say that he and the King were on most friendly terms.[2] But the moment that Francis set foot in Madrid, he dropped all communications, and resolutely refused to see him. "The King," writes Navagero on the 30th of August, "bears his imprisonment quietly, but is much disappointed. He expected, immediately on arriving in Spain, to have an interview with the Emperor, and arrange his affairs easily. Therefore he requested to be brought here; but, so far as can be seen hitherto, the Emperor does not choose to visit him until the affairs are concluded."[3] A month had passed away, and Charles showed no signs of relenting. Hitherto Francis had enjoyed excellent health. Now disappointment, and the stricter confinement to which he was subjected at Madrid, preyed on his spirits. On the 11th of September he was struck down by a fever attended with ague. The disease rapidly gained ground, and his life was despaired of. "During the last few days," writes the Venetian envoy, Navagero, to the Signory,"[4] "the king of France became much worse, so that the Viceroy and physicians in attendance sent an express to the Emperor, stating that they did not expect him to live more than a few hours, and if he wished to see the King alive he must come immediately. The Emperor had already quitted Segovia, and received the intelligence some six leagues from Madrid, to which place he hastened immediately. On his arrival he found the King dozing, and, not choosing to have him roused, waited until he woke. He then entered the chamber, and was announced to the King. As the Emperor

[1] IV. pp. 697, 741.
[2] IV. 1453.
[3] Ven. Cal., p. 475. See also IV. p. 700.
[4] Sept. 21, Ven. Cal., p. 481. Navagero says he heard these particulars from those who were present at the interview.

approached the bed, Francis endeavoured to raise himself up as well as he could; and, embracing his Imperial visitor, said in French, 'Emperor, my lord, here am I, thy servant and thy slave.' The Emperor replied, 'Not so; you are my good friend and my brother, and I hope you will continue to be so." He then begged Francis to be cheerful, and to think of nothing but his recovery, adding that on the arrival of the duchess of Alençon peace would be made; for he required nothing more than what was equitable, and he supposed that the King on his part would not fail to do what was right, and would therefore soon regain his liberty. To this Francis replied, 'It was for the Emperor to command, as he had nothing to do but obey.' With these words the Emperor took his leave.

"That night the King seemed to improve greatly. On the morrow (19th September) the Emperor visited him again, using fair and loving words, and telling Francis he was returning to Toledo. The King made answer that he had already confessed and communicated, and did not know what would become of him; though he rather expected to die; at any rate, he recommended himself to his Majesty, saying that if he lived he would be the Emperor's good servant, and if he died he hoped the Emperor would not take more from his children than was right, but protect them from harm. Comforting the King as well as he could, the Emperor quitted the apartment, and as he was walking about the castle, the duchess of Alençon arrived. Advancing to meet her, he found her in tears, ascending the stairs. He embraced and kissed her, and after a few words conducted her to the King's chamber. He then mounted his horse, and went to a place two leagues from Madrid, and on the morrow he returned to Toledo."

On the 24th Navagero wrote again, "The King of France is much worse, and news of his death is hourly expected. The whole court is in consternation, as this event would disconcert all projects. The Emperor, whose soul is not to be depressed or elevated by bad or good fortune, exclaims, '*Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit*,' and he says he is more sorry for the King than for anything else. On the 22nd news came that the patient was a little better. Yesterday morning (23rd) several posts brought word that he was at the point of death; subsequently, in the evening, a messenger arrived, saying the physicians had still hopes, as they had discovered an abscess in the King's head; and though the disorder was very dangerous, it was less discouraging than seeing him lie in the last

extremity. This morning the news is confirmed; but fresh couriers arrive hourly, some reporting one thing, some another."[1]

During this terrible interval no one ventured to communicate to Louise the news of her son's malady. When she heard of it at last from her daughter, though the worst symptoms were past, she gave way to a passion of grief, and, shutting herself up in her apartments, turned a deaf ear to all consolation. Refusing food and repose, she spent six long days of anxious suspense in the alternations of hope and despair, for during all that time no intelligence reached her from Madrid.[2] When at last the news of her son's convalescence was confirmed she wrote to Marguerite, "Daughter, this is only to assure you of my resurrection; for of my death and passion I leave this messenger to tell you." She adds, in a postscript, "I write not to the King at this time, that I may not fatigue him, but I wish you had the ability to make my recommendations to him as strongly as in my heart I feel them."[3] By the 1st of October the King was so much better that Marguerite was enabled to start the next day for Toledo; like a saint of old to rescue "from lymbo and from darkness"[4] her brother and her sovereign.[5]

[1] Ven. Cal., p. 485.

[2] Captiv., p. 348.

[3] Ibid., p. 329.

[4] A phrase of Louise, ibid., 338.

[5] In his letter to the Parliament of Paris, the president, De Selve, gives so minute and graphic a description of the King's illness and recovery, that I cannot forbear placing the more important passages of it before my readers. The physicians, he says, had given the King over, and he lay without the least sign of animation, neither speaking to, nor seeing or hearing, any person. "It is eight days since (Sept. 25) that Madame the duchess (d'Alençon) assembled the ladies and gentlemen in attendance, to offer up their prayers to God. All received their Creator; and afterwards mass was said in the King's chamber. At the elevation of the Holy Sacrament, monsignor the archbishop of Embrun exhorted the King to look at the Holy Sacrament. On this the King, who till then had lain without sight or hearing, lifted up his hands; and, mass done, Madame the Duchess presented the Holy Sacrament for his adoration. Incontinently the King said, 'It is my God, who will heal me, body and soul; let me receive Him.' On somebody saying that he could not swallow the Host, he replied, 'Let it be done.' Then Madame the Duchess broke off a part of the Host, which he received with the greatest compunction and devotion, not able to refrain from bursting into tears. My said lady the Duchess received the rest. From that hour he continued to amend; and the fever, which had continued without intermission three and twenty days (15?), left him. Thank God, he is quite clear of it; and nature performs all its natural operations, — 'tout a l'evacuation par haut et par bas.' . . . Some days before he became insensible he had received the Holy Sacrament at different times, throwing himself out of his bed on his knees, covered only with his shirt, asking pardon of God, and repeating the Psalm, *Ego dixi in dimidio dierum meorum*; pronouncing with great devotion the words, *Domine, vim patior, responde pro me.*" From Toledo, Oct. 1, 1525. Captiv., p. 331.

She was received by Charles with more than usual graciousness. He was delighted to see her. Expressing his satisfaction at her brother's recovery, and the hopes he entertained of his friendship, he conducted her to her lodgings. After dinner, by the advice of the Viceroy, she paid the Emperor a visit. He desired that their conference should be strictly private; that no one should be admitted into the chamber, and one lady only should keep the door. "I will let you know the result this evening," she says in a letter to her brother, from which these details are borrowed, "but I beg, Monseigneur, that in the presence of Larcon (Alarcon his guard) you will put on a sad and enfeebled look, for your debility will help my despatch."[1] Conferences of this nature, which would certainly have confirmed Tunstal in his suspicions of her intentions had he but known of them, took place from day to day, sometimes in her own lodgings, sometimes in the lodgings of the Emperor. Two months passed away in fruitless negociations. Modify the terms as she would, the Emperor would not recede an inch from his original demand. He would be content with nothing less than the cession of Burgundy; and to this Francis would not consent, except on certain conditions. Despairing of success, Marguerite determined to leave. "She has asked for her passport," writes Perrenot de Granvelle to Margaret of Savoy,[2] "and intends to return. If she persists, all hope of peace vanishes."[3] She left Toledo a few days after, and reached Barcelona on the 16th of December.[4] It appears by her own account, written to the Chancellor of Alençon, that she was detained in Roussillon by a fall from her horse, and received a hurt above the knee. She complains bitterly of the Spaniards as the greatest dissemblers in the world, taxing them with making fair promises they never intended to observe. The statement, sometimes denied, that Charles wished to take advantage of the expiration of the safe-conduct and detain her, is fully confirmed by her own letters. Notwithstanding the apparent courtesy of the Emperor she was forbidden to remain in her brother's company with three of

[1] Captiv., p. 342.

[2] Nov. 19: IV. 1775, 1780.

[3] Francis, it seems, had various relapses, real or pretended. On the 6th of October he was stated to be worse (Ven. Cal., p. 491). On the 11th the Duchess returned to Madrid, to visit the King, who was said to be ill, as Tunstal reports, p. 800. On the 19th and 27th he was still very weak (p. 766; Captiv., 387); and so on, until the 17th of November (p. 786). His health was not fully established until the end of January, 1526.—Captiv., 488.

[4] Gayangos, p. 538.

her women; and when she was compelled to return she was refused an extension of her passport, that a pretence might be found for detaining her in Spain until the truce with France had expired. These practices compelled her to make such diligence that she was a month on horseback, from six in the morning until night. She had left the King in good spirits, though all except herself had despaired of his life.[1]

Meanwhile the Cardinal had not failed to maintain amicable correspondence with the Emperor, though seeking by every possible means to counteract his designs. He redoubled his professions of friendship and respect. To La Sauch, the Imperial agent, he continued to bemoan his ill fortune that, after working so hard for the Emperor's interests, his services had never been duly appreciated. Owing to his efforts the bonds of amity between the two nations had been so closely knitted that their friendship was indissoluble, and yet his only reward had been to incur the Emperor's displeasure through the report of foolish and malicious tongues. He complained that his well-known affection for the Emperor had not been considered as a sufficient atonement for any offence of which he might have been unconsciously guilty. As for the Lady Margaret, the Emperor's aunt, there was no lady in the world, not even the Princess Mary herself, whom he was more willing to serve, so much did he respect her virtues, her good sense, her prudent and honourable behaviour.[2] These and similar expressions he repeated on various occasions, with more or less earnestness, as the treaty with France drew towards its conclusion, and Joachim had once more appeared in England. La Sauch was completely deceived. He had persuaded himself that the uppermost feeling in the Cardinal's mind was his dread of the Emperor's displeasure. He tells Charles that, whatever may be the source of the Cardinal's discontent, there can be no question that he is marvellously affected by it. "I have heard him frequently lament, with sorrow in his countenance, that, notwithstanding the signal services rendered by him to the Emperor and their common cause, he has never been able to gain the Emperor's confidence, and persuade him of his good will and unalterable affection."[3] The arrival of John Joachim was forgotten in these constant bemoanings of the Cardinal. "Perceiving I

[1] Jan. 13: p. 836.

[2] La Sauch's letter to Margaret, June 30, and to the Emperor, July 4, in Gayangos.

[3] Gayangos, p. 221.

was sent for," says La Sauch, "to hear from the Cardinal's own mouth a repetition of his grievances, I asked him whether I might write home, and announce Joachim's return to England"—Wolsey had never alluded to it—"Oh! by all means," was the ready reply, "we ourselves are now writing to inform the Emperor of his arrival."[1]

To maintain this delusion the better, or perhaps for the sake of greater precaution—for who could tell, as events were then moving at home and abroad, what might be the end?—Wolsey wrote to the Emperor on the 7th of July, deprecating the malicious reports which had been circulated to his discredit. He expressed the deepest affliction and regret that the love he bore to the Emperor, and the constant assiduity he had shown in promoting the Emperor's interests, had not been sufficient to shield him from the malice of his enemies. He loved the Emperor, he said, more than any prince in Christendom, the King his master only excepted; and he trusted to his generosity and clemency—virtues for which he was renowned—to accept these professions, and not imagine he had abandoned the sentiments of profound respect and affection he had always entertained for the Emperor's person,[2] through passion or interested motives. Charles replied on the 12th of August, "Monsieur le Cardinal, if I have delayed writing to you until now, it has been owing to the strange and unaccountable proceedings of the King, my good father and brother, towards me. I cannot, however, persuade myself that your intentions are otherwise than upright, knowing the care and solicitude you have always shown in our mutual affairs." He proceeds to urge the Cardinal to use his efforts in maintaining their friendship; "in doing which I shall have occasion to know and appreciate your good intentions, just as you will also judge by the signature affixed that mine are equally good and true. Your good friend, Charles."[3]

This was the style he had always used towards Wolsey in the height of their friendship, and he still continued to use it, whatever may have been his real sentiments, for Charles was

[1] Gayangos, p. 213.

[2] Ibid., p. 227.

[3] Ibid., p. 286. This shows how completely unfounded is the statement of Guicciardini, so often reiterated, that whereas before the battle of Pavia the Emperor did "never send unto him any letters but such as were written in his own hand, and subscribed *Your son and cousin, Charles*; after the victory he began to cause letters to be written unto him, wherein was nothing of his own hand but the subscription, no more full of titles of so great reverence and submission, but only with his own name, *Charles*."—Fenton's Transl., p. 652.

far too cool and too cautious to sacrifice his interests to any needless display of resentment. Whatever might be the feelings of both, their animosity was veiled beneath the mask of the most punctilious politeness. Charles well knew that Wolsey was his ablest and his most formidable opponent. He feared not merely the Cardinal's influence with his master, but that unerring sagacity which pierced through every disguise, and was not to be blinded by promises or baffled by flattery. And the Cardinal knew well, on his part, that Charles was the greatest obstacle to that policy he was then attempting to establish, of balancing the two great powers of Europe against each other. Both were fully resolved to distrust and, if possible, counteract each other; both had interests to secure and protect, before they ventured to commit themselves to open hostilities. The Emperor was deeply in debt to the King.[1] The large dowry he was to receive with Isabella of Portugal seemed to offer an unexpected opportunity for pressing him to make good his obligations, or at least for recovering from him some portion of the debt, which he could no longer refuse on his accustomed plea of poverty.[2] He could no longer decently reply, as he had replied to Tunstal on a former occasion, "Ofttimes bruit runneth that men be richer than they be: howbeit the bruit that runneth upon me is true; for I am bruited to be poor, and am poor indeed."[3] That opportunity would be lost if war were openly declared, or overt alliance made at once with his enemies. It would interrupt all further communication, and justify him in some measure in repudiating his obligations. It is not my purpose here to detail his various devices for evading payment. They may be seen in Lee's letters.[4] The temporal head of Christendom, out at elbows, subjected to the inconveniences of a common debtor, and slipping behind the door to elude his creditor,[5] might be a sight to excite pity, but was certainly not a sight to inspire respect; least of all in those who had lent him the money, on his solemn promise four years before "to make repayment at the days prefixed," and to "sell his patrimony sooner than delay payment." But even when

[1] "The Emperor was bound to pay England, on June 22, 1522, 150,000 cr.: two years have elapsed, and nothing has been paid. He was bound to pay yearly for the indemnity 135,305 cr.: three years have elapsed, and nothing has been paid." IV. 1629, where other particulars of the Emperor's infraction of his agreements are given.

[2] See IV. p. 741.

[3] IV. p. 662.

[4] See specially IV. pp. 919, 938.

[5] IV. p. 919.

every chance of recovering the debt had become hopeless, other circumstances arose at this time which made it impolitic in Henry—not a little irritated by this ignoble manœuvring[1]—still more in Wolsey, to give needless offence to the Emperor. Not only, therefore, in this year, but more than once afterwards, he hesitated not to profess his entire devotion to the Emperor's service.[2]

To the Emperor, on the other hand, it was more agreeable to reciprocate compliments, which cost him nothing, than make good his pecuniary engagements with England. After all that had passed, he could still say "he loved and honored Wolsey as his father;"—in July and August of 1525, because he had not yet heard of the treaty between France and England, and trusted by a conciliatory policy to keep the latter from interfering with his own secret arrangements;—in January and April, 1526, because when these arrangements were concluded, he was afraid lest Francis, relying on the support of England, should be induced to break them. For, whatever liberties Charles might think fit to take with his own engagements, he had no thought of extending the same privilege to others. The return of the Duchess of Alençon without her brother had thrown Louise into despair. The prospect of her son, confined to hopeless captivity, or destined, perhaps, to suffer a return of that disease from which he had been so strangely and mysteriously delivered—preyed incessantly upon her imagination. Whatever the cost, he must be delivered. It had now become intolerable, in her estimation, that the surrender of a single French province should be allowed to weigh in the scale against the life of one who was the darling of Christendom and the salvation of his people.[3] The increasing troubles of the kingdom, the inclination on the part of the disaffected to employ the absence of the King as an opportunity for inaugurating their own schemes, seemed to justify the change in her determination; and she begged of her son to accept the Emperor's conditions. The report of the arrangement got abroad as early as the 24th of December. It was denied by Louise to the English ambassador,[4] was still reported on the 4th of January, even at Rome;[5] and the particulars of it had already transpired. But it was not until

[1] Ven. Cal., 521.
[2] Jan. 21, 1526: IV. p. 852.
[3] Captiv., p. 415.
[4] IV. p. 817, 820.
[5] IV. p. 828. It was communicated, no doubt, by the Papal Nuncio in Spain, who was a strong Imperialist.

the 19th of December that Francis, overcome by her importunities, or sick of languishing in hopeless captivity, empowered his ambassadors to accept the treaty of Madrid, which was signed on the 13th of January, 1526.[1]

It appears from the information furnished by the English ambassadors, that the final negociations for the treaty had commenced shortly after the 2nd of December. On the part of the Spaniards they were chiefly conducted by Don Hugo de Moncada and the Viceroy, and by De Tarbes for the French. In five or six days "the practice of peace began to be fervent, in secret manner," the ministers on both sides saying it was sure to take place, considering the Emperor's necessity and the French King's desire of liberty. The arrangements were already completed before the 20th of December,[2] though "to make a face," a rumour was spread on the 2nd of January that "some difficulties had been raised." There were reasons on both sides why such an arrangement, which involved the cession of Burgundy by the French, and the hand of Eleanor by the Spaniard, should not be disclosed without some show of difficulty and reluctance. Francis had registered a solemn vow that nothing should induce him to part with an inch of French territory. The honour of the Emperor was equally pledged to keep his promise to Bourbon. To save appearances, his ministers even pretended to risk his displeasure by remonstrating "that he had allured Bourbon out of France only by hope of that marriage." The consent of the parties most concerned in the arrangement never troubled the thoughts of either Sovereign; and in this chaffering of crowned heads the inhabitants were no more consulted whether Burgundy should belong to France or the Empire, than they have been consulted on similar occasions. As for Bourbon, who some time before had left Italy for Spain to claim the Emperor's sister—he did not understand Charles so well as Wolsey understood him—when the articles of the treaty had passed the Council, great

[1] That Louise was fully acquainted with the arrangement is clear from her letter to Montmorenci of the 16th of December, published in Captiv., p. 431. At that date the Duchess had not joined her. It is hard to resist the impression that when Marguerite pretended to those about her that she was compelled to leave Madrid *re infecta*, she was aware of the whole intrigue, and possibly a prime agent in it.

[2] See the full powers given by Francis to the Archbishop of Embrun, Jean de Selve, and Bryon, Louise's ambassadors with the Emperor, to surrender Burgundy, etc., as demanded by Charles, as the King could in no other way obtain his liberty. They are dated Dec. 19, Captiv., p. 441. Francis undertakes to fulfil these obligations within six weeks after his restoration, and give his two sons as security.

recompence was offered him, first by the Imperial ministers, afterwards by the Emperor himself; "which overture," says Tunstal, "we hear, made him much to muse, feeling himself frustrate of his chief hope. But hearing the Emperor's necessities explained to him, he said at last, *with his tongue*, he was content;—whether he was so in his heart or not."[1]

The Emperor's treatment of his royal prisoner had never been generous. Even after the treaty was signed, Francis was as strictly guarded as before. If he accompanied the Emperor on a party of pleasure, or was taken by him on a visit to his future queen, Eleanor, a numerous body of horse and foot reminded him that he was still suspected and his movements controlled by his Imperial brother-in-law.[2] As he approached the frontier under the conduct of the Viceroy, these precautions were redoubled. At St. Sebastian he was not permitted to leave his chamber.[3] As his guards drew near to Fontarabia notice was given on the 26th of February that no one, on any pretence whatever, should linger in the neighbourhood where the deliverance was to take place. The Emperor had kept the King company to Tierras, where they were joined by his sister, on the 20th. On the 26th they proceeded in the same carriage to Iliesca.[4] Here the Emperor and King of France took leave of her, the King pursuing his route to Fontarabia. Two boats met for a moment in the midstream of the Bidassoa. As the King stepped from his boat into the one appointed to carry him to the opposite shore, the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans stepped at the same time from theirs—he for France, they for Spain.[5] "When the day came of his delivery," says Hall—who seems to have received

[1] IV. p. 853.

[2] "They had oftentimes alone in secret very long discourses. They went together in one coach to a castle half a day's journey from thence, where was queen Eleanor, whom the King contracted. And yet, notwithstanding all these great signs of peace and amity, he was no less straitly guarded than before, without having any more liberty; so that at one and the same time he was embraced as a brother, and guarded as a prisoner." Guicciardini, p. 676.

[3] Yet it was at St. Sebastian that he wrote a letter to Charles, stating that he hoped in a few days, on gaining his deliverance, to confirm the treaty between them, and asking that Eleanor might be sent after him. La Captiv., 517.

[4] See p. 893. Captiv., p. 513.

[5] Taylor saw the two children just before they were delivered. After dining with Louise, who was bringing them to the frontier, he was taken to see "the Dolphin and his brother Henry; the which both did embrace me, and asked me of the welfare and prosperity of the King's highness and your Grace (Wolsey), and desired me that in my writings I should lowly commend them to the King's highness and your Grace. Verily, they be two goodly children. The King's godson (Henry) is the quicker spirited and bolder, as seemeth by his behaviour." IV. p. 896.

his account from an eyewitness—"he was discretely moved that he should not speak to his children, for fear that lamentation and sorrow might in such wise rise, that hurt might ensue of it. . . . There was between the borders of France and Spain a lake of no great deepness, in the midst whereof was laid a great empty boat at an anchor, and at every (each) shore was another boat; and when the French king was come to the bank he entered a boat on the Spanish side, and six Spaniards with him; and likewise on the French part, the two princes, sons to the French king, entered the other boat, and six Frenchmen with them, and so both the boats came to the boat lying in the midst. The French king entered at the one end, and his children at the other, and passed through the great boat; and even in the midst of the boat they met, and he with his hands blessed them, without speaking of any word but sadly regarded them; and so he entered into the boat with the Frenchmen, and his children into the boat with the Spaniards."[1] They were handed over to the Viceroy, and by him delivered to the Constable of Castile.[2]

Charles, always on the alert, had given strict injunctions to De Praet, his ambassador with Louise, to make diligent

[1] IV. p. 711. This is also the account given by the English ambassador, Taylor; except that Taylor says, that the King embraced his sons. See IV. 859. The river referred to is the Bidassoa, between Fontarabia and Andaye. Francis dined the same day at St. Jean de Luz, and arrived at Bayonne at three in the afternoon. See De Selve's letter, in Captiv., 519. By another account we learn that the Viceroy and the Constable of Castile attended in the King's boat, and Lautrec conducted the French princes. The delivery took place on Saturday, the 17th of March, on which day the King dined at St. Jean de Luz, and immediately afterwards rode to Bayonne. See Captiv., 521, 522. The Spaniards report that when the boat neared the shore, Francis leaped into the water up to his knees, mounted a horse without stopping, and rode off to St. Jean de Luz. Och. de Ysasaga to Charles, in Gayangos, p. 615. The same correspondent states that upon hearing the report of the King's delivery, he started for Bayonne, and met the King on the road, between one and two in the afternoon. He was riding post, both sides of the road from St. Jean de Luz being lined with people from the neighbouring towns. Behind him came two companies of infantry, with colours flying, then the archers of the guard, 400 in number. Henri d'Albret rode by his side, conversing with him all the way. He left Bayonne on Tuesday, the 20th, for Bordeaux; to be as far as possible, it was thought, from the Spanish frontier; for when he leaped from the boat he gave no signs of waiting for the exchange and other ceremonies to be performed according to the treaty, but rode off as fast as he could. . . . Till the very day of the Dauphin's and his brother's departure, it was confidently affirmed that the Dauphin alone would go to Spain, accompanied by twelve French nobles. But it would appear that as some of them hesitated, and others were not inclined to go, the King said, in a passion, "Let my two sons go at once;" and they were accordingly sent to the frontier. Ibid. The Spanish animus and exaggeration are very noticeable in this account.

[2] Captiv., p. 513.

inquiry respecting the hostages. To prevent deception, he was ordered to watch narrowly the features of the two young princes, with whose physiognomy the Viceroy was not acquainted. The moment that Francis touched the French soil [1] De Praet was to demand of him the ratification of the treaty for the cession of Burgundy, to the command of which the Grand Master of Spain [2] had been appointed already. As Francis landed on the opposite bank, the ambassador approached to fulfil his instructions. He was waved off by the King, who was impatient to be gone, dreading the chance of recapture;—not without reason, if it be true what the Grand Master told Taylor, "that the Emperor had sent a man in all speed to stop the French king at Fowntraby, who arrived in less than three hours after the King had passed the water." [3] De Praet did not fail to renew his application a few days after. On the 3rd of April, at Montmarchant, in company with Penalosa, he again urged upon Francis to confirm his engagements. The King demanded their credentials; if they had any authority they should come on the morrow, and his Council would give them their answer. "Sir," said De Praet, taken somewhat aback at this suggestion, "these things concern your own deed, and require no counsel. Ye have promised to perform them as soon as ye come into your realm." The King replied that "he had learned this lesson in Spain of the Emperor, for there was never an article in the treaty of peace but he had with his Council well examined, discussed, and determined to his most profit, where he (the King) had nother counsel, nor was in liberty to dispute it. Wherefore now he would as well use his own counsel in the confirmation of the same, as the Emperor did in the making." [4]

The news of the King's liberation, and his arrangement with the Emperor, were received with no little consternation. It seemed as if the highest aspirations of the Emperor's ambition were now on the point of being realized. He was not merely relieved of his most formidable enemy, whose opposition was neutralized by the treaty of Madrid, but he was in effect monarch of all Italy; in other words, he was sole monarch of Christendom, with the Pope for his vassal. The Italian states had reason to dread his resentment. They were now actively banded against him, waiting only for the King of England to join them as Protector and Conservator of

[1] IV. p. 893. Captiv., p. 513.
[2] IV. p. 891.
[3] IV. p. 949.
[4] Taylor to Wolsey, April 4.

the League. But whilst the Cardinal was anxious to further the designs of the Confederates, and encouraged them to the best of his power, he had no wish, after his recent experience, to commit this country to war, with an exhausted exchequer—still less to a war for the independence of Italy, from which England could derive no immediate advantage.[1] There were other though less ostensible reasons which induced him to prevent the Pope from uniting himself with the Emperor—reasons which I shall have to notice hereafter. It was enough for his present purpose if, without commencing open hostilities, he could restrain the Emperor's ambition; above all things, prevent him from making a personal descent into Italy. It equally suited the interests of Charles to maintain in appearance his amity with England. It was his best means for neutralizing the efforts of the League, and avoiding a danger that now threatened him from a very different quarter. This was the aggression of the Turks.

His sister Mary was married to Lewis, the unfortunate King of Hungary. Intelligence had reached him, as early as February, that the Turk was making great preparations to cross the Danube and attack Buda.[2] In March the reports, at first little regarded, spread with augmented celerity, leaving no room for doubt. The Turk had built bridges at Nicopolis; had loaded 100 camels with chains for that purpose; had collected a numerous fleet; had issued a proclamation "that none of the country people should sell victuals." Whilst he thus pushed on his arrangements for invasion with the greatest rapidity, Lewis lost time by his feebleness and indecision. It was proposed that one-half of the Hungarians should be sent to the frontier, and the other half assembled in a diet, armed and furnished with provisions. But Lewis, ill supplied with money, fearing a conspiracy, and distrusted by his subjects—the chronic disorder of elective monarchies—could not be persuaded to move from Buda. He told the papal Nuncio, to whom we owe these particulars, that he was more afraid of

[1] "This is as much," says Wolsey, "as the King can do at present, till he can find opportunity to accept the said protection. It would not be reasonable that he should leave one war and enter another, jeopardizing the goods of his subjects in the Emperor's country, and the three millions owed him by the Emperor. It would be an inestimable loss to make such a declaration of war, without some device for getting hold of such goods and debts, and *without* some honest justification preceding, as well towards Almighty God, as to the King's subjects and all the world; *so as, if his Grace should break with the Emperor hereafter, it may appear that the same is not done but upon just ground and cause reasonable.*" Wolsey to Taylor, May 4, IV. p. 962.

[2] IV. pp. 883, 909.

the Turks of Hungary than of the Turks of Turkey; and he received for answer that negligence and procrastination were worse Turks than either. Insubordination, in the court and out of it, hindered his attempts for presenting a united front to the enemy. His Queen opposed the project of a diet; or insisted, if it must be held, on being present at its deliberations. Both of these claims were impracticable. Counts and bans abandoned their posts. The soldiers murmured for want of pay. The princes wasted time in mutual recriminations, or accused the King of not listening to their advice. He retorted that he had followed their advice only too faithfully already, and lost all. "The King," says the Nuncio, "is disliked universally. There is no preparation, no order; and, what is worse, many have no wish to defend themselves."[1] Paul Tomori, the brave Archbishop of Colocza,[2] who alone of all the Hungarian nobles was animated with disinterested zeal in behalf of his country, had proceeded to the defence of Peter Varadin, when the attack of the Turk was expected. Strange as it may appear, Lewis and his court, confiding implicitly in this man's sagacity, courage, and fidelity, wasted the time in false security, squandering the little treasure that remained in feasting and dissipation, providing neither arms nor ammunition against the enemy. He had been persuaded, in common with the rest, that the report of the approach of the Turks was a groundless alarm; and any interruption in their vast preparations was instantly seized upon as a sufficient excuse for abandoning all necessary precautions. The King had left the Archbishop to defend the border fortresses, especially that of Peter Varadin, the most important, with only a handful of soldiers. The letter addressed by him to the King on the 5th of July, a few weeks before the fatal battle of Mohatz, details in vivid language the incredible neglect and apathy with which the Hungarians awaited the approach of their active and enterprising enemy. He tells the King that the report sent by the Ban of Jaycza of the retreat of the Turks was unfounded; that three days since they had entered Belgrade, and had pitched their tents on the

[1] IV. 925.

[2] The Archbishop, according to Palma, had formerly been a soldier, and, although renowned for his bravery and military skill, had, in disgust with the world, retired into a Franciscan convent. Lewis made him Archbishop of Colocza; and as no Hungarian nobleman could be found who was willing to undertake the perilous and fatiguing duty of protecting the frontier from the Turks, the Archbishop had been selected for that post.—See Palma, Rerum Hung. Not., ii. 577.

bank of the Save, numbering more than 3,000. If his Majesty, he says, has any one who understands the ground, he will comprehend how large a tract of land is occupied by the encampment of the Janissaries. The Turk, he adds, is working with great ardour, and is only waiting for his guns to push forward. It was too late to follow his Majesty's instructions, and prevent the enemy from crossing the Save, for the Archbishop was not in a condition to resist his advance, or obstruct the passage of the Save or the Danube. The month was drawing to a close; no assistance had come, and the forces under his command were ready to disperse. He has no money, and even if the goods of the Church were placed at his disposal, there was no one to coin them or take them in pledge. The sailors, he continues, have nothing to eat; they have received no wages, and without speedy relief he will not be able to remain at his post. Part of the forces had left the camp to assist in gathering wood, and reaping the harvest, whilst the shepherds had left their flocks to tend the vineyards. The Rascians had abandoned the harbour in a body for want of proper instructions; and as the King had summoned all forces to the diet the Archbishop had no reserves at his command. The march of the Turk thus left free and unimpeded was not marked by any disorder. Steadily and surely he advanced to his purpose. He thinks nothing, says the unfortunate Archbishop, of taking this castle (Peter Varadin) as a morning snack, and will break his fast upon it, unless your Majesty by timely provision make it too hard for his digestion.[1] The papal Nuncio (Del Burgo), who was not liked by the Hungarians, is equally candid, but more terse. He saw clearly the result. "No order," he says, "is taken here, and everything is desperate. This year so much only of Hungary will remain as the Turk may choose to spare. It is possible he may content himself for the present with so much of it as lies between the Save and the Drave, but next spring he will occupy the rest. The case is hopeless. There is nothing here ready for war: no captains, no money, no plans, no obedience, no ships, no provisions. The army has not yet assembled (July 10); and when it does, it will do nothing; for it is disorderly and without pay. It will remain ten or fifteen days, and then disperse in search of food."[2]

He wrote again on the 6th of August: "The bishop of Bosnia arrived here from the archbishop of Colocza, and

[1] IV. p. 1033. [2] IV. p. 1035.

stated that on Sunday, 15th July, the Turks attacked the castle (of Peter Varadin) and a ford at the same time, about the first hour of the day. The besieged killed, as they say, more than 1,000 Janissaries. Those stationed at the ford with no more than 60 small vessels, called Nazadæ, sunk a great Turkish ship, and slew many of the enemy. . . . The battle was maintained on both sides till night-fall. During the night the Archbishop resolved to abandon the ford of Varadin, and retreat to another, two miles distant, finding it impossible with his few ships to resist the Turkish fleet, consisting of 100 ships, 23 galleys, and other vessels. On Monday following the Turks drew off from the ford, allowing the Hungarians to water at the Danube. On Tuesday the attack was renewed, the Turks supposing they could easily succeed in capturing the fort on account of the lowness of the walls, but after fighting all day they were driven off and many of the Janissaries slain. On Wednesday they began to batter it on four sides, night and day. . . . The Archbishop thinks he can hold out for eight or ten days, and asks the King for 10,000 men with whom he will attack the Turkish army, retake the ford, and succor the besieged. . . . We are in much fear for Peter Varadin, as the King cannot relieve it, for he has neither ships nor infantry. Everything between the Save and the Drave must be reckoned as lost. Lewis will make a stand at the Drave, and perhaps protect the ford; but this will not be easy, considering his plans and his poverty."[1] On the 3rd of August the Turks again attacked Peter Varadin, and were repulsed with great slaughter. As their corpses filled the ditches, the besieged could not approach them for the stench. After the castle had been blown up by a mine, the garrison continued to fight in the courtyard, until the blood of Turks and Hungarians reached to their knees. Of the 1,000 brave defenders in the castle ninety saved their lives by mounting the belfry of the church, which alone remained uninjured of all the buildings. As they continued to defend themselves with the greatest intrepidity, the Turk allowed them to retire unhurt, but cut off the heads of the wounded, and flung them into the Danube. The loss of Peter Varadin was followed by that of the neighbouring fortresses, and the whole of Hungary was now laid open to the enemy, without further opposition.

Meanwhile, after assembling what forces he could at Tolna,

[1] IV. p. 1063, *et seq.*

Lewis advanced towards the Turks in the direction of Mohatz. Trusting to the fidelity of the Ban of Croatia and the Bishop of Zagrab, it was his intention, in the event of defeat, to retire upon Illyria. His troops at the most amounted to no more than between 20,000 or 30,000;[1] the Turks, to 300,000 men, of whom 70,000 were trained soldiers. Even at this late hour Lewis might have escaped the danger, had he been willing to wait for the reinforcements of Dalmatians, Bohemians, and others who were hastening to his assistance.[2] But, spurred on to his fate by the taunts of his nobles and the insubordination of his troops, he gave battle to the Turk on the 29th of August. The advantage at first rested with the Hungarians; but drawn by their impetuosity into an ambush, and exposed on both sides to the fire of the Turkish artillery, they were thrown into confusion, and the rout became general. As the King in his flight was crossing a swamp of no great depth, his horse fell under him, in its attempt to mount the opposite bank; and Lewis, pressed down by the weight of his armour, was smothered in the mud. The Hungarian infantry was slain to a man. Many bishops and most of the nobility perished.[3] Though the Turk had not come to spoil, he carried off 3,000 boats laden with plunder, chiefly bells of brass, and iron goods. Among the prisoners were 5,000 Hungarians, and 30 ships filled with Jews.[4]

If the misfortunes of men and nations are to be scanned with philosophic impartiality, it cannot be questioned that the terrible defeat sustained by the Hungarians was due entirely to their own misconduct. It was the necessary consequence of that demoralization and disorganization which, spreading from nobles and sovereign to the people, had sapped the foundations of empire, and left them an easy prey to their

[1] A Turkish letter states that Lewis marched from Buda with 150,000 horse and foot, and 300 guns. But this is a mere Oriental exaggeration. See IV. 2464.

[2] The Nuncio states that the Hungarians, hearing that a Transylvanian force of 15,000 horse was coming to their assistance, and also the Emperor's brother (Ferdinand) with 2,000 horse and 6,000 foot, trusting too much to their own strength, wished to gain all the glory to themselves. He states further that in the battle almost all the Hungarian foot, consisting mainly of Germans, Bohemians, and Moravians, deserted. Of the cavalry 15,000 or 20,000 were killed, and about 20,000 or 25,000 men put to death by the Turks after the victory. See IV. p. 1117. He is not a favourable witness; yet such were the intrigues of the Hungarian nobility, and such the temptations of elective monarchy, that there is strong reason for believing that treachery to the last had no small part in this unhappy defeat. See IV. p. 1127.

[3] See IV. p. 1114, especially Nos. 2508, 2554, 2588, 2589, and 2601.

[4] IV. p. 1146.

enemies—enemies they had learned to neglect and despise. A rapacious aristocracy, concerned only in advancing their own interests, and regardless of the honour of their country; a people insubordinate and restless; a sovereign abandoned to ease and pleasure, retiring from the fatigue of public duties to solace himself with idleness and amusements;—these were the true enemies of Hungary. If it had not fallen at Mohatz, it must still have fallen from its own innate weakness and corruption. So far the victory of the Turks was a blessing rather than a curse. It was a sharp and severe remedy for evils nothing else would have cured, and for vices nothing less bitter than adversity could eradicate. But this was not the spirit in which Christendom regarded an event which sent into all hearts a thrill of anguish, horror, and remorse. Christians only beheld in that defeat, as in the loss of Rhodes, the victory of God's enemies, a victory to which they themselves had contributed by their own sins and selfish dissensions. They saw in it the defeat of the true soldiers of the Cross by the hands of the Infidels. The hand of God was against them. The ancient spirit of Christendom and the last remains of Christian chivalry were dying out. Popes and kings wept; old men sighed heavily, for the glory was departing from Israel.[1] The Moors had risen in Spain; the Germans and the Spaniards were plundering the patrimony of St. Peter; the followers of Luther were carrying fire and devastation throughout Germany, destroying images, burning churches, putting bishops and nobles to the sword. Princes engrossed with their own selfish plans of aggrandizement, were no longer concerned in maintaining the Faith. Everywhere the horizon was clouded; the old world was setting in blood, the new world was rising in disorder and confusion. And as the shadows are darkest before dawn, uncouth and weird-like, so the new dawn that followed was in some respects

[1] Henry VIII. wrote to the Pope that he could not help shedding tears when he heard of the fate of Hungary. IV. p. 1145. "On receipt of the news from Hungary, the Pope convoked all the cardinals and ambassadors, and was with us more than four hours, beseeching us, with tears, to exhort our princes to make a truce." Ibid., p. 1119. "Tidings have come of Hungary—God forbid they should be true!—that the Turk had stricken battle, and taken the King prisoner." Clerk to Wolsey, p. 1123. "It is my chance, now and then, to talk with many an inflicted and sorrowful good Christian, who call upon me to exhort the King and you, as they in whom is now the only help and stay of Christendom. . . . They join the danger of the Turk with the cruel and insatiable ambition of the Spaniards, from whose fatal and bewitched successes they look for no better than they have found in times past." Same to Wolsey, p. 1153.

more dark, more grotesque and superstitious, than the night which preceded it.

It may seem remarkable that a nation like the Spaniards, priding itself more than any other on its punctilious sense of honour, and its devotion to the Catholic Faith, should, more than any other, have shown an implacable animosity against the Pope, and been guilty of the most detestable treachery. But the long and disastrous wars in Italy had been attended with the most demoralizing effects to all parties engaged in them. The sufferings of the Italian peasantry from the Imperial soldiers, and the misery of the population in general, surpass description. The whole country was given up to plunder. Life and property were equally insecure from reckless marauders, whose insolence and licentiousness their own officers were neither able nor willing to restrain. The insufficient sums sent by the Emperor for his army in Italy were diverted from their proper destination by the peculation of those to whom the money was entrusted. Badly and irregularly paid, when paid at all, officers and common soldiers threw off the restraints of discipline. For the losses they sustained by the irregularity or diversion of their pay they more than repaid themselves by plunder and exaction. Both were alike indifferent whether their object was attained by force or by fraud. From real or pretended disaffection to the Emperor, the Marquis of Pescara, who had distinguished himself by his activity and his valour at the siege of Pavia, had contrived to insinuate himself into the confidence of Morone, the secretary of the Duke of Milan, and then, to enhance his favour with the Emperor, betrayed his dupe. Don Hugo de Moncada, who succeeded Pescara, was guilty of a more abominable treachery, which must be noticed at greater length. Hitherto the affairs of the Holy League had proceeded unprosperously. The Duke of Urbino, the commander of its armies, either from incompetence, or, as some thought, from unwillingness to increase the power and influence of the Pope, failed to prosecute the war with vigour, or attack the enemy at manifest advantage. None of the confederates were hearty in the common cause; not one had joined it with any other purpose than the hope of advancing his own interests, or wringing the best terms for himself out of the desperation or necessities of the Emperor. There was in consequence no unity of plan, and no heartiness of co-operation. The Venetians, on whom the burthen chiefly fell

of providing money and troops, were hampered by those maxims of frugality which always prevent small states under republican government from providing adequate supplies in great emergencies. Doubting, distracted, intimidated by turns, uncertain alike of the intentions of his French ally and of his Imperial enemy, the Pope followed divided counsels, and by his real or apparent vacillation undermined all confidence and all enthusiasm for his cause. Francis I., who had professed to espouse the cause of the League with ardour, on his release from captivity, was now satisfied to use it solely as an instrument for bringing the Emperor to better terms, and obtaining more easily the liberation of his children. It was enough for his purpose if he could keep the League on foot by fair promises he never intended to fulfil, and regulate his support of it as best suited his diplomatic relations with the Emperor.[1] When, however, Charles refused all accommodation, and insisted on the precise fulfilment of the treaty of Madrid, no other course was open to Francis except to join heartily with the Pope and the Venetians. But he wasted the time in hunting and amusements, abstained from all business, was unwilling or unable to prosecute the war with vigour, or furnish the necessary supplies of men and money. From the first Henry had declined to join the confederates, reserving for himself the opportunity when he should openly espouse its cause, and set the Emperor at defiance. He still ostensibly professed to believe that he should obtain some portion at least of the sums he had lent to Charles in the days of his necessity.[2] Whether Wolsey was compelled to shape his present policy from circumstances over which he had no control, and from causes other than political—whether he thought that if the Pope became too strong he would also become more independent and less pliable, must be left to conjecture. As will be seen presently, he had strong reasons for not needlessly aggravating the Emperor. He had reasons equally strong for preventing his reconciliation with the Pope.

Hampered by many difficulties, uncertain of the future, willing, if possible, to retrace his steps, dreading the rough

[1] Gayangos' Span. Cal., iii. pp. 681, 685.

[2] When the Venetian agent urged the King's entry into the League at once, Wolsey fenced off his request by the line in Horace—

'Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,"

adding, that before his King made the Emperor his enemy, he must wait for the reply of his ambassadors at the Imperial court. Spinelli to the Signory, Aug. 17: Ven. Cal., p. 596.

temper of Don Hugo de Moncada and his troops, the Pope had resolved to secure himself, as far as possible, from immediate danger, by making terms with the Colonnese, the chief adherents of the Imperial faction. He consented to pardon Cardinal Colonna and his confederates on their pledging themselves not to make war on the Estates of the Church.[1] To this arrangement Don Hugo de Moncada had been a party, and in the faith of it the Pope had laid down his arms and dismissed his forces. What remains to be told shall be told in the words of the Spaniard himself, communicated to Alonzo Sanches, the Imperial ambassador at Venice. "Seeing," he says, "the condition of the Emperor's affairs in Italy, the difficulty of procuring the money required for the troops, and the fear that when reinforcements came it would be too late, especially if the French make a descent upon Italy, I (Moncada) have come to a resolution, with the Cardinal Pompeio Colonna and the rest of the Colonnese, to help and assist the Imperial cause on our own responsibility." "For this purpose," he adds, "a truce has been concluded between the Pope and the Colonnese, *that the Pope having laid down his arms, may be taken thereby unawares.* For his Holiness, considering himself safe in that quarter (from the Colonnese), knowing also that the governors of Naples have no wish to make war upon him, and imagining therefore that no serious invasion of the Roman territory is to be apprehended, considers himself so far secure that he has kept only 200 foot and 100 horse at Rome." The better to carry on this deceit, soldiers were enlisted by Ascanio Colonna, under the pretence of marching to Sienna. "But although the councillors of Naples believe—and we have told them so—that these forces are destined for Sienna . . . . our intention is to attack Rome; and we have accordingly 800 horse and 2,000 foot paid by Naples, 2,000 recently levied in the Abruzzi, and 1,000 under cardinal Colonna."[2]

The plot met with eminent success. On the night of the 19th of September, Moncada arrived with his allies and Cardinal Colonna before the walls of Rome, and seizing three of the gates, entered at break of day by St. John of the Lateran. The Spaniard continued his advance unperceived

[1] Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 850.

[2] Ibid., p. 898. See also another letter of Moncada on the same subject in IV. p. 1111. Father Sarpi, in his History of the Council of Trent, is discreetly silent on the most discreditable part of this transaction; nor is the omission supplied by his commentator, Courayer.

to the church of St. Cosmo and St. Damian. The inhabitants, scarcely awake, were taken unprepared. As infantry and cavalry defiled along the streets, the people looked on without any attempt to oppose them. Wholly indifferent to what was passing, artizans left their shops to gaze upon the troops as they pressed forward towards the bridge of San Sisto, and made their way to the Janiculum. At this point Pompeio Colonna sent a trumpeter to different quarters of the city, to proclaim that no person had the least occasion for apprehension, as the only motive of the invaders for taking arms was to deliver the Roman people from the tyranny of the Pope.[1]

"No one stirred," says Sir Gregory Casale, who was present, "except some few friends; and the good Colonnese, with 600 horse and 6,000 foot, of which there were not 2,000 that were not of the rabble, marched through Rome, with only a slight resistance at the gate of San Spirito."[2] "About dinner-time," says another eyewitness, "all the inhabitants remaining quiet, the Colonnese passed the Sistine bridge, and made for the old town; then breaking down the bridge of San Spirito, which leads to the old suburb of St. Peter's, they marched straight forward, when the Pope fled to St. Angelo."[3]

The Pope called in vain for succour, but no succour came: neither people nor cardinals stirred to his relief.[4] Hopeless of aid, he resolved, after the example of his predecessor Boniface, to face death in his chair, arrayed in his pontifical vestments. Scarcely had he been persuaded by the cardinals to abandon his resolution, and withdraw about five o'clock into the castle of St. Angelo, when Don Hugo arrived with his soldiers and the rabble. They sacked the Pope's palace and the neighbouring houses of the cardinals, the ambassadors, and the nobility, without distinction. The church of St. Peter was rifled of its ornaments, and the host profaned. "Never," says Casale, "was so much cruelty and sacrilege seen."[5] St. Angelo was not prepared for a siege. As it had no store of ammunition or provisions beyond three days' supply, no alternative remained except for the Pope to make terms with his conqueror. But Moncada had already secured his object. He was well aware that Charles had no desire to reduce the

[1] Buonaparte, p. 190, in the Col. of Buchon.
[2] IV. p. 1120.
[3] IV. p. 1132.
[4] IV. p. 1120.
[5] IV. p. 1120 and p. 1132. "Some write," says Lee, "that the soldiers put the copes upon their backs, and mitres on their heads, which savoured more of paynims than of good Christian men." p. 1153.

Pope to extremities.[1] His object was sufficiently gained, if the Pope, who was of a weak and timid nature, feared but did not feel the force of the Emperor's resentment. Therefore he readily consented to an interview, much to the disgust of Cardinal Colonna, who entertained more fierce and ambitious designs. Moncada entered the Castle with a modest suite, made the profoundest obeisance to the Pope, restored to his hands the silver crucifix and pontifical mitre which had been stolen by the soldiers, apologized for their rudeness and licence, and with all the suave dignity of a Spanish nobleman, and the filial submissiveness of a good Catholic, besought His Holiness to renounce his opposition to the Emperor, from whose piety, justice, and moderation nothing else was to be expected than the peace of Christendom and the security of the Holy See. "His victorious arms," quoth the Spaniard, "neither God nor man can resist with impunity."[2]

Though wholly in the power of his enemy, the Pope could ill conceal his resentment. But the Don was too good a politician to notice his discontent too narrowly. A sort of treaty was arranged on the 21st, by which it was agreed that hostilities should be suspended for four months; that the Pope should withdraw his army to the other side of the Po, pardon the Colonnas, and give hostages that Moncada should retire with his forces to Naples.[3] The Pope could talk of nothing but the infamy to which he had been subjected by the Colonnese.[4] They, on their part, Italian-like, showed no greater moderation, but in a spirit of bravado publicly and ostentatiously carried their plunder to their own quarters, through the most frequented thoroughfares. After the truce was concluded, "the army retreated at 24 o'clock to the quarters of the Colonna, returning with a great booty, mules and handsome horses, such as they found in the Apostolic stables. Those in the town were in great consternation, expecting every

[1] "The Don wished only to frighten the Pope, but the Colonnas to take him and plunder the Church even against the Don's wishes." Casale to Vannes, IV. p. 1190.

[2] "Pouvoient attaquer impunement les hommes, et Dieu même." Buonaparte, p. 190. The writer was a native of San Marino, and his account of the siege is so strongly confirmed by contemporary documents, that, outrageous as is this language, I cannot doubt it was really uttered. Guicciardini, who was at Rome at the time, says little of this interview; probably he had not gained admission into the Castle at the time. In all other respects his account and that of Buonaparte correspond, except that the latter has preserved a number of minute particulars omitted by Guicciardini, which show that he was an eyewitness.

[3] See IV. p. 1115.

[4] IV. p. 1118.

minute to be plundered; but the next day, being the feast of St. Matthew (September 21), the enemy evacuated the town. The Pope is still at St. Angelo. No one slept a wink that night in a town of more than 300,000 inhabitants."[1] According to Buonaparte, Moncada on his return to Naples had the grace to insist on his soldiers restoring to the churches the consecrated vessels and ornaments they had stolen.[2]

What share the Emperor had in this affair it would be invidious to determine exactly; what share he was to pretend to have may be gathered from the letter of his secretary, Perez, then at Rome, who had written to him already on the subject.[3] "As Don Hugo de Moncada," says Perez, "has already written, informing your Majesty of his arrival at Rome, and what has been done there, I need not dwell any further on this subject than to say, that but for the sacking of St. Peter's and of the Papal palace, His Holiness might not have been induced to come to terms for a thousand years. The truth is, the Pope has felt this blow more than anything else, and he utters such lamentations and wailings that it moves one's pity to hear him. So also do the people and the Cardinals of his party, who have lost a good deal by the sack. It is, however, to be hoped that with the holy peace, which is likely to be the consequence of Don Hugo's successful enterprize, the damage done will soon be repaired, and things will resume their former course; *for certainly your Majesty has had no hand in it.* It would be advisable for your Majesty to write a letter to the Pope in your own hand, expressing regret for what has occurred, and assuring the Pope of your filial respect and affection."[4]

Loud was the indignation of those who hated or feared the Emperor at this act of profanation. Francis, who did nothing but hunt and avoid business, expressed his displeasure at this "cruel and ungodly demeanor," offering to hazard his

[1] Letter from Rome, Oct. 5, IV. p. 1132.

[2] p. 191.

[3] See Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 886, and the letter of Sanchez, ibid., pp. 899, 931. A passage, however, in a letter of Perez to the Emperor, appears to place the Emperor's complicity in this fraud beyond dispute. He says, "The Pope has somehow got possession of a letter which Don Hugo is said to have written to Vespasian Colonna, requesting him to attack Rome in force; *as such was the Emperor's pleasure.* The Pope carries the letter about in his pocket, shows it frequently, and says he intends to make it the principal ground of complaint when next he sees the Emperor." Oct. 22. Gayangos, p. 974.

[4] Ibid., p. 930. Compare also p. 943. Moncada excused himself, on the plea that he could not restrain the violence of the soldiers. See IV. 2585.

person in defence of his Holiness.[1] Henry instructed his ambassadors with the Emperor to intimate his astonishment at an act, than which, "if reports were true, nothing more detestable was ever done by the Vandals, Goths, or other barbarians."[2] The Emperor himself, with well-feigned displeasure, was compelled to join in the general outcry, and write to the College of Cardinals, expressing in the strongest terms his regret and sorrow at what had occurred.[3] Following the suggestion of Perez, he instructed his secretary to say how great was his displeasure on "hearing of the attempt made by the undisciplined bands under Don Hugo; for although it was quite evident *that the disastrous doings at Rome were unpremeditated, and against the will of Don Hugo and the Colonnese*, yet he would have given anything that so flagrant an outrage had not been perpetrated by troops under the command of one of his own captains."[4] To Lee, the English ambassador, he expressed his satisfaction that his brother of England had acquitted him of all complicity in that "disagreeable occurrence."[5] The most solid proof of Henry's indignation was manifested in the shape of a present to the Pope of 25,000 ducats sent by Russell; at the same time he was strictly enjoined by Wolsey not to hold out to his Holiness any expectation of further assistance.[6] The displeasure of Francis evaporated, as usual, in fair promises. He had no wish to commit himself irretrievably with the Emperor, whilst the sincerity of the Emperor's regrets was shown in his resolution to make the best of the present opportunity, by crushing the league, humbling the power of the Pope, and seizing the monarchy of Italy. The conjuncture seemed to him more than usually favourable, whilst the French King, deluded with the hope of recovering his children upon more easy terms,[7]

[1] IV. p. 1137.
[2] IV. p. 1155.
[3] March 9: Gayangos' Span. Cal., 999.
[4] March 16: Ibid., p. 1004.
[5] Ibid., 1023.
[6] IV. pp. 1137, 1164.
[7] Clerk, who knew him well, notwithstanding the specious disguises of him and his mother, wrote to Wolsey on the 12th of December, clearly exposing his designs. "Although," he says, "the French king pretends he is sending into Spain only to demand Madame Eleanora (he told Clerk he had done so in hope of being refused), he doubtless intends to treat for peace. 2ndly. However obstinate the powers of Italy may be about Milan, they also are expecting peace; for if the French king is contented to restore Bourbon, marry Eleanora, pay the ransom for his children, and the Emperor does not insist on having Burgundy, being anxious for peace, from fear of the Turk, they are in good train for it. If Francis pardons Bourbon, why should not the Emperor pardon the Duke of Milan? 3rdly. Francis evidently expects the restitution of his children, and consequently peace; for the payment required for

and Henry, for some unaccountable reason, abandoned the league to its own fate, leaving the Pope and the Venetians, now greatly weakened, to continue the war without assistance from England. Accordingly he at once set on foot an army of 6,000 Spaniards, and equipped a fleet of 30 sail, whilst he wrote to his brother Ferdinand to send to Italy 8,000 Germans, under the command of George Freundsberg, notorious for his cruelty and hatred of the Church.[1]

the former is nothing in comparison with what it would cost to recover them by war. To relieve himself, therefore, he will offer a large sum to the Emperor. 4thly. To carry his point, he insists on certain conditions with the Italians, which are not likely to be arranged. I have told their orators here that they must consider the Frenchmen's nature, and how little inclined they would be to a new war, and unlikely to stick with them; but, for ought that I can say, they remain still in their good opinion (are willing to be deceived). I pray God they be not deceived. I assure your Grace it is greatly to be feared; for he that will marry a mule, as Francis professed he would do, rather than make war for his children, and forego so much of his rights, and forbear so much of his own pleasure rather than be deferred of his intent in that behalf, surely it is to be thought that he will not stick to borrow slights of his neighbours." p. 1204. He further expresses his belief that the King had greater regard for Eleanor than he wished the English to know.

[1] Gayangos' Span. Cal., 952, 967, 1026. He crossed the Po on the 27th of November. Ibid., p. 1036.

CHAPTER XXIV.

AFFAIRS AT HOME.

THE year 1526 was drawing rapidly to a close. Amidst the turmoil and commotion of crowns and nations, Wolsey had contrived to keep England free from all embroilment in continental politics. With the Emperor, who hated him, he continued ostensibly on amicable terms. Though carefully abstaining from dragging England into the League, he maintained an intimate correspondence with the Pope and the Italian powers. The French King still professed to regard Wolsey as the main instrument of his deliverance, and to be implicitly guided by his counsels. At this time Henry was beginning to take much less interest in politics, and spent the whole summer in hunting.[1] In the earlier part of the year he kept continually moving from place to place, attended by a small retinue only, for fear of the plague. "Everything is left," says the Venetian ambassador, "to cardinal Wolsey, who keeps a great court, and has comedies and tragedies performed."[2] After the settlement of the disturbances caused by the amicable loan, the King had withdrawn in a great degree from public business. Now and then we catch a glimpse of him; but chiefly in confirmation of Hall's remark. "On my arrival here," says Clerk, "yesternight, the King was forth a hunting, and came not home till nine of the clock."[3] So again Fitzwilliam: "I received a packet of letters addressed to the King, which I took to his Majesty immediately; but as he was going out to have a shot at a stag, he asked me to keep them till the evening."[4] So again still later: "The King is merry and in good health. . . . The officers of the earl of Northumberland, to whom this place (Arundel in Sussex) belongs, presented the King with 6 oxen and 40 wethers, and

[1] Hall, 712. From the middle of May to the 18th of October.
[2] Jan. 3: Ven. Cal., p. 517.
[3] May 31: IV. p. 983.
[4] July 28: IV. p. 1049.

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he had good game for his recreation."[1] He still continued to treat Katharine with the same respect as ever; although he had abandoned all hopes of children by her—a fact so notorious that even in July, 1525, Tunstal and others then in the Imperial court did not scruple to write even to the King himself, that they had told the Emperor that "my lady Princess was your only child at this time, in whom your Highness put the hope of propagation of any posterity of your Lady, seeing the Queen's grace hath been long without children; and albeit God may send her more children, yet she was past that age in which women most commonly are wont to be fruitful and have children."[2] This impression was generally and publicly confirmed by the creation of his natural son, or, as Wolsey calls him, the King's "entirely beloved son, the lord Henry Fitzroy,"[3] then a child of six years, as Duke of Richmond, on the 15th of June, 1525.[4] The extraordinary pomp and splendour of the ceremony, in which the great lords of State took part, with the Cardinal at their head, were no less remarkable than the title itself, which had been borne by the King's own father before he ascended the throne as Henry VII. So young and fair a child, the prime agent in such a scene, could not fail to awaken many strange speculations. He was conducted from the long gallery in the palace at Bridewell, destined soon after to be the scene of a very different ceremony, into the King's chamber, where the King stood under a cloth of estate, accompanied by my lord Cardinal, and the lords spiritual and temporal. As the child kneeled to the King in his baby fashion, his Majesty ordered him to rise. Then, taking the patent from Garter, he delivered it to Sir Thomas More to read aloud. On coming to the words *gladii cincturam* the child lord dropped on his knees, "and the King put the girdle about his neck, the sword hanging bendwise across his breast."[5] These dignities were augmented the next month by his creation as Lord High Admiral of England.[6] To maintain his new titles numerous grants of land passed the seal, as a token of the King's "sincere and lasting affection."[7] The appointment of his

[1] Aug. 3: IV. p. 1058.
[2] Ven. Cal., p. 662.
[3] Wolsey to Henry, IV. p. 603.
[4] IV. p. 639.
[5] Ibid.
[6] July 16: IV. p. 673.
[7] The income of the Duke was computed as follows:—3,500*l.* a year from the revenues of his land, and 1,000 marks received from the Abbot of St. Mary's, York—equal in modern computation to 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* a year, no bad provision for a child of six or seven.

household, certainly ample in itself, seemed still more ample when contrasted with the meaner provision for Henry's legitimate daughter Mary, who was three years older. By this act the Duke of Richmond took precedence of all the nobility, even of the Princess herself. The fact could scarcely be regarded by Katharine with calmness or indifference, submissive as she had always shown herself to the King's wishes. "It seems," says the Venetian ambassador, "that the Queen resents the earldom and dukedom conferred on the King's natural son, and remains dissatisfied, at the instigation, it is said, of three of her Spanish ladies, her chief counsellors; so the King has dismissed them the Court—a strong measure—but the Queen was obliged to submit and have patience."[1] She had need of patience. A lonely woman, from the first, in a strange land, she remained a lonely woman still. Her sympathies were not with the English nobles, by whom she was surrounded, nor theirs with her. Sickly, prematurely old, afflicted with the repeated loss of her children, destined never to give birth to a son and heir, when a son and heir was so much desired and expected, she had but one surviving child, the Princess Mary, on whom all her affections were centred, the last green branch of a withered tree doomed to hopeless and helpless decay. None but those who have experienced similar griefs, and successive bereavements of all their expectations, can realize the trembling tenacity of maternal love with which she clung to this frail prop of her affections. Hitherto mother and daughter had never been parted. A fair child with a profusion of flaxen ringlets, as slight in person as her mother's hopes, Mary had grown up the admiration of all beholders. Like all the Tudors, she was an accomplished musician; and, like them, at ten years of age could converse fluently in French, Italian, Spanish, and Latin. Now mother and child were to be separated. By the political arrangements of the time, Mary, as Princess of Wales, was to hold her little court at Ludlow; as the Duke of Richmond was to represent viceroyalty in the North, associated with the ancient names of York and Lancaster. The dark shadows were falling thick and fast on Katharine's life; for even her nephew seemed to have forgotten her. At the close of the year she wrote to the Emperor, tenderly complaining of his neglect. "For upwards of two years," she says, "I have had no letters from Spain. And yet I am sure I deserve

[1] June 29: Ven. Cal., p. 455.

not this treatment, for such are my affection and readiness for your service, that I deserve a better reward."[1] As this and all her letters were carried by ambassadors sent from this country, it was not to be expected that she should intrust her more intimate thoughts to such a channel.

Of the birth and parentage of this Henry Fitzroy Duke of Richmond, who thus suddenly blazed up into notoriety, a few particulars may aptly find a place here. He was the son of Elizabeth Blount, and was born in 1519. According to Hall,[2] "the King in his fresh youth was in the chains of love with a fair damsel called Elizabeth Blount, daughter to Sir John Blount, knight; which damsel, in singing, dancing, and in all goodly pastimes, exceeded all other; by which goodly pastimes she won the King's heart, and she again showed him such favor that by him she bore a goodly man-child, of beauty like to the father and mother." Thus Hall, touching this connection and the parentage of the King's mistress with a light hand. Darcy, in the bitter and malignant articles drawn up by him, as the basis of Wolsey's impeachment, is much less complimentary. He makes this one of the charges against the Cardinal: "We have begun to encourage the young gentlewomen of the realm to be our concubines by the well marrying of Besse Blount; whom we would yet, by sleight, have married much better than she is; and for that purpose changed her name."[3] The fact appears to be that Elizabeth Blount was one of the ladies in waiting on the Queen. As such, an entry is found in the King's Book of Payments, under May, 1513, of 100*s.* paid to her "for a year's wages;"[4] and as John Blount's name occurs in conjunction with hers as King's spear, at 3*s.* 4*d.* a day, it is probable that this is the Sir John Blount mentioned by the Chronicler.[5] Her name occurs again as taking part with Mistress (that is, Miss) Carew in the revels at Court held on Christmas Day, 1514; and among "the persons in the mummery" were the King and the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Boleyn and his son George.[6] The intimacy between the King and this lady must evidently have begun at an early date, as Suffolk, in a letter to the King, written in October the same year, desires the King will remember him to Mistress Blount and Mistress

[1] Nov. 26: Gayangos, p. 1018.
[2] Hall's Chron., p. 703.
[3] IV. p. 2558.
[4] See II. p. 1461.
[5] In the Act of Parliament (A.D. 1523) he is styled simply John Blount, Esq.
[6] See II. p. 1501.

Carew;[1] words which would seem to imply a familiarity between them; otherwise the Duke would scarcely have selected these ladies from the rest of the Court for such a message, or have ventured to take such a liberty with the King. After the birth of her son, Elizabeth Blount married Sir Gilbert Talboys, apparently in the year 1522; at all events, they were married before 1523, as appears by the Act of Parliament of that year. Sir Gilbert was the son of Sir George and Lady Elizabeth Talboys, of Goltho, in Lincolnshire, and was apparently at the time in Wolsey's service. His father, Sir George, who had distinguished himself in the early wars of Henry VIII., became insane, and was committed, as a lunatic, in 1517,[2] to the Cardinal's custody; a charge in which he was associated with Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Sir Robert Dymoke, John and Thomas Hennege, with whom Sir George and his wife were intimately connected by blood. By an Act of Parliament, 14 Henry VIII. ch. 34, in consideration that both the son and the father had received by this marriage "not alonely great sums of money, but also many benefits," certain manors were assured to the young Lady Elizabeth for life, in the counties of Lincoln and of York. In the autumn of 1524, her husband was created Sir Gilbert,[3] and became sheriff of Lincolnshire the next year. But these settlements, as might be expected, occasioned a good deal of ill feeling between the mother and the son.[4] With this, however, we are not concerned.

At what period the child was taken from his mother, whether before or at his creation as Duke of Richmond, there are no means of ascertaining. He had for his instructors Richard Croke, the famous Greek scholar, and John Palsgrave, author of the first French grammar in the English tongue.[5] In a letter to the child's mother, then married to Sir Gilbert, Palsgrave speaks in most enthusiastic terms of the young Duke's "especial gifts of grace;" and hopes they will not be perverted by evil-disposed persons, referring to those whom the King had placed about his person, and who do not seem to have been much concerned in furthering his education. "Madam," he says, "to be plain with you, on my conscience, my lord of Richmond is of as good a nature, as much inclined

[1] I. p. 911.
[2] II. p. 959, and IV. 2377.
[3] Between August and November. See IV. p. 367.
[4] IV. 1912, 2377.
[5] "Lesclaircissement de la Langue Françoise."

to all manner virtuous and honorable inclinations, as any babes living. Now is my room undoubted great about him; for the King's grace said unto me, in the presence of Master Parr and Master Page"—two of the Duke's Council—"'I deliver,' quoth he, 'unto you three my worldly jewel; you twain to have the guiding of his body, and thou, Palsgrave, to bring him up in virtue and learning.'"[1]

The affection thus entertained by the King for the Duke was never diminished, not even when he had fallen under the spell of Anne Boleyn, and for a time seemed to have lost all thoughts and feelings except for her. Foreign ambassadors are unanimous in their praises of the Duke's accomplishments and the graces of his person. It was not, therefore, without reason that Katharine may have regarded the King's partiality to the Duke with some twinges of uneasiness, especially as rumours unfavourable to herself were already beginning to prevail; and there were at least those about her, even if she herself were free from every taint of jealousy, who would not fail to contrast the splendid arrangements made for the Duke, his household, education, and influence, as compared with the more meagre provision for Henry's legitimate successor, the Princess Mary.

The dread of the Turks, the perilous ambition of Charles V., the desecration of the Holy See, diminished nothing of the splendour and gaiety of the new year in England. "Last evening," says the Venetian secretary, "I was present at a very sumptuous supper given by cardinal Wolsey. Among the guests were the Papal, French, and Venetian ambassadors, and the chief nobility of the English court. I considered myself out of place by the side of a very beautiful damsel, each of the guests having one to his share. During the supper the King arrived, with a gallant company of masqueraders, and after presenting himself to the Cardinal, threw a main at dice; and then unmasked, as did all his companions; whereupon he withdrew to sup in one of the Cardinal's chambers, the rest of the guests continuing their repast, with such a variety of the choicest viands and wines as to be marvellous. Supper being ended, they proceeded to the first hall, with which you are well acquainted, and where a very well designed stage had been prepared, on which the Cardinal's gentlemen recited the Latin comedy of Plautus, called the Menæchmi. At its conclusion all the actors, one

[1] IV. 5807.

after the other, presented themselves to the King, and on their knees recited to him Latin verses in his praise, some more, and some less. When he had heard them all, the King betook himself with the rest of the guests to the hall where supper had been served, where the tables were spread with all scrts of the choicest confections.

"After this marvellous collation a stage was displayed, on which sat Venus, at whose feet were six damsels, forming so graceful a group for her footstool, as if she and they had really come down in person from Heaven.[1] Whilst every one was attentively gazing on this beautiful sight, a flourish of trumpets was heard, and a car appeared, drawn by three naked boys, on which sate a Cupid, dragging after him, bound by a silver rope, six old men clad in shepherds' weeds, the material being cloth of silver and white satin. Cupid presented them to his mother, with a most elegant oration in Latin, complaining that they had been most cruelly wounded; whereupon Venus compassionately replied in language equally choice, and made the six nymphs, the sweethearts of the old men, to descend, commanding them to afford their lovers all solace and pastime, and requite them for past pangs. Each of the nymphs was then taken in hand by her suitor, and they performed a very beautiful dance to the sound of the trumpet. On its termination, the King and his minions commenced another with the ladies then present; and with this entertainment the night ended, for the day was already breaking."[2]

[1] It would be interesting to know who personified Venus on this occasion. Was it Anne Boleyn?

[2] Spinelli, Jan. 4, Ven. Cal., No. 4. This seems to have been a classical event in Wolsey's history, and produced a deep impression on the minds of his contemporaries. It is mentioned by Hall, though much more briefly than is usual with him on such occasions. (Hist. p. 719.) It is clear also that it is this entertainment, though interspersed with other reminiscences, that forms the groundwork of Cavendish's dramatic narrative, so minutely adopted by Shakspeare. I extract the passage that my readers may more easily compare it with the authentic account preserved by Spinelli. After speaking of the banquets given by the Cardinal to the King, where there wanted no damsels meet for the dance, or music with excellent voices both of men and children, Cavendish thus proceeds:—"I have seen the King suddenly come in thither in a mask, with a dozen of other maskers, all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold, and fine crimson satin paned, and caps of the same, with visors of good proportion of visnomy; their hairs and beards either of fine gold wires, or else of silver, and some being of black silk; having sixteen torch-bearers, besides their drums, and other persons attending upon them, with visors, and clothed all in satin, of the same colours. And at his coming, and before he came into the hall, ye shall understand that he came by water to the water-gate, without any noise; where against his coming were laid charged many chambers, and at his landing they were all shot off, which made such a rumble in the air that it was like thunder. It made all the noblemen,

gentlewomen, and ladies to muse what it should mean, coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a solemn banquet; under this sort. First, ye shall perceive that the tables were set in the chamber of presence, banquet-wise covered, my lord Cardinal sitting under the cloth of estate, and there having his service all alone; and then was there set a lady and a nobleman, or a gentleman and gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and joined as it were but one table. All which order and device was done and advised by the lord Sands, lord chamberlain to the King, and also by Sir Henry Guildford, comptroller to the King. Then immediately after this great shot of guns, the Cardinal desired the Lord Chamberlain and Comptroller to look what this sudden shot should mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter. They, thereupon looking out of the windows into Thames, returned again, and showed him that it seemed to them there should be some noblemen and strangers arrived at his bridge, as ambassadors from some foreign prince. With that, quoth the Cardinal, 'I shall desire you, because ye can speak French, to take the pains to go down into the hall to encounter and to receive them, according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages sitting merrily at our banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and to take part of our fare and pastime.' Then [they] went incontinent down into the hall, where they received them with twenty new torches, and conveyed them up into the chamber, with such a number of drums and fifes as I have seldom seen together at one time in any masque. At their arrival into the chamber, two and two together, they went directly before the Cardinal, where he sat, saluting him very reverently: to whom the Lord Chamberlain for them said, 'Sir, forasmuch as they be strangers, and can speak no English, they have desired me to declare unto your Grace thus: they, having understanding of this your triumphant banquet, where was assembled such a number of excellent fair dames, could do no less, under the supportation of your good Grace, but to repair hither to view as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at mumchance, and then after to dance with them, and so to have of their acquaintance. And, Sir, they furthermore require of your Grace licence to accomplish the cause of their repair.' To whom the Cardinal answered, that he was very well contented they should so do. Then the maskers went first, and saluted all the dames as they sat, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened a cup full of gold, with crowns and other pieces of coin, to whom they set divers pieces to cast at. Thus in this manner perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, to some they lost and of some they won. And thus done they returned unto the Cardinal, with great reverence, pouring down all the crowns in a cup, which was about two hundred crowns. 'At all,' quoth the Cardinal; and so cast the dice, and won them all at a cast; whereat was great joy made. Then quoth the Cardinal to my Lord Chamberlain, 'I pray you,' quoth he, 'show them that it seemeth me that there should be among them some nobleman, whom I suppose to be much more worthy of honour to sit and occupy this room and place than I; to whom I should most gladly, if I knew him, surrender my place, according to my duty.' Then spake my Lord Chamberlain unto them in French, declaring my lord Cardinal's mind; and they, rounding him again in the ear, my Lord Chamberlain said to my lord Cardinal, 'Sir, they confess,' quoth he, 'that among them there is such a noble personage, whom, if your Grace can appoint him from the other, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept your place most worthily. With that the Cardinal, taking a good advisement among them, at the last, quoth he, 'Me seemeth the gentleman with the black beard should be even he.' And with that he rose out of his chair, and offered the same to the gentleman in the black beard, with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered then his chair was Sir Edward Neville, a comely knight, of a goodly personage, that much more resembled the King's person in that mask than any other. The King, hearing and perceiving the Cardinal so deceived in his estimation and choice, could not forbear laugh-

ing; but plucked down his visor, and Master Neville's also, and dashed out with such a pleasant countenance and cheer, that all noble estates there assembled, seeing the King to be there amongst them, rejoiced very much. The Cardinal eftsoons desired his Highness to take the place of estate, to whom the King answered, that he would go first and shift his apparel; and so departed, and went straight into my Lord's bedchamber, where was a great fire made and prepared for him; and there new apparelled him with rich and princely garments. And in the time of the King's absence, the dishes of the banquet were clean taken up, and the tables spread again with new and perfumed cloths; every man sitting still until the King and his maskers came in among them again, every man being newly apparelled. Then the King took his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding no man to remove, but to sit still as they did before. Then in came a new banquet before the King's majesty, and to all the rest through the tables, wherein, I suppose, were served two hundred dishes, or above, of wondrous costly meats and devices, subtilly devised. Thus passed they forth the whole night with banqueting, dancing, and other triumphant devices, to the great comfort of the King, and pleasant regard of the nobility there assembled."

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SACK OF ROME.

WHILST the English court was thus spending the season in pleasure and amusements, Charles prepared to renew the war in Italy with all its attendant horrors, rapacity, cruelty, and deceit, such as had scarcely disgraced war even in Heathen times. The idea of providing adequate pay and provisions for his armies in Italy never entered his thoughts. War was to be fed by war. The licentiousness of a brutal and demoralized soldiery, long accustomed to violence and rapine, was allowed to display itself, unchecked by its mercenary officers, in every form of excess which could disgrace humanity. In the political schemes of the sovereigns of Europe no one thought of the sufferings of the population, whose fields were trampled down, whose houses were rifled, whose wives and daughters were violated, without compunction, by Spaniards and Germans, the former of whom were mainly recruited from Maroons or renegade Moors, and the latter from the robber fastnesses of Germany. On the pretext of demanding their pay, they refused to stir except when they pleased, or rather where the expectations of plunder led them. On the march they fell out of the ranks, and dispersed themselves in all directions for fuel and provisions, regardless alike of friend or of foe. In the great cities, as in Milan, the common soldiers washed their feet in rose-water, drank the choicest wines, plundered the churches, and laid under contribution, for their maintenance, all who were not rich or fortunate enough to flee and find an asylum elsewhere. "At Florence," says a contemporary, "they robbed the temples, slew the religious, made use of the holy oil and chrism to smear their shoes, cut the crucifix into a thousand pieces, and threw it into the fire. In Borgo Donnino, where stood an image of St. Anthony, they plundered the church in which the people had stored their goods for security, tied a halter round the image, as if it were alive,

and hauled it up and down like a malefactor. Milan, under the protection of the Emperor, is empty of all its more respectable inhabitants."[1] It was in this city that the soldiers threatened Bourbon to sack the town if their wages were not duly paid. Here also Bourbon put the principal inhabitants to the torture to procure the money. "The Swabians and Spaniards," says Russell, "commit horrible atrocities. They have burned houses to the value of two hundred millions of ducats, with all the churches, images, and priests that fell into their hand. They compelled priests and monks to violate the nuns . . . They did not spare the boys, and carried off the girls; and whenever they found the host in the church they threw it into the river, or the vilest places they could find. . . . Woe to us, woe to the Emperor, if these Germans and Spaniards ever get the upper hand."[2]

It might have been supposed that such hordes of lank and hungry wolves could more than once have been taken at advantage, and have been easily dispersed by the League; but the arm of the confederates commanded by the Duke of Urbino, an incompetent, irresolute and indolent general, did nothing; either, as it was then thought from the Duke's treachery, or really from his inability. This, however, may be said in his excuse: that the vacillation of Clement paralyzed the little energy of the leaguers. In a fit of resentment, he had written a very bitter letter to the Emperor, excusing himself for the part he had taken, and attributing his hostility to the Emperor's determination to ruin Italy and devastate the patrimony of the Church. Frightened at his own audacity, he attempted to recall the letter, and substitute one of a milder tone in its place. But his repentance came too late. Before the Nuncio who had charge of it could be made aware of this change in the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff, he had delivered the Pope's missive, and roused to boiling pitch the anger of Charles, who responded in the same tone. On the arrival of the second letter his anger was mollified. He expressed his desire to secure the peace of Christendom and the favourable opinion of the Pope; but though Charles seldom betrayed his emotion by word or gesture, it was not in his nature to forgive and to forget. Clement himself, a prey alternately to fear and hope, vacillating between his wish for peace and his hatred of Imperial arrogance, leaned first to one side, then to the other, suspected alike by friends and foes. His allies considered it a

[1] IV. p. 1233. [2] IV. p. 1376.

waste of men and treasure to support a cause which, as it seemed to them, the Pope would be the first to betray; whilst his foes, playing upon his fears, augmented their demands in proportion to his inability to refuse them. Torn by conflicting passions, distracted by opposite counsels, the Pope could decide neither on peace nor on war. Both were alike objectionable. The Viceroy demanded, as the price of peace, Milan for Bourbon; full restitution of the Colonnese; right of presentation of fifteen sees in Naples; 200,000 ducats for the soldiers, for the last, and 200,000 ducats more for the coming year.[1] Outrageous as such demands may appear, the Pope was inclined to accept them. The Germans were preparing to advance; the Viceroy from Naples, Bourbon from Milan, were turning their steps in the direction of Rome, and of Florence, the patrimonial inheritance of the Pope. An ineffectual attack on Frosinone, belonging to the Estates of the Church, a more conciliatory letter from the Emperor, jealousy of Bourbon, who had now started from Milan, induced the Viceroy to moderate his demands; and a truce for eight days was arranged, in order to communicate the terms to the Venetians.[2] Meantime money and reinforcements had arrived from France and England.[3] Russell on the part of England, the Venetians for themselves, refused to be parties to the accommodation with the Viceroy. The Pope, now in expectation of further aid, was not sorry for an opportunity of changing his mind once more. "The Pope," says a contemporary, "has received immense consolation, in the midst of his distresses, from the King and Wolsey. Three times 30,000 crowns would not have encouraged him more than their kind words have done, bidding him not to fear any danger, for whether a universal peace be made, or the Emperor refuse it, they will still support him. . . . The Pope is particularly pleased with Russell's commission to the Viceroy (*i.e.* to make peace), and will be delighted if he can obtain a suspension of hostilities without being called upon to pay money."[4] But though a new gleam of prosperity had thus broken upon the League, terror, augmented with impatience, proved a stronger motive than any other in the breast of Clement VII. Two days after, his fears of the Emperor prevailed over his better resolution. He was urgent that Russell should go to the Viceroy for a suspension of arms, at any hazard; for his confederates if possible, for himself by

[1] IV. pp. 1234, 1257.
[2] IV. p. 1276.
[3] IV. p. 1271.
[4] Feb. 10: VI. p. 1283.

all means.[1] In vain it was represented to him that a little patience and exertion on his part would end in the discomfiture of his enemies; that the Spaniards and Germans could take no towns for they were not in a condition to undertake a protracted siege, and if they attacked any, they must attack Florence, where they could easily be broken. Such a thought threw his Holiness into agonies of despair. Any attack upon Florence by the Imperialists was a calamity too terrible to be borne. "We told him," says Sir Gregory Casale, "to remember what Guicciardini and others had written, that Florence was wholly impregnable, especially now that it had been fortified according to the plans of Peter of Navarre. He could only wring his hands, and declare that if he were the cause of bringing an enemy into Tuscany all his relations would be banished. France gave him nothing but words. He was too poor and too weak to support the burthen alone."

Russell returned with Fieramosca from the Viceroy on the 21st, bringing proposals for an armistice between the Emperor, France, and Venice,[2] on the most favourable terms. The Viceroy no longer demanded money or security, or even restitution of the Colonnese; "and the Pope, thinking the opportunity should not be lost, would have concluded negociations on the spot," if Russell had not urged him to wait for the answer of his confederates.[3] His fears and suspicions arose at every symptom of delay—even at the necessary precautions required for binding the Imperialists to their promise. Florence was the chief cause of his alarm; but he distrusted the Duke of Urbino, and was convinced that neither the French nor the Venetians had funds sufficient for maintaining the war. Distrusting all, he resolved to act for himself, and coming events, now advancing with terrible pace, precipitated his resolution.

Finding it impossible to maintain himself any longer in Milan, Bourbon had sent a message to Freundsberg, a commander of German mercenaries, to join him with his forces before the walls of Piacenza. On the 20th of February he crossed the Trebbia, with an army composed of 12,000 German foot, 4,000 Spaniards, 2,000 Italian volunteers, and 5,000 lances. On the 22nd he arrived at San Donnino, traversed Reggio, passed the Secchia, reached Buonporto on the 5th of March. At Finale he visited the Duke of Ferrara, to concert measures for the campaign. On the 7th he lodged at San

[1] IV. pp. 1291, 1297, 1300. [2] IV. p. 1301. [3] IV. p. 1304.

Giovanni, near the confines of Bologna, giving out that he intended to pass on to Naples. On the 14th the troops mutinied for pay, pillaged the Duke's lodgings, and slew one of his gentlemen. A heavy fall of snow and rain prevented their advance for the present.

Meanwhile, the Pope, harassed beyond measure at the approach of the Imperialists, afraid lest the Florentines should throw off their allegiance, well aware of the intentions of the soldiers under Bourbon to sack and pillage Rome, had arranged on the 15th a truce of eight months with the Imperialists,[1] and despatched Fieramosca to communicate the intelligence to Bourbon. Confiding in the promises and pretences of the Viceroy, Clement, with incredible temerity, disbanded his forces, retaining only 200 light horse and 2,000 foot. On Fieramosca's appearance in Bourbon's camp, he was roughly handled by the soldiers, and his propositions rejected. Too late,[2] Clement now endeavoured to retrace his steps, and revoke the conditions he had made with the Viceroy, in whose conduct it is hard to say whether duplicity or cowardice was the prevailing element.[3] In the first instance, Bourbon had intended to lay siege to Florence, as many of its citizens were anxious to expel the Medici. But the appearance of the Duke of Urbino on the 25th at once pacified the sedition, and put the city into a posture of defence.[4] On the 27th Bourbon turned his steps to Rome. His march was encumbered with numerous obstacles. Snow and rain had fallen in great abundance, rendering roads and rivers impassable, and the transport of artillery impossible. It was necessary to lose no time, in order to take the Romans unprepared, and anticipate a counter movement on the part of the Duke of Urbino, who, with characteristic indecision, wasted the precious hours in making preparations, and on the 5th of May, when Bourbon was at Rome, had advanced no further than Perugia. Leaving their artillery at Siena, and forsaking the high road, the Spaniards and Germans, with incredible labour, threaded their way by bridlepaths and mountainous defiles, making no stay to collect provisions, of which they stood greatly in need. In Rome all was confusion. The Pope, trusting entirely in his perplexity to Renzo da Ceri, a soldier of more vanity than experience, who had hurriedly levied recruits from the stable boys of the Cardinals, and the shops of artificers, neglected to

[1] Von. Cal., p. 38.
[2] April 25.
[3] IV. p. 1375.
[4] IV. pp. 1380, 1387.

take the commonest precautions for retarding the advance of Bourbon, or securing the safety of the city. No bridges were cut, no adequate means adopted for strengthening the defences, many of which had fallen into ruins.

Arriving at Rome on Saturday, the 4th of May,[1] Bourbon posted his troops behind St. Peter's, near the St. Pancras gate; and immediately sent a trumpet to the Pope, demanding permission to enter the city and purchase provisions. Notwithstanding all the hardship and privations to which his army had been exposed during its march, instead of being diminished, its numbers had been greatly increased by Italian renegades. It had swept into its track the inhabitants of the villages through which it passed, all of whom eagerly joined its ranks, hoping to share in the plunder. Barbarians have done much in the course of ages to injure Rome; but barbarians could have done little had they not been aided by Italian hands and Italian treachery. Rome's worst enemies have proceeded from its own loins. By the advice of Italians, Bourbon had been induced to besiege Florence, hoping to reward his soldiers with its spoils. By the same advice, when he found the Florentines resolved to defend themselves, he had abandoned the siege, and advanced with his troops to Rome. Italians guided his march, Italian heads plotted and directed the attack. The Germans under Freundsberg had left their country, shoeless and penniless. Ragged and half-starved by their long privations, they had but one thought—to satisfy their hunger and fill their pockets. The Spaniards, licentious, sensual, and perfidious, long accustomed to the idleness and dissipation of Milan, had been induced to evacuate their quarters with the greatest reluctance, expecting to find in Rome a richer and more luxurious capital than that which they had left. But for these passions they had one palliation; Italy was not their country, nor was Rome their capital. Not less rapacious than the German, not less cruel and perfidious than the Spaniard, the Italian plundered and sacked his common country, and led its enemies to the spoil he had neither the courage nor the strength to have seized alone.

The morning of the 6th rose heavy with clouds and fogs, hiding from the Romans the advance and manœuvres of their assailants. Their artillery, in which alone they had the advantage, proved useless. The guns from their forts thundered idly in the air, more mischievous to themselves

[1] See IV. p. 1418.

than to their enemy. Twice the assault was given, and twice the assailants were repulsed. At the third onset, Bourbon was seen, conspicuous in his white armour, holding a ladder in his left hand, and with his right beckoning his soldiers to follow. He had scarcely mounted the second round, when he was struck with a harquebus from behind, and fell mortally wounded.[1] Some say that he died immediately, and that a cloak was thrown over his body by the Prince of Orange to conceal his death from the soldiers; others say that when he found himself wounded, he was assisted to descend, carried into a neighbouring chapel, and when "the Thurion gate" was taken, conveyed into the church of San Sisto.[2] "Before his death he confessed, received his Creator, and desired to be taken to Milan, though some thought he meant Rome; for he died murmuring *à Rome, à Rome.*"[3]

More thick and murky fell the mist, hiding from each other assailants and assailed. In the pause, Renzo, who defended the walls with 4,000 men, cried out that Bourbon and Orange were taken; but the Spaniards, with renewed cries of *Carne, carne! Sangre, sangre! Bourbon, Bourbon!* carried the ramparts with a desperate effort, and drove the defenders before them, about two in the afternoon. As an indication of the utter want of care and foresight on the part of the Pope, a detachment of the enemy endeavoured to gain admittance unperceived, by the bastion of San Spirito, near the garden of Cardinal Ermellino, where the walls were low and their continuity interrupted by a small house, which had only been masked with clay.[4] Here a small body of Spaniards contrived to gain an entry; and the besieged, seeing their approach, and believing the city to be taken, fled in disorder. Some were crushed in their flight, others jumped into the Tiber; soldiers and people were mingled together in one headlong and indiscriminate rout. The Pope, who sat unmoved in his chair at St. Peter's, and only smiled at the fears of the anxious throng by whom he was surrounded, now fled in precipitation along the corridor which leads to the Castle of St. Angelo. The approaches were obstructed by a vast crowd of prelates, merchants, Jews and ladies, all fleeing for safety in the same direction. As the Pope and the higher

[1] "At the Thurion gate," says the authority here followed. But no such locality is known. Lord Acton suggested to the author that it might be a tower at the gate of Santo Spirito, called the *Torrione* di S. Spirito.—ED.

[2] IV. p. 1418.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Buonaparte, p. 202.

ecclesiastics pressed in for admittance, the hopeless fugitives of lower rank were driven back, and, compelled to make way, were crushed to death, or forced over the bridge into the Tiber. The rusty portcullis was lowered with difficulty, and the hapless crowd without was abandoned to the rage of the infuriated foe. No one, says an eyewitness, had resolution enough, like Horatius Cocles, to oppose the enemy, or prudence enough to set fire to the bridge, which would have embarrassed the invaders, and exposed them to the fire of St. Angelo. Small and ineffectual as were the means of defence left at the disposal of the Sovereign Pontiff, they were rendered more ineffectual still by the total absence of plan, co-operation, leadership, individual bravery, or presence of mind. All fled like sheep before wolves, or glided adroitly into the ranks of their pursuers, turning their arms against their countrymen.

Seeing the walls left defenceless, the Spaniards shouted to their comrades to advance, and the carnage became general. No quarter was given, no sex and no age was spared. Abandoning their arms, the Romans fled in vain for protection to their churches and their altars. Altars and churches were little regarded by demoralized Spaniards, and by Germans more brutal than Goths or Vandals.

Abandoning the siege of St. Angelo as hopeless, and leaving a strong guard at its gates to prevent the escape of the Pope and the Cardinals, the enemy now divided themselves into companies and plundered the city. Resistance was in vain, if any thought of resistance. The wretched inhabitants, exposed to the passions of a brutal and infuriated soldiery, could only offer their goods to be burnt or pillaged, happy if, by the sacrifice of all that was precious or dear to them, they could save their lives. Not unfrequently, when they had sacrificed all, they were put to death in cold blood, in a fit of drunken passion, or to gratify a savage jest. If fathers and mothers wept at the murder of their children, or the violation of their daughters, their emotions were interpreted as an insult to the victors; if they hid their emotions under a forced tranquillity they were exposed to still greater cruelties for their assumed indifference. Convents and churches were no more spared than private houses. The restraints that religion might otherwise have imposed only stimulated the licentiousness of the invaders; and the most obscene debaucheries were mingled with acts of revolting blasphemy and indescribable brutality.

When the soldiers had, in some measure, slaked their thirst for blood, they fell to rifling the churches. It would be mere mockery to suppose that religion had any share in these enormities, or that the Lutheran tenets of the Germans transported them with iconoclastic zeal to shatter images, and set fire to shrines and religious houses. Yet the evidence is indisputable that Lutherans at the time looked upon these scenes with more than pious resignation, and imagined that Luther was honoured by an impious travestie of holy things enacted by a disorderly horde of robbers. No sooner did they enter a church than they swept away copes, chalices, images, and ornaments—all, in short, that was really valuable, or thought to be. Relics were cast to the ground with an air of contempt; images of saints were plucked from their niches, broken up, or thrown into the fire. Pictures and frescoes were mutilated in sport. Some breaking into the sacristies, put on the vestments, and mounting the altar officiated in derision, substituting for prayers the most horrible blasphemies. Others paraded the streets in the robes and ornaments of bishops and cardinals. One group of Lutheran infantry, in their drunken orgies, laid hold of the Cardinal Ara Cæli, and carried him on a bier throughout the streets of Rome, singing the office for the dead. Stopping before one of the churches, they pronounced over him a funeral oration, interlarded with the most revolting obscenities. Then taking him to their quarters, they compelled him to serve them with the choicest wines in consecrated vessels. The higher the rank of their prisoners, the greater their reputation for wealth, the more refined and exquisite were the tortures prepared for them. Some were suspended by their arms in the air; others, with their feet shackled, were dangled over wells and deep pits of water, with the threat of having the rope cut if they did not declare where their treasures were hidden. Many sunk under the blows they received, or were branded with fire in different parts of their bodies, or their teeth torn out, or molten lead poured into their mouths. In one instance, a prelate who had been taken prisoner with a diamond ring on his finger, was compelled to surrender it. As the soldier who was drawing it off lost patience, his corporal, seeing his embarrassment, drew his knife, cut off the prisoner's finger, and presented it to his comrade. Drawing off the ring, the soldier threw back the finger in the face of the unhappy prisoner. It might have seemed as if the old persecuting era of Nero and Domitian

had returned,—only that in the worst days of these enemies of the Christian faith no brutality, no licentiousness, had ever reached the height to which these soldiers of the Holy Roman Empire, and of him who was the hereditary patron of the Church, now carried their excesses.

Fierce and brutal as were these German troopers, drawn from the robber fastnesses of their own land, and accustomed to all sorts of lawlessness and violence, it is not to be doubted that they found guides and advisers in their renegade Italian associates, and the vilest scum of the vilest population. Italian servants betrayed their masters. Italian residents pointed out to the enemies of their country the most costly palaces, the secret retreats of the rich, the noble, and defenceless. Italian ingenuity suggested the more refined methods of cruelty, the more scandalous violations of oaths and promises. No sight of blood, though the blood was Roman, no misery, no despair, moved them to pity, still less to interpose and mitigate the sufferings of the unhappy citizens. Not an instance is mentioned of these Italians administering aid or comfort to the dying and the wounded, who perished forgotten and neglected alike by friends and foes.

In the horrors of the siege, men, women, and children cast themselves down from the roofs of their houses, rather than fall into the hands of their persecutors; others were pushed out of windows at the point of the lance. In one instance a prisoner, unable any longer to endure the tortures to which he was subjected, escaped from the hands of his tormentors by dashing out his brains against the pavement; in another, a Florentine, who had paid down 1,000 crowns for his liberty, after being put to the torture, was required to pay the same in gold. Unable to raise the sum, he was again put to the torture, and in his agony seizing a poignard from his tormentor, plunged it into his breast, and thus slew himself.

Enormous as was the booty, it was soon squandered in gambling, or disposed of for wholly inadequate sums to the Jewish cormorants and vultures that hang on the skirts of invading armies. Staggering along the streets in rich copes, jewelled collar, and magnificent bracelets, these Germans, who had entered Rome shoeless and in rags, would stake and lose all on a throw of the dice, and, naked as before, start afresh in search of plunder to retrieve their losses. Others might be seen tramping about the city, like cardinals, followed by a long train of lacquies, attended by their concubines in

the embroidered robes, the mitres, and the chasubles they had rifled from the sanctuaries. The waste, the profligacy, the numerous unburied corpses, brought with them the usual Nemesis of plague and famine. The terrors inspired by the soldiers had effectually cut off all supply of provisions from the country; and as the occupation of the city lasted many weeks, the privations of the inhabitants, reduced to feed on roots and herbs, became intolerable. Disease raged everywhere. The contagion spread from the populace to the soldiers; and the plague, less discriminating than the sword, mowed down alike both the conquerors and the conquered.

To these details, preserved in the main by an eyewitness, Jacopo Buonaparte, a gentleman of San Miniato, I add an abridged account of the same siege, sent by an Imperial officer, and an attendant on Bourbon, to the Emperor Charles V.

He writes[1] in Italian by the hand of another, being disabled, as will be shown further on, and proceeds to say that—

"After Bourbon had joined the Emperor's army against Florence and Siena, finding that Florence was well-fortified, and defended by the army of the League, so that it would have been almost impossible to take it, and victuals meanwhile would have run short, while, on the other hand, Rome was defenceless, and by plundering it and putting the Pope to great extremity we should gain all the rest, Bourbon determined to push on by forced marches to Rome, before the army of the League should come to its assistance. To do this the better all the artillery was left at Siena. We accordingly pushed on at the rate of 20 or 24 miles a day, a speed quite extraordinary for so great an army, oppressed by fatigue and hunger. On Saturday the 4th, the army occupied l'Isola, seven miles from Rome. Bourbon and all the principal persons were greatly surprised that the Pope and Cardinals, seeing their danger, and being unarmed, sent no ambassador or message. Several of your Majesty's good subjects thought that if the army came up to the walls, it was a question whether it could take the city, having no artillery; and this would be the destruction of the army. But if it was taken, they foresaw it would have to be put to the sack; which would be injurious to your Majesty's service, because, being enriched by plunder, the army would be dispersed, and the Spaniards and Italians would withdraw to Naples; on the other hand, if the troops did not proceed, they would demand their pay, and this it was impossible to give them. We, therefore, advised Bourbon to manage so that he might be able to make some arrangement with the Pope, without the entire destruction of Rome. Bourbon approved of this, and desired some arrangement to enable him to pay the army; nevertheless he said he was not bound to take care of the interests of the enemy, or give him time to provide for himself, alleging that the admiral of France forbore to sack Milan when he had it in his power, and lost the opportunity of taking it, because it was afterwards defended by Signor Prospero; and that in another case, when Chiaramonte was before Bologna, and treating with pope Julius, Fabricius Colonna entered the city, and the Pope repudiated the treaty.

[1] Il Sacco di Roma, 493. (Abridged.)

"Bourbon accordingly drew near, and on Sunday morning, the 5th, we lodged in the palace of St. Peter's, near the monastery of St. Pancras. Nevertheless, Bourbon wrote in the morning a letter to the Pope, urging him to take some good appointment, and not drive matters to extremity. At last it was proposed that I should go to the Pope; but, not having a safe-conduct, it was thought right that I should remain. The letter was sent by a trumpet, but he was not allowed to pass, and whether it got to the Pope's hands or not, we do not know. No answer came. We had promised to wait till the 22nd hour of the day, after which it would be impossible to restrain the army. In the evening, accordingly, scaling ladders were provided for the assault next morning at the Borgo, on the side of the furnaces, where the wall was considered to be weakest. On the morning of Monday, the 6th, the assault was given, and by mischance Bourbon was hit by a harquebus in the lower part of the belly, near the right thigh; of which wound he died immediately. Nevertheless the event was concealed. The Borgo was taken that morning. The Pope with the greater part of the Cardinals and men of the Court, were in the palace, but on hearing of their loss withdrew into the Castle St. Angelo.

"Having entered, our men sacked the whole Borgo, and killed almost every one they found, making only a very few prisoners. There were not, I believe, more than 3,000 of the enemy in Rome, and they hardly made any defence. Unluckily for them a dark fog prevailed all day, and people could hardly see each other. The fight lasted two hours. The Romans, as we have heard, were fully persuaded by Renzo da Ceri that neither the Borgo nor Rome could be stormed without artillery, and they waited for succours from the army of the League. In this state of affairs the Pope being in the Castle of St. Angelo, those Romans who had taken arms, and a few soldiers that remained, defending the bridges and the part called the Transtiberine, the greater part of the army being in the Borgo, and the captains and councillors of the army being joined together, an ambassador of the king of Portugal came to us, showing that some Romans near him had come by consent of the Pope to treat of an appointment. He was answered that if the Pope could first put in the hands of the said captains the Ponte Molle and the Transtiberine suburb, we were content to treat. The ambassador did not return that day with any answer. The Transtiberine was stormed and taken, and shortly afterwards the bridges of Sisto and S. Maria, by which the army made an entrance into Rome. This was early in the evening of the 6th. Yet the Romans had been all so confident of the power of the city to hold out that not a single person had fled out of the city, or carried anything away. Thus persons of every nation, age, sex, and degree were taken prisoners, and not one escaped. All the monasteries were rifled, and the ladies who had taken refuge in them carried off. Every person was compelled by torture to pay a ransom, not according to his condition, but according to the will of the soldiers, after being stripped of all his goods. The greater part were unable to pay, and remained in prison, subjected to ill treatment. The cardinals of Siena, Cesarino, and Enchivort remained in their houses, expecting to be better treated, because they were Imperialists; and cardinals Bancat [Brancazio ?], Trani, and Jacobazio, and a number of ladies and friends, had taken refuge with them, with their goods; but finding that no more respect was paid to them than to the others, each of them was content to compound for a great ransom. Nevertheless even this did not help them much; for in three or four days these houses were entirely sacked; and with great difficulty some ladies and others took refuge in the house of cardinal Colonna, who had lost every bit of furniture he had. There remained only a mantle and a single shirt. Cardinals S. Sisto and Minerva, who had remained at home, are now in the hands of the soldiers, because, being poor, they could not pay a ransom. The ornaments of all the churches were pillaged, and the relics and other sacred things thrown into

sinks and cesspools. Even the holy places were sacked. The church of St. Peter and the Papal palace, from basement to the top were turned into stables for horses. I am convinced your Majesty, as a most Christian prince, will be grieved at all this havock and contempt of the city of Rome; but every one considers it has taken place by the just judgment of God, because the court of Rome was so ill-ruled. Nevertheless the ruin is too great, and it is felt that no remedy is possible without your Majesty's presence and authority.

"This army has neither head nor members, obedience, nor form of any kind. Every one does what he pleases. The prince of Orange and Giovanni d'Orbina do what they can, but it is of little use. The lance-knights have behaved like very Lutherans, the others as among Christians. The greater part of the army have enriched themselves by the sack, which amounts to many millions of gold. It is believed that great part of the Spaniards will retire with their booty to Naples.

"On Tuesday morning, the 7th, the second day of our entry, the Pope wrote a letter to the captains, praying them to send me to his Holiness. I accordingly went by their direction to the Castle of St. Angelo, where I found his Holiness with 13 of his cardinals, in great grief, as might have been expected. The Pope told me, weeping, in the presence of all the Cardinals, that since fate had brought him to this, owing to his trusting too much to the capitulation with the Viceroy, he no longer wished to make any defence, but would place his person and those of the Cardinals in the hands of your Majesty, and desired me to be mediator with the captains for some good appointment. I gave his Holiness and the Cardinals what consolation I could, saying they might well imagine it was not the intention of the Emperor to maltreat the Pope or the Holy See; and that they were much to blame, as it had been in their power by some good appointment to have prevented the army from coming so near. Nevertheless, I undertook to do what was right, and went several times backwards and forwards between the captains, the Pope, and the Cardinals; so that in four days I had arranged a capitulation, which was generally considered useful and honorable to your Majesty. I know not how your Majesty will be pleased with what followed, but that I leave to your judgment. The Pope at first objected to the form of the obligation, but at last consented. It is true there was some impediment on our part which delayed the execution; this was the ill behavior of the Germans, who were in hopes that we should not leave Rome, or agree to any arrangement, until they were paid all that was due to them, amounting, by their reckoning, to 300,000 scudi; and as the Pope could only pay 100,000 scudi, selling all that he had in the Castle, both of his own and of the Church's ornaments, and goods of the Cardinals and others, no means could be found to satisfy their demands. So I am in great fear lest, by the brutality of the Germans and the fault of others, the whole fruit of our enterprise will be lost, especially as the army of the League is not far off; not more, it is believed, than 20 or 25 miles; and some of their men have made an attempt to liberate the Pope. A few days later it was arranged with the lanceknights that the amount paid by the Pope should be given to them; and the prince of Orange and other captains promised that they should be paid in full, out of the first moneys recovered, as surety for which Parma and Piacenza should be placed in their hands. By these two conditions we hope to stave off their eagerness (*rabbia*) to have the Pope and Cardinals in their hands, for which they make great importunity. In truth, this treaty is of such great importance that your Majesty s servants seem to have undertaken every obligation with these lanceknights to secure the lives of the Pope and the Cardinals. Some difficulty remains about finding the 100,000 sc., but I hope to hit on some expedient. Thus it is determined to put, to-morrow, 300 foot into the Castle, for its safe custody, and gradually we shall see to the execution of

the rest. In reward for my labours on the first day I treated with the Pope, in going from the castle I was wounded in the right arm by the shot of an harquebus from the Castle, so I cannot write with my own hand.

"On the 19th May I returned to the Castle to conclude the treaty with the Pope and Cardinals, to which they had added certain articles about the departure of the persons in the Castle. Vespasian Colonna and the abbot of Najera were with me. As the Pope was unable to pay the 100,000 cr. in money, not having more than 80,000, we sought for merchants, who promised to pay the 20,000 cr. on the security of the Pope and the Cardinals. The Pope, as usual, attempted to procrastinate, wishing to see what assistance could be obtained from the League. In this he was supported by Carpi and the Datary, and Gregory Casale, the English ambassador. In consequence of this delay, it was determined the same night to enclose the Castle with intrenchments, and that the army should take the field. Great difficulty was found in bringing the soldiers together, as they were busy with the booty, and would not turn out, especially the lanceknights, who thought it was a trick to get them out of their quarters. The trenches were so made that neither the Pope nor any one else could escape.

"Great confusion," he continues, "has prevailed in the army since Bourbon's death. If he had lived, Rome, perhaps, would not have been sacked, and matters would have been in a better course; but it is of no use to talk of what cannot be remedied.

"Since Bourbon's death there was no one to take his place. The Viceroy is unpopular, and the duke of Ferrara is away. The prince of Orange has thought of himself as captain general; and everything had been done in his name, not indeed as captain general, but as the chief person in the army. He is a favorite with the Germans. We are expecting to hear from your Majesty how the city is to be governed, and whether the Holy See is to be retained or not. Some are of opinion it should not continue in Rome, lest the French king should make a patriarch in his kingdom, and deny obedience to the said See, and the king of England and all other Christian princes do the same. The Imperialists advise that the Holy See should be kept so low that the Emperor will be able to dispose of it at his pleasure.

Since the Pope's refusal to agree to the capitulation, the captains and counsellors of the army had been occupied in surrounding St. Angelo with trenches, and preparing to fight in case of any attempt to succour the Pope. Seeing all hope of succour fruitless, the Pope has returned to the negotiations, and his troops evacuated the Castle, of which Alarcon took possession with 300 infantry.

"Last night some Spaniards mutinied against the Germans, being dissatisfied that the money paid by the Pope should be assigned to the payment of the Germans, and that the hostages should be placed in their hands. The Viceroy, who is not well looked on by many, was afraid of harm happening to him, and left Rome. The marquis del Vasto has gone with him, Don Ugo and Alarcon have remained, and with the other captains and counsellors have pacified the Germans. Every day similar dangers and difficulties have happened, and the lanceknights did not refrain from sacking the houses of Spaniards and others.

"There is much famine and pestilence here, but it has not been possible to leave, because of the length of the negotiations with the Pope, and for want of money for the soldiers.

"The prince of Orange was wounded by an harquebus ten days ago. The shot entered under the eye, passed through the head and the palate, and out under his ear. There is good hope of his recovery.

"Many think that if your Majesty could make a good peace with France, it would be well for you to come to Italy. In fact, without your

coming, all Italy will be destroyed, chiefly because this army thinks of nothing but plunder and destruction, and there is no one to restrain it. Most of the Romans are still prisoners, as the soldiers demand ransoms at their pleasure, which the inhabitants cannot pay, having lost all. No captain dares to speak of a remedy.

"The prince of Orange and these captains, considering that I worked much at the accord by which Parma and Piacenza will come into your Majesty's hands, have granted me the government of these cities, with power to appoint a substitute. I send a copy of the grant, and beg from you a confirmation or new grant, as I wish to give it to my brother.

"Now Bourbon is dead, near whom your Majesty ordered me to live, I wait further orders. Rome, 8 June 1527."

One more extract from a private letter of Cardinal Como to his secretary[1] must close these horrible details :—

"Rome was taken on the 6th. They began to sack the city the same day. The sacking and taking of prisoners continued for 12 days, and it would have lasted longer still if there had been anything to sack, or any more prisoners to take. After the first three days, the prince of Orange, who claimed to be chief on the death of Bourbon, issued a proclamation against plundering and taking prisoners, but the soldiers no longer acknowledged any superior, and behaved more cruelly than before. The palace of Pompeio Colonna, in which was the Chancery, was one of the first places rifled; but Pompeio Colonna had not yet come thither, and little booty was found in it. Next the palace of Campo di Fiore was sacked, and those of all the Cardinals who were in the Castle with the Pope. An attack was then made on the palace of the ambassador of Portugal (Don Martino, nephew of the king of Portugal), who was reported to have a large store of goods belonging to merchants. Two Spanish captains volunteered to defend the palace for sufficient drink money. The Portuguese ambassador, confiding in the shadow of his King whose kinsman he was, said he would have no banner but that of the king of Portugal. The merchants and gentlemen whose goods were in his house, and who had fled to him for protection, prayed him, with tears, to comply with the wishes of the captains; but the ambassador said it was against the honor of his sovereign. The captains went away, and brought Spaniards and lanceknights, who entered the palace together; and though it was very strong, and well fortified with men and artillery, no defence was made. The whole palace was sacked, and all that were within it were made prisoners, both men and women. The ambassador was taken and robbed, and, if he had not been delivered by the help of John de Urbino (d'Orbina), would have been compelled to pay a heavy fine, besides the money and goods he had lost, amounting to more than 13,000 ducats. The total amount of property in the house was upwards of 500,000 ducats; for it was the strongest palace in Rome,—and all the Roman gentlemen had deposited their money and jewels in it, the merchants their fine goods, and the Jews their pledges.

"The soldiers then began to attack the other houses of the princes, Romans, and merchants, every one of which was sacked, even to those of the poor water-carriers (*acquaroli*). There remained the houses of the cardinals Valle, Cesarino, the Fleming Enchivort, and Siena, to whom, as they were Imperialists, a number of men and women had fled, with their goods, for protection. These houses were spared for eight days. The Spanish captains, pretending a wish for these houses to be spared, offered to protect them for a certain sum. At first they demanded for each of the cardinals' palaces 100,000 ducats, making it a great favour to

[1] Il Sacco di Roma, 471. (Abridged.)

spare them on these terms. In the end, Cesarino was compelled to agree for 45,000 ducats, La Valle for 35,000, Enchivort for 40,000, Siena for 35,000. These sums were all paid in two days. A day or two after the captains who had received the composition money said that the lanceknights wanted to come and sack, and that they could not prevent them. The lanceknights accordingly attacked the palace of the cardinal of Siena, who thought himself safe by the good cheer he had offered, and the friendly terms on which he stood with the Emperor. The fight raged in his palace for more than four hours; it was entirely gutted, and the cardinal himself was made prisoner, together with all that were within. He was dragged through the streets without his biretta, with a sorrowful visage, and many kicks and blows, and made to pay 50,000 ducats; and after he had paid them, he was tied to a stable, and his head would have been cut off if he had not paid 50,000 ducats more. As he had no money he was compelled to give a bill for the amount. The lanceknights then said they would sack the palaces of Cesarino, Valle, and Enchivort; who, seeing what had happened to Siena, withdrew in disguise to the house of Pompey Colonna. They had scarcely left when these palaces were all sacked, notwithstanding the composition money already paid. Many ladies who were in the house of La Valle left to go to Pompey Colonna's, but before they could reach it about 200 were carried off, with the greatest cries and lamentations."

After a variety of similar cruelties and extortions practised by the Spaniards and the lanceknights, the writer proceeds:—

"All the churches and monasteries, both of friars and nuns, were sacked. Many friars were beheaded, even priests at the altar; many old nuns were beaten with sticks; many young ones violated, robbed, and made prisoners; all the vestments, chalices, silver, were taken from the churches. The tabernacles in which were contained the *Corpus Domini* were broken, and the Host itself was thrown, now on the ground, now into the fire, now trampled underfoot, now put in a fryingpan to roast, now broken into a hundred pieces. All the silver reliquaries were scattered about. The head of St. John Baptist at San Silvestro was spoiled of its silver and thrown on the ground. It was picked up by a poor old nun. Many of the nuns saved themselves in the house of Pompey Colonna, where there were about 500 in one room; and though Pompey Colonna could help neither friend nor kinsman, no injury was done in his house. All the Spaniards and Germans in Rome, both princes, officials, and men of the Court, were plundered and taken prisoners by the Spaniards themselves, and treated just as cruelly as the others. Signor Pereres [Perez], secretary to the Emperor, was made prisoner, and had to pay a ransom of 2,000 ducats. In short, there is not a house in Rome, either of cardinals or others, not a church or monastery, either of the Romans or of foreigners, great or small, which has not been sacked; even the houses of the water-carriers and porters. Cardinals, bishops, friars, priests, old nuns, infants, dames, pages, and servants—the very poorest—were tormented with unheard-of cruelties,—the son in the presence of his father, the babe in the sight of its mother. Fathers were separated from sons, husbands from wives, so that they knew nothing about each other; menservants and maidservants tortured to reveal hidden treasures, and made prisoners, for the most part, two or three times over; first by the Italians, then by the Spaniards, and afterwards by the lanceknights; sometimes by the very men who had already exacted a fine, and, finding the person rich, demanded another. The houses were sacked three times: first of their plate and fine goods; then of their other movables; lastly, the villanous Colonnesi came, dying with hunger, and sacked and ravaged what the other soldiers had not deigned to take.

Laden with their booty they left Rome, taking away even nails and iron bars, so that really scarcely anything whatever is left. All the apothecaries' shops were plundered to no purpose, and the boxes and vases thrown about, so that an ounce of medicine can hardly be purchased in Rome for 10 ducats. All the registers and documents of the Camera Apostolica were sacked, torn to pieces, and partly burnt, so that not a piece of them can be found entire. What a number of bulls were mutilated, their lead torn off to make bullets for the harquebuses! They had begun to sack the Pope's beautiful private library, of which there is not the like in all the world; but Dentuulla,[1] of the prince of Orange, told them that the Prince forbad them to do much in that quarter, as he had his wardrobe close by; which we had some difficulty in making them believe.

"The whole damage done in Rome is estimated by merchants at six or eight millions of ducats at the least; though the enemy could only have made a little more than one million's worth of the goods taken, and another million out of the compositions and ransoms; but after emptying all the coffers in Rome, they had 100,000 ducats in bills. They had no general. The prince of Orange was their chief in dignity, but they would not obey him.

"The lanceknights cannot bear to hear the Viceroy spoken of 'et li vogliono male di morte.' Gio. d'Urbino is the first man of all the Spanish officers that the Spaniards have obeyed. Many of the private soldiers have made as much as 25,000, 30,000, or even 40,000 ducats each. Fancy what the captains have made! The prince of Orange has not gained a farthing. I do not believe it was from any scruple, but that he did not know how.—Civita Vecchia, 24 May 1527."

Thus was Rome besieged, taken, and sacked, not as in the infancy of the Faith, by Goths and Huns, or by Turks and Mahommedans, but in the mature age of Christianity, by her own sons, who professed the same creed and worshipped at the same altars as herself. The sacred and eternal city, once mistress of the world, exercising a prouder lordship than Pagan Rome had ever exercised over the faith and consciences of mankind, was doomed once more to sit in the dust, and mourn over the iniquities of her own children, by whom she had been brought to desolation. The spoiling of her treasures, the destruction of her works of art, the harvests of many generations, the loss of books and records, never to be replaced, were trifles in comparison with the extinction of those traditions of sanctity and inviolability which had descended to her, as an inalienable inheritance, from age to age. Invested in the imaginations of men with the fulness of Apostolic authority, the central home where Christianity had gathered up its strength, and arrayed itself in its most awful majesty, more sacred than Jewry itself, now that Jewry was wholly abandoned to the Infidels, she was no longer the queen and virgin of earlier times. The awe she had once inspired was gone for ever. Yet the world looked with horror and dismay on this

[1] Some error, apparently, in the transcript.

spectacle of her ruins. Even those who had been instrumental to her destruction found it necessary to shift the blame from themselves, and shunned the averted looks of those who regarded them as profaners of holy things, and ministers of Satan. The floodgates of the world had broken up, and the day of vengeance was at hand. Rhodes and Hungary delivered to the Turk, Rome trampled down by heretics, the Lutheran defiling the sanctuary, the Infidel openly defying the Vicar of the Most High, what remained except the reign of Antichrist, which was fast coming on the earth? The ancient strongholds of the Faith had fallen and passed away; heresy and corruption were now to triumph in its stead.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

For reasons which had now become more pressing than ever, Wolsey had been anxious, during the last and at the commencement of the present year, to prevent any closer conjunction between Francis and the Emperor. But how to proceed securely was the question, for he had not yet been able to fathom the exact significance of the treaty of Madrid, and the precise nature of the negociations for the marriage of the French King with the Emperor's sister. In this uncertainty he adopted a temporizing policy, maintaining a good understanding with Francis without committing himself to an open rupture with Charles V. The wisdom of this resolve was justified by the conduct of the two monarchs. Though Francis professed the greatest friendship for England, and entire submission to Wolsey's advice, he had entered into secret negociations with the Emperor for the delivery of his children. So long as the war in Italy remained undecided, and there was any chance that the operations of his army might be unfortunate, or the Pope alienated by hope of reinforcements from France, the Emperor showed a more accommodating temper. To obtain peace he was willing to consent to reasonable conditions; and for that purpose, with the view of amusing and deceiving both Courts, he had sent an ambassador to England, ostensibly to entertain proposals agreeable alike to all parties, secretly to protract negociations as long as possible by various expedients, and prevent any conclusion until the turn of affairs in Italy should leave it in his power to dictate his own terms. During the course of this intrigue, whatever offers were made by Wolsey to Francis were betrayed by the latter to Charles, with a view of enhancing the importance of his own alliance, and weakening the union of the Emperor with England.

But whilst he professed to listen to the French King's

proposals for the delivery of his children, and seemed ready to moderate the articles of the treaty of Madrid, Charles was secretly resolved to insist on the surrender of Burgundy. No sooner, then, was his success in Italy apparent, than he threw off the mask, and flatly refused to make any concessions.[1]

It was necessary for Wolsey to feel his way with caution. Openly to advise Francis to repudiate Eleanor, and offer him, in this state of things, a closer alliance with England, was out of the question. When, in the first transports of his delivery, Francis, a year before, was profuse in his gratitude to Henry and the Cardinal for their good offices, Wolsey had suggested to Taylor and Cheyne,[2] the ambassadors with the French King, that they should enlarge on the obvious advantages of amity between the two Princes, "after which peace might be concluded at a friendly and personal interview." They were to add, as from himself, that "he was of opinion that a lady of more tender years and nature, and of better education, beauty, and other virtues," than Eleanor, would be a more suitable match for the French King, "wherein, if at any time I may know his desire, I shall be a broker and a mediator for him to the best of my power."[3] The young lady in question was the Princess Mary, then only ten years old. Nothing apparently came of this proposal until five months after, when Clerk, then ambassador at the French court, was informed by Francis that he had received letters out of England from his ambassador, "that the king of England, his entire beloved brother and best friend, would have him now become and wax a good man." "What he should mean thereby," says Clerk, "we cannot tell."[4] As Francis and his mother were engaged at the time in attending the funeral of the late Queen Claude, no further notice was taken of this suggestion until the 14th of October, when, in reply to a letter from Wolsey, Clerk said that he thought the words of the King of France "sounded to such an intent, and I deemed verily that the practice had been somewhat set forwards; notwithstanding, because your Grace, at that time, had not written unto me thereof . . . I thought it best that

[1] See IV. p. 1388, and especially Clerk's letter of March 1, p. 1310.

[2] May 4, 1526, IV. p. 962.

[3] On the 11th of September, Gasparo Spinelli wrote to the Signory to say that he had been informed by the Cardinal that the King would not join the Italian league unless his Most Christian Majesty first married the Princess, and restored to him Boulogne, saying, "This King will not spend money to make an enemy of his friend, and gain nothing." Brown's Ven. Cal., p. 607.

[4] Sept. 13, IV. p. 1108.

I myself should not be too busy, ne with my Lady therein, ne with none other of the Council; but that it should suffice that by other I did procure that those men have been put in remembrance of their necessity of friends, and of that thing that should so much make for their surety and weal, not doubting but they should see and feel themselves a-cold, and, so doing, they would themself come running to blow the coal."[1]

The affair lingered unaccountably. The French King, desirous of making the easiest terms he could with the Emperor, avoided committing himself to any act which should render such accommodation more difficult. Under one pretence or another he kept out of the way of the English ambassadors, and avoided the necessity of giving them an answer. At length, on All Souls' Day (2nd Nov. 1526), Clerk succeeded in obtaining an interview. "I pressed him, then, on two points," he says in his account of their conversation, "one was to stir him to the wars"—meaning the war of the confederates in Italy;—"another to prepare himself for this most desired peace," which the Emperor had apparently consented should be arranged in England; "finally, that he would let us know his resolution for the redemption of his children. He was very sore at this; said he could not do otherwise than he had done. I said it was needful to enlarge the sum (the ransom), and that the King would mediate for him better with the Emperor if Wolsey knew his resolution. He made no satisfactory answer. I urged that he had good cause to trust the King, for he was ready to give unto him, in marriage, his daughter, the pearl of the world, and the jewel that his Highness esteemed more than anything on earth. He said, 'By the faith of a gentleman, not only now of late, but also of a long season before his going into Italy (meaning before the battle of Pavia), he had a mind to marry his brother's daughter of England.'" That is, a child of ten years old. "I said to him, 'Sir, whereat stick you then? It stondeth only by you that the thing is not performed. I know well that she is offered unto you under such conditions as in manner ye cannot wish them better. Besides that,' said I, 'she is of that beauty and virtue;'—and herewith me willing to speak somewhat largely in the laud and praise of my lady Princess, he said, 'I pray you repeat to me none of all these matters; I know well enough her education, her

[1] IV. p. 1138.

form and fashion, her beauty and virtue, and what father and mother she cometh of, and how expedient and necessary it shall be for me and my realm that I marry her. And I assure you for the same causes I have as great a mind to her as ever I had to any woman; but I must do my things, as near as I can, without displeasure of God and reproach of the world.' And here he told us he had promised to marry Madame Eleanora, but he thought the Emperor would refuse her. 'But,' said Clerk, 'suppose the Emperor do not? I am of opinion that he will be very glad if you will have her. For what should he do with her? Where can he bestow her so well as upon you? Wherefore, Sir, I think verily, if ye axe her according to the treaty (of Madrid) ye shall have her.' He said, if the Emperor consented he would be advised before he took her; but he was sure the Emperor would refuse."[1]

It is not difficult to catch the drift of all these complimentary excuses. The defeat of the Hungarians by the Turks was not so calamitous to all the powers of Christendom as might have been surmised. Those who professed to lament it most, secretly consoled themselves with the persuasion that it must moderate the ambitious designs of the Emperor. In proportion as he was bound to avenge it, provide for the safety of his sister, the widowed Queen of Hungary, and support the pretensions of Ferdinand, the less would he be able to attend to his own aggrandizement. Every one, except the Emperor himself, had an interest in expressing his horror of the event in the most exaggerated terms; and policy concurred with pity in fomenting the popular odium against the man who had shown so little concern for the misfortunes of his sister. It was then partly the hope of finding the Emperor more pliable, partly the expectation of inducing Henry to moderate the conditions attached to the offer of Mary's hand—for he demanded no less than the surrender of Boulogne—that induced the French King, in the presence of Clerk, to insist so strictly upon his honour, and the necessity of fulfilling the promise he had made to the Emperor. That necessity had never occurred to him so vividly before.[2]

To cheapen the value of Mary's hand by openly dissuading his marriage with Eleanor was no part of Wolsey's policy. He affected the character of a disinterested friend and adviser. In averting a union that could not tend to the French King's happiness, he was only consulting the King's best interests.

[1] IV. p. 1157. [2] See letter of Morette to Francis, IV. p. 1168.

If Francis desired a matrimonial alliance with England he must sue for it himself, and be ready to show his sense of the obligation by liberal offers. Secure in his island home, undisturbed by the wars of Christendom, possessing "a jewel" which an Emperor might envy—did envy in fact, and deplore the hard necessity which compelled him to decline it—Wolsey's master was not so straitly pushed that he should throw away his daughter for nothing, or contract alliance with a King who had nothing to offer in turn. Why should he, whose wealth was sufficient for all purposes, whose prosperity was undiminished, seek one for a son-in-law whose children were hostages in a foreign land, and himself only one remove from a prisoner? If Francis preferred the hand of Eleanor, the domineering sister of a domineering Emperor, to wealth, liberty, alliance with England, and the recovery of his children upon favourable conditions, that was his own concern. His friends might deplore, but were not bound to prevent, such infatuation. So when Clerk presented himself to Louise, ostensibly to discuss indifferent subjects, really to fathom her and her son's intentions, the two wary diplomatists fenced and manœuvred with one another, under the mask of the most engaging sincerity. "They proposed," she told Clerk, "to send a nobleman into Spain to demand Madame Eleanora"—in reality to make propositions she had no mind that Clerk should discover—"if she is denied them they will protest that the King claims liberty to marry whom he likes." But in this and in all other matters she affected to be guided implicitly by England. Clerk suggested that under present circumstances the Emperor might possibly not insist upon Burgundy, but be satisfied if Francis paid the ransom, and espoused his sister. "In that case," continued Clerk, "intend you to accept the marriage?" Louise replied that her son's mind had long been set upon the daughter of England, "as upon that thing that should be most profitable to both realms, and also, considering her age and her virtues, most pleasant and delectable to himself; that Madame Eleanora being now of the age of 30 years, and far other qualities, to take and buy her so dear, Clerk might be well assured that the King her son, if he might choose, should not gladly set his mind that way, were she never so much the Emperor's sister." She adroitly added, with a little spice of maliciousness, that Francis could never expect any help from Charles, seeing how he had treated his other sister (the Queen of Hungary), and

how devoid he was of natural affection. Then, suddenly turning the conversation, she demanded of Clerk what Henry would have them do in this case to end these interminable wars. "Hereat," says the ambassador, "to be plain with your Grace, I somewhat staggered. For to repeat unto her such reasons as should dissuade the marriage of Madame Eleanor, I thought it no time, she had rehearsed them so clearly already. But I urged for her consideration that Madame Eleanora was now of that age that there should not be found, peradventure, so much good nature and humility in her as in my lady Princess, whom now in this age and after this education she might bring, fashion, forge up, and make of her what she would herself, assuring her that my said lady Princess should be as loving, lowly, and humble unto her as she should be to her own father and mother." At these words Louise lifted up her hands, and said, with tears in her eyes, that Clerk spoke the truth; adding that if the Princess became her son's wife, she would be as loving and humble unto her as to her own son.[1]

The result was not very satisfactory. Urge what reasons he would, it was clear that Francis was determined on the recovery of his children at all hazards. It was equally clear that the Emperor had solemnly declared[2] that the children should never be released without the consummation of the King's marriage with his sister, and the surrender of Burgundy. Louise, at a subsequent interview, urged that means might be found for knitting the two kingdoms by a marriage between the children. "The Dauphin," she said, "should not be meet, as England ought to have a ruler of its own." She proposed the Duke of Orleans, "whose name was Henry, and resembled the King's highness in name, face, and all his gests and manners." Clerk received the proposition coldly. He had no instructions to that effect.[3]

Time wore on. The probabilities of Mary's marriage became more uncertain than ever. "The French king," writes Clerk on the 12th of December,[4] "pretends he is sending into Spain only to demand Madame Eleanora. Doubtless he intends to treat for peace. If he restores Bourbon, marries Eleanora, pays the ransom, and the Emperor, in dread of the Turk, forbears his demand of Burgundy, they are in good train for it. I have told the

[1] IV. p. 1174.
[2] "Vovit et juravit," ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] IV. p. 1204.

Italian ambassadors here" (who were then urging upon Francis the more energetic prosecution of the war in Italy), "that they must consider the Frenchmen's nature—how little inclined they would be to a new war, and unlikely to stay with them; but, for aught I can say, they remain still in their good opinion.[1] I pray God they be not deceived. I assure your Grace it is greatly to be feared. I was told by the Legate that when Francis was in Spain he seemed to have great pleasure in Madame Eleanora's company" (who had now cast off her widow's weeds, and called herself the French queen); "and to this day Francis speaks now and then very good and pleasant words of her. This is a sign that he sets more by her than he would have us know."

The report from Ghinucci,[2] then in France, was not more hopeful. He told Wolsey that though he could not perceive any signs of regard for Eleanora in Francis or his mother, there was no probability of any marriage with Mary so long as Francis entertained the least hope of an arrangement with the Emperor. So resolved were they on the restoration of the children, that all their actions were exclusively directed to this end; and as they thought there were no other means of compassing it except by a Spanish marriage, Francis would consent not to marry Eleanor only, but any woman, though she were a hundred years old,—"even Cæsar's mule," to use their own phrase, if that were necessary. To disguise his intentions from his confederates, to whose ill successes in Italy Francis was wholly indifferent, was now their main concern. If, therefore, Wolsey's proposal was to take effect, it would be necessary to modify the conditions of Mary's marriage. So all demands for the surrender of Boulogne were abandoned, and Fitzwilliam was sent to offer the hand of the Princess on easier terms.[3]

On arriving at Poissi the 19th of December he found the King hunting as usual—his ordinary device for avoiding disagreeable business. Returning on Saturday the 22nd, Francis sent word to Fitzwilliam and Clerk that if they liked to visit him on Sunday he would wait dinner. On their admission into his chamber, he observed to them that though he did not consider himself bound by the treaty of Madrid, yet he was

[1] *i.e.* "of aid from France."

[2] Dec. 11, IV. p. 1198.

[3] He had sent Ghinucci to Spain a few days before to watch the progress of negociations there; but the French, suspecting the design, had detained Ghinucci at the French court under various pretences.

afraid that when he came to treat, the Emperor, seeing how friendless he was, would insist upon his espousing Eleanor. Hereupon Fitzwilliam remarked that he had been sent by the King his master "to speak plainly the bottom of his heart and mind." Francis replied he would hear him gladly; for "round, plain, and open language was a language that pleased him best of all." Then Fitzwilliam added that he had come to offer the Princess Mary on easy terms; and if the proposition were accepted, Henry would join him and his confederates. The proposal was received by the King "with a glad and very merry countenance," and the ambassadors were at once referred to his mother.[1] Delighted to find that no further demand was made for the cession of Boulogne, Louise proffered her best efforts in advancing the match with her son, who had long been anxious, she said, to marry the Princess "for her manifold virtues and other gay qualities." "For all this," says Fitzwilliam, "we think it very hard to say what they now think, and what they will do." Unknown to them, Francis was at that very moment deep in negociations with the Emperor; doomed to be deceived in his turn as he was deceiving others. But to the Spanish court he held a very different language in respect to this offer of my Lady Princess, from that which he used to the English ambassador, notwithstanding his love "of round, plain, and open language."

At last matters fell into a better train. For, despairing of finding the Emperor in a more accommodating humour, Francis turned his thoughts to these matrimonial proposals of England. The first month of the new year was spent in arranging the preliminaries, and settling the bases on which negociations should proceed. They consisted, as usual, in the endeavour of each side to outwit the other. Francis was, or at least appeared to be, more gracious and liberal than his ministers; more anxious to accept the demands of his "best beloved friend and brother." It is probable that at the moment he expressed no more than he felt; for he was not accustomed to reserve, and his affairs with the Emperor were beginning to look desperate. The aid of England was indispensable; still more, if he seriously intended to carry the war into Spain, and compel the Emperor to surrender his children. Nor was this intention so improbable as it might be thought. He was certainly anxious that his alliance with Henry should take the form of an offensive league; and to avenge himself

[1] IV. p. 1216.

on the Emperor was one of his objects throughout the coming year. But, in the words of Ghinucci, "I do not understand these mysteries, and have resolved to dismiss them from my thoughts, as I am not likely to fathom them."[1]

After many tedious formalities, Grammont Bishop of Tarbes, François Viscomte Turenne, and La Viste, the President of Paris, were sent into England at the latter end of February, to arrange for a marriage in due form. A minute account of their proceedings has been preserved in a diary kept by Dodieu, the secretary of the embassy.[2]

I make the less excuse for entering into these details because they present the Cardinal to my readers on his stronger side, and in his appropriate element. It was not in domestic affairs or local politics that the genius of Wolsey displayed itself to the best advantage, but in diplomacy and statesmanship. Unaided by fleets or armies, ill supported by his master, and by colleagues of very moderate abilities, he contrived by his individual energy to raise this country from a third-rate State into the highest circle of European politics. Englishmen have been so long accustomed to this supremacy, are so sensitive to any diminution of their reputation and influence abroad, that they cannot recognize the difficulty of Wolsey's task, or the merits of the man who first conceived and realized this conception of his country's greatness. Gasping and enfeebled from the wounds of the civil wars, content to purchase internal tranquillity at the price of obscurity; menaced by Scotland on one side, by Ireland on the other; without fleets or armies, or a foot of colonial ground;—it required all the proud originality of genius to overlook the material disproportion of England, and contend for the palm with the greatest and most ancient kingdoms of the world.[3] It was not merely, as foreign statesmen said of the Cardinal, that he would have moved heaven and earth sooner than any man should be thought greater than his master; but he brought to his master's feet, popes, kings, and emperors,

[1] IV. p. 1266.

[2] See a full abstract of it, IV. p. 1397.

[3] No nation has ever yet become great, which from local position or other causes has been kept apart from the general current of human interests. It was not the only advantage this country derived from its connection with Rome, that by its conversion to Christianity by Roman missionaries, it was drawn, in spite of itself, towards the very centre of Catholic thought and a common Christendom. Looking on its geographical position, at the extreme verge of the West, separated from the rest of the world, who could have anticipated that it would ever have risen out of its insular exclusiveness, and mingled its history with the history of the West?

when popes and emperors were powerful entities, and kingship something more than a shadow. There are indications enough in state papers to show that this was no common feeling among the English statesmen of his days, whatever it may be now, when English representatives at home or abroad speak with an influence wholly independent of their individual worth and ability. Unused to foreign politics, unequal to cope with the subtle and dexterous diplomatists of the Continent, imperfect linguists, and shy from their insular isolation, Englishmen in those days felt themselves little fitted to maintain that proud and independent position which has since become habitual and familiar. It was the genius of Wolsey that led the way; as it was his genius that determined the foreign policy, not only of this but of subsequent reigns; and though in this conference he stood alone, it will be seen that he was more than a match for the most accomplished diplomatists that Francis could select.

The commissioners reached Dover at one o'clock on the 26th of February, and were received at their landing by the notorious John Joachim. They were admitted to their first audience with the Cardinal at Westminster on the 3rd of March. De Tarbes, in a formal Latin speech, thanked his Grace for the services he had rendered in promoting the marriage and advancing the King's deliverance. Then, retiring with Wolsey into his closet, he repeated his thanks in French, announcing that he had brought powers to conclude the marriage and to treat for a universal peace, but it was his master's wish that they should make their first application to the Cardinal, and be ruled by his advice. After a few brief protestations of his unalterable affection for the French King, Wolsey, waiving all compliments, plunged at once into business. He admonished the ambassadors that no proffer had been made of Mary's hand, nor had any one been empowered to make one. She must be asked for, and not offered. For his part he had desired, and still desired, the restitution of the two Princes, and for that reason he had suggested an offensive league in consideration of the marriage; but before either proposition could be entertained, he intended to establish a treaty for perpetual peace between the two nations, that there might be no further contention between them. Unprepared for this announcement, the ambassadors urged that the present alliance between the two sovereigns was sufficient. But, deaf to all argument, Wolsey insisted that the Princess could not

be given to a man of whose perpetual friendship they were not fully assured. On this point he remained firm, and would listen to none of their overtures. It was in vain that they urged they had no instructions. "How could that be?" he retaliated instantaneously, "seeing that Brinon and Robertet have been commissioned by the King your master to hear the proposals for perpetual peace, and, by Madame's advice, he has consented to our demand for Ardes, Boulogne, a tribute of salt, and a pension of 50,000 crowns." Whether this was true or not, he spoke with such consummate assurance that they did not even dare to question his assertion. The marriage, he insisted, was of the utmost importance to Francis. It was the only way for extricating him out of his difficulties; but the indispensable preliminaries, without which it would be useless to proceed, were a perpetual peace, an annual tribute of salt, and a pension for his master of 50,000 crowns. In vain they remonstrated that this was buying marriage too dear; that the honour of France could not suffer it to become tributary to any nation. Wolsey affected to treat their objections as frivolous. He was as much concerned as themselves to maintain the honour of their master, and had kept it steadily in view in drawing up these arrangements. It was no use to dissemble; he was certain they had received the necessary instructions. Then, taking the Bishop of Tarbes aside, he expatiated on the trouble he had undergone in obtaining his master's consent to these terms, and the opposition he had encountered—alluding to the Duke of Norfolk, and probably to the Queen. These discussions took place on the Sunday.

A second audience was appointed for Shrove Tuesday. On that day Wolsey began with informing the commissioners that he had apprized the King of their coming; that his Majesty was much pleased at the intelligence, and had asked for the conditions of the peace, but was greatly surprised on being informed that they had brought none. He reiterated his former arguments. He urged that it was useless sending ambassadors unless his demands were granted. As for the pension, it was a mere bagatelle. He would rather pay it out of his own pocket than sacrifice the alliance for such a trifle. If they refused, they were only deceiving him; and, under the pretext of negociating with his master, Francis was in reality attempting to conceal his intention of concluding the match with Madame Eleanor. "Be it so," he continued, with

exasperating coolness; "let him only be candid, and I will willingly assist him to bring it about." Never was there a more peremptory negociator. Firm as a rock, he would make no concessions.

On Thursday they were presented to the King in his *arrière salle* at Greenwich. They found him surrounded by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Sir Thomas More, Lord Rochford, and Fitzwilliam, and other great officers of State. On presenting their credentials to the King, he expressed the great obligations he felt to his brother of France for condescending to take his little daughter, who did not deserve such an honour. He had long entertained great affection for their master, such as one gentleman might feel for another, and, if his state allowed it, would not be without his company for a single day. "Their alliance," he said, "was firm so that there was no need to strengthen it by any additional treaty; still, he was astonished to find that nothing was said in their credence of a perpetual peace." They excused themselves as well as they could, urging that peace was so well established already between the two Kings for their lives, that it was not likely to be broken by their successors. Then he desired to know the exact state of their master's engagements with Madame Eleanor; for he could not think of bestowing his heiress on a man, about whose capacity to marry any doubts might exist. They replied that this doubt was already removed by their appearance on this occasion; that their master would never do anything contrary to his honour and conscience, and he would think it strange if this difficulty were raised afresh, when he had given his word that he was free. On this Henry stepped aside, and, after consulting his ministers, told them that if Francis had been a simple gentleman he would readily have offered him his daughter's hand, but his councillors advised him not to risk the chance of their being afterwards separated—(strange language, considering from whose lips it came!)—and his capacity of contracting marriage must be placed beyond all dispute. Then, taking Turenne aside, he remarked that such great matters as these could not be arranged without difficulties. A truth of which he was soon after to make painful experience in his own person.

The commissioners met again by appointment at Wolsey's house, on Friday the 8th. The discussion still turned on the French King's engagement to Eleanor. This was followed by

another audience, of no moment, on the 9th. On Monday 11th, De Tarbes and Turenne received an invitation through Lord Rochford to visit the King at Greenwich. After dinner Henry sent for them to the Queen's chamber, where they talked much of his prosperity, and the friendship of the two monarchs. When Katharine inquired whether they did not intend to treat for a universal peace,[1] De Tarbes replied that such a peace must be preceded by the object of their visit; not venturing to state it explicitly, as he was still uncertain whether it had been communicated to the Queen. The King said to her, smiling, that they were referring to the marriage of her daughter, the Princess. On this they requested her approval of the match. She consented, but characteristically added that the interests of two princes ought not to obstruct the welfare of Christendom. When she insinuated that this alliance might shake the good understanding existing between the King and her nephew, they added, somewhat abruptly, that as the two Kings would thus become powerful they might dictate their own terms to the Emperor. The inverview ended by the King showing them his furniture and his riches. He talked much of the great things he had done for France, and how much he had exhorted the Emperor to treat his captive with generosity.

Whilst De Tarbes and Turenne were thus engaged with the King, the others were closeted with Wolsey at Westminster. He insisted, as before, on a new treaty of perpetual peace, the salt, and the pension. Observing, in the course of his argument, that no treaty could be ratified without the consent of the Estates of England, and that their consent would not be given without some corresponding advantage, and the least he could think of were the salt and the pension, La Viste inquired of their manner of proceeding, and their powers. Wolsey replied, that the Estates were summoned by the King, and deliberated on matters proposed by him, the result of which was always in accordance with the King's wishes; and their decisions, he said, were inviolable. La Viste remarked that there was no necessity in France; for there the King is the soul of the law, and can do whatever he chooses for the good of his kingdom, and when any decree is registered in the Court of Parliament it is rigidly enforced. They were then invited to dine with the Cardinal on Friday, the 15th. On that day D'Ouarty arrived from Francis with fresh instruc-

[1] That is, including her nephew the Emperor.

tions, empowering them to offer 15,000 cr. worth of salt every year, at the current price, but demanding in return the delivery of the Princess within a month after the ratification of the treaty. They found Wolsey in his gallery. As they begged him to withdraw his demands, and advise his master to do the same, he listened to their remonstrances with significant gestures of displeasure. He reproached them with not understanding their business, or wilfully departing from their instructions; he had learned from Clerk, the ambassador at the French court, that they were empowered to grant his demands, and had been instructed by Francis to that effect. In proof of this assertion he read to them a Latin translation of Clerk's letter. After dinner he returned to the charge, telling them that he had advised this alliance contrary to the opinion of many of the Council; that he could never have anticipated they would have made any difficulty; and as to advising his master to abandon his demands, he would rather die than offer such advice, for he would be thought a fool or a traitor if he did, and be in danger of his life. Francis, he said, should consider his services, and not urge him to do what might cause him to be murdered in his bed.[1]

To this angry remonstrance the Commissioners calmly replied, insisting on the impossibility of the conditions proposed, but they offered as a token of friendship a tribute of salt to the amount of 15,000 crowns annually during the life of the King and the Queen. They might just as well, says

[1] This was not so extravagant an assertion as at first sight might appear. The French were very unpopular in London, and that unpopularity was still more excited on this occasion by the Hanse merchants, who naturally took part with the Emperor, and a very active body of religious reformers, whom they supplied with Lutheran books brought over in bales of goods from Flanders. Tyndale and his adherents were violent Imperialists. They hated the Cardinal as much for his adherence to the ancient faith as for his French policy; whilst the outrages perpetrated at Rome by the Emperor's troops, under the name of Lutheranism, did not fail to recommend the latter as the patron of the Reformation and the enemy of the Pope. "This time," says Hall (p. 721), "a bill was set up in London much contrary to the honor of the Cardinal, in the which the Cardinal was warned that he should not counsel the King to marry his daughter into France, for if he did he should show himself enemy to the King and the realm, with many threatening words." Hall attributes to the displeasure occasioned by this bill the Cardinal's precaution for setting a watch, and causing guns to be posted in different quarters of the city, at night-time, on the 30th of April. But it is just as likely that these precautions were taken against the May Day riots of the London apprentices, who employed the opportunity in attacking and insulting all foreigners, and pillaging their houses. They had already expressed their determination to be revenged on the Frenchmen for a quarrel which had taken place in the streets, and which ended in two apprentice boys being sent to the Tower.

Dodieu, have offered him a pair of gloves. He would abate nothing, saying they would spoil everything by their unreasonable refusals and mismanagement. Next day D'Ouarty visited the King at Greenwich. He was graciously received; but found the King as resolute as his minister. For the salt, he said, it was no more than 15,000 crowns, and he had often lost as much at play. As for the pension of 50,000 crowns, his people would not be contented that he should abandon his claims on France, and give Francis his only daughter, without some equivalent. "My master," replied D'Ouarty, with the gallantry of a Frenchman, "does not ask for the hand of the Princess because she is an heiress, but if your Majesty had a dozen daughters he would ask for the hand of one of them, from his affection and gratitude to your person. He will not forget kindness, as the Emperor has done." The King was pleased at the reply, and putting his hands on D'Ouarty's shoulders, said he would ask Wolsey to be reasonable, and they must be reasonable also. He then conducted the ambassador to the Queen's apartment, where D'Ouarty delivered his message from Louise and Marguerite of Navarre, then newly married, but in obedience to Wolsey's injunctions, said nothing of his charge before Katharine.

The discussions were resumed on Monday and Tuesday with no happier result. Wolsey still persisted in negociating the treaty upon his own terms and in his own way. He refused to deliver Mary until she was of marriageable age, that is, fourteen; but he dropped a hint that she might be married to the Duke of Orleans, or a French princess be contracted to the Duke of Richmond. At this unexpected change the ambassadors were thrown into greater perplexity than ever. At last on Friday the 22nd, after disputing all the morning, De Tarbes and Joachim contrived to arrive at the basis of a common arrangement. The Cardinal proposed that if Francis refused the Princess she should be married to the Duke of Orleans, then a prisoner in Spain, who should be brought up with her in the English court; and that Henry should not offer her hand to any other, unless when the Duke came of age he refused it. It was further arranged that the two Kings should endeavour to recover the French children by peaceable means, and if the attempt failed they should jointly make war on the Emperor. It was further agreed that a perpetual peace should be made between the two Kings and their successors, on condition of a tribute of salt from France,

and an annual pension of 50,000 crowns. These arrangements were dependent on certain stipulations not necessary to be mentioned here.[1]

It will be seen that the terms were so arranged as to leave the Cardinal in effect master of the situation. He had fairly won the field, by his firmness and dexterity, against the most accomplished diplomatists of the age, and he was resolved to keep it. The measures to be adopted for recovering the French King's children were studiously ambiguous, and left it at the Cardinal's option to decide when and how he would exchange peaceful remonstrances for armed defiance. He could at his pleasure employ either method as best served his purposes with the Emperor. His demand for the salt and the pension are intelligible enough; not so his obstinate resolve that a perpetual peace between the two crowns should take precedence of all other arrangements. He was well aware that by the treaty of the More, passed during the captivity of the French King, provision had already been made for perpetual amity during the lives of the two sovereigns; and he must have been too well acquainted with the nature of princes to suppose that such treaties would last any longer than suited their own inclinations and their interests, or those of their successors. If, therefore, this intense anxiety on his part had any other motive than that of securing his master's profit at the expense of France, or disengaging Francis irretrievably from the Emperor, it must be sought in some hidden reason which history has not revealed.[2] He had obtained the consent of the Emperor that negociations for

[1] See IV. p. 1406.

[2] From a letter sent by Scarpinello, ambassador in England, to his master the Duke of Milan, on the 19th of March, we gain some further insight into Wolsey's wishes for a universal peace, and the reasons why the French were unwilling to entertain it. He says that it was the dread of the Turk, and the necessity of defending Flanders and Naples, which alone caused the passing inclination of the Emperor for peace, of which he had given assurance to England. "The present suspension of hostilities by the Pope and the Viceroy gives the Emperor fresh power; and while England is thwarted in its pacific negociations, the Emperor becomes master of Italy." He inferred from Wolsey's conversation that he was equally alarmed lest either side should gain a decisive superiority; for whilst such an advantage would render the Emperor more intractable, he strongly suspected that a victory would make France insolent. He said also that the French were averse to peace. This aversion Scarpinello attributed, though I know not how justly, to a wish on the part of Francis to make himself, by a war, master of Naples, release his sons without a ransom, and recover the kingdom of Navarre for his newly married sister. "Should he succeed and obtain the kingdom of Naples, Italy would be in no less danger from his domination than from the Emperor." The Pope, suspecting these designs, had hurried on his arrangement with the Viceroy. See Brown's Ven. Cal., p. 41.

a universal peace, embracing the Pope and the Venetians, then unsuccessful in their encounters with the Imperial troops in Italy, should be conducted in England. The management of such a peace by himself would in effect have brought the Pope to his wishes—would have enabled him to dictate to Christendom—at a time when the Pope's compliance was becoming indispensable for the course to which Wolsey was now unhappily committed, and for the permanence of his own authority. It must not be forgotten, that throughout these long and tortuous discussions not a hint transpired of Henry's intentions;—not a whisper escaped, not a doubt was expressed, of Mary's legitimacy, by the French commissioners. Repeatedly and emphatically the King spoke of his daughter as his successor and his heiress.[1] His scruples of conscience, if at that time he felt any, were effectually buried in his own bosom. Had any doubt arisen of the legitimacy of his marriage with Katharine, had it occurred to La Viste or De Tarbes, it is impossible that they should not have turned it to good account, or have failed to avail themselves of it for securing better terms, if not for rejecting the match altogether. Yet the King had already been actively engaged in promoting his divorce. Either Katharine was unconscious of the ruin which hung over her, or, in the respect publicly paid to her by the King, who smiled and talked with all the suavity and affection of a most faithful and devoted husband, she was led to hope for the best, and put the best construction on her fears. In the alternative proposed by Wolsey of marrying Mary to the Duke of Orleans, that is, a child of eleven to a child of six years, instead of an old debauchee, it would be pleasing to think that he was influenced by some better feeling than "base and rotten policy." Considering the life that Francis had led, and was then leading, nature revolts against so odious and frightful a union. It seems more probable that the Cardinal, unable to ascertain exactly the relations between the French King and the Spanish Princess, thought it a wiser and safer course to take the son in place of the father. Engaged already in an endeavour to obtain from the Pope a

[1] In his very meagre account of these negociations, Hall states (p. 720) that the arrangement was suspended, because the President of Paris (La Viste) doubted whether the marriage between the King and her (the Princess's mother), being his brother's wife, were good or not. "Of this first notion grew much business or it were ended." The story has been repeated from mouth to mouth, with the variation of the Bishop of Tarbes for the President of Paris. There was no truth in it.

divorce for his master, by one or more of those legal fictions to which the canonists of those days freely resorted for dissolving the marriage vow, and bringing this sacrament, as it was then held, into confusion, if not into contempt, he must have been doubly anxious that no oversight on his part should hereafter afford an opportunity to Mary's husband for following the steps of Mary's father. The objection to her legitimacy by the Bishop of Tarbes, afterwards set up as an excuse for Henry's scruples, was not then entertained even by himself; and most certainly, as I have said, did not originate with the French ambassador. Anticipation of Henry's divorce could not have been the reason why Wolsey rejected the King of France in favour of his *second* son, preferring an inferior match to the superior. Nor had he at that time any reason to suppose, when that divorce was known, that Francis, in his own behalf, would resent the imputation of Mary's illegitimacy. For the Pope, though driven to the last necessity, insulted by the Viceroy, and besieged in his own capital, was not yet a prisoner; nor was so terrible a calamity as the fall of Rome anticipated. As he was indebted for peace and exemption from fear to the efforts of Henry and of Wolsey, who intended to chain up his greatest enemy, or only so far let him loose as might be necessary to frighten his Holiness into compliance, both of them made sure that the Pope would be obedient and grateful. He would have nothing to fear in complying with the King's wishes; and fear was the predominant motive of his actions. So, though Katharine might be divorced, the right and legitimacy of Mary would remain unchallenged, and there was no fear that the French King's indignation hereafter would disturb these arrangements.

On Monday, the 25th of March, the ambassadors dined with the Lord Mayor. The next day they visited the King at Hampton Court, "a handsome house, built by Wolsey, and presented by him to the King." After his Majesty had heard mass, they were ushered into the hall, and presented by Wolsey to the King. On that day they dined with the Cardinal, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Marquis of Exeter. After dinner they rejoined the King in the Queen's apartment. Whilst the Queen and Wolsey entertained De Tarbes, the King displayed his learning by conversing with La Viste on the Lutheran heresy and his own book against the Reformer. Retiring with the Cardinal to his room, they found him still anxious to proceed with the negociations. He insisted on the

old topics; urged that haste was necessary in order to make preparations against the Emperor; that if the Emperor remained intractable Henry would meet Francis at Boulogne a fortnight before Pentecost, decide the alternative marriage, and satisfy the wishes of their master for an offensive league and the delivery of the Princess. They excused themselves from further proceeding on one plea or another; continued to fight over each article three days longer; pretended to advance when they meant to recede; and, like wary combatants, disputed every inch of ground with one who was as wary and watchful as themselves. The main dispute now turned on the delivery of the Princess, whom the French had determined to claim for the King, and not for his son the Duke of Orleans. To their utter amazement Wolsey informed them that the King and his Council advised Francis to marry the Spanish Princess for the sake of peace, if the Emperor would not otherwise restore the two Princes; and if Francis refused to comply his master would decline to make war on the Emperor. The French commissioners were taken aback at a proposal so completely at variance with his previous language, and abruptly broke up the conference. "We have to do," says Turenne, in a letter to Francis I., "with the most rascally beggar (*paillart*) in the world, and one who is wholly devoted to his master's interest." He was always on the alert, always ready to take an advantage. "You may be sure," says Turenne in a subsequent letter,[1] "we have to deal with a man as difficult to manage as can be, as you will see by what I and my fellows write to the King. . . . The bargain made by the Pope with the Emperor has caused him to augment a certain article to his advantage, which he had already agreed upon with De Tarbes." Subsequently the Cardinal consented to waive all mention of Eleanor; and matters proceeded more smoothly.

On the 10th of April the treaties were drawn up, and copies exchanged. On the 14th Wolsey left them to obtain the King's assent. He returned on Friday the 15th, and promised that all should be settled by Wednesday the 20th, but was attacked the next day by a tertian fever. In the interval the French commissioners, without giving him notice, had endeavoured to procure certain modifications of the terms to their own advantage. Ill as he was, Wolsey sent for Joachim and De Tarbes on the 22nd. He insisted much on his services to Francis and Madame, and his endeavours to settle the treaty;

[1] April 6: IV. App. 106.

he had heard that they were not well pleased with the variations he had made from his previous offer; this, he said, was very unpleasant to him; it had done him more harm than all his illness, caused, in part, by the opposition he had encountered from Norfolk and others in the Council.[1] With the Duke he assured them that he had had high words in the presence of the King, and his opponents were urgent to break off the match. "The Emperor," remarks Dodieu, "has many friends in England. He has tried all means in his power to dissuade the King from this alliance, even by means of women who are in favour with the King, as he thinks; but Wolsey has done what he could to hinder them.[2] Whether the writer intended to include Katharine in the number, it is impossible to say.

The end was reached at last, though not by the shortest or the simplest route, and the victory in all points rested with the Cardinal. An annual tribute of salt, 50,000 crowns by way of pension, and some two millions of gold crowns to be paid by convenient instalments, could not be considered as an insignificant set-off for the hand of Mary and an alliance with England; especially as that alliance involved no exertion and no sacrifice on the part of this nation, except at its own time and pleasure. The money lent to the Emperor was a desperate debt. It was clear that he could not or would not pay; and he was rapidly becoming far too powerful to be intimidated. He was not likely to be more compliant when the fate then in prospect for Katharine should come to his knowledge. To transfer the debt from a bad and unwilling to an obliging and less refractory debtor, was a stroke of policy which Henry, at all events, was not likely to condemn. Such haggling over Mary's hand may sound strange to modern ears, and stranger still this commercial and mercantile spirit displaying its front unabashed among the chivalrous pageants and Arthurian aspirations of Henry's court.

But the chivalry of the times had a greedy and a grovelling side. It was a coarse and vulgar inheritance bequeathed to the nation by the selfish and turbulent passions of the civil wars. It might not be exactly true, as urged by the King and the Cardinal, that the Commons would never be brought to consent to the exchange of an Imperial for a French alliance

[1] This opposition on the part of Norfolk may have arisen either from his secret hatred of Wolsey, or pique that Suffolk was to have the command in the event of a war. The latter told De Tarbes that he was desirous of serving the French King. IV. p. 1410.

[2] IV. p. 1411.

without some pecuniary equivalent; yet it is undeniable that the power and temptation of money were then beginning to be felt as they had never been felt before. Though Henry VIII. inherited from his mother the reckless profusion and voluptuous habits of the Yorkists, he inherited also from his father the suspicious temper and the money-loving tendencies of the Lancastrians; and the latter were now rapidly gaining the ascendant, not in him alone, but in the nation generally.[1] However powerful a minister might be in reality or in supposition, he could not afford to overlook this temper of the times. He could not prevent it from modifying his measures. Least of all could Wolsey. It was for him to find the means for carrying on the government without burthening the people, and procure the sums required for the King's increasing expenditure without augmenting taxation. Every year the task became more difficult. The luxurious habits of the Court and the people, the greater costliness of the government, the declining value of money, increased the burthen. But it is also true that the old spiritual life of the people had died out: the world had become more alluring and more attractive; the harder and more frugal discipline of earlier times, more irksome and repulsive. Already Henry's favourites were beginning to suggest that the Church was rich, and bore no proportionate share of the burthens of the State. Already they were beginning to instil into the King's ears the ungrateful return made by churchmen for the blessings of his gracious government; whilst Lollardism among the lower orders then, as ever, confined its sympathy and applause to Evangelical poverty, and stigmatized riches as a sign of spiritual pride. Amicable loans were out of the question. Wolsey then must find the means for meeting the exigencies of the times, either by anticipating the example of his successor Cromwell, or by his foreign diplomacy. He chose the latter, and staved off the difficulty for a season.

The 23rd of April, the feast of St. George, was always observed at the Court of Henry VIII. with extraordinary splendour. On that day the commissioners dined with the King at Greenwich. After dinner he led them into the hall,

[1] There were two forms of Protestantism, one before and one after the reign of Mary Tudor. The first was greedy, aggressive, regardless of the lives and consciences of others; borrowing and using without stint the offensive weapons of the old Faith it had so loudly condemned; and tyrannizing with its Barbara and Celarent over the harmless weaknesses of men. The other, though not without its faults, was tender and heroic, touched with the fires and memories of Smithfield.

where the Queen, the Princess Mary, the French Queen, and a large company, were assembled. He desired them to address the Princess, then in her twelfth year, in French, Latin, and Italian. She answered them all in the same languages. She then performed on the spinet, "and is," says Dodieu, "the most accomplished person of her age."[1] During their conversation with the King on this occasion an expression escaped him of the greatest significance. Whilst speaking of his desire to induce the Pope to rejoin the League, and humble the Emperor, he complained that his affairs had always been hampered by the delay of his ministers in talking of war, and that he intended to visit the French King, and settle his difficulties with him in person. The ambassador replied that he must entrust everything to the Cardinal; but, answered the King, "*I have some things to communicate to your master, of which Wolsey knows nothing.*" That secret could have had nothing to do with war, or peace, or foreign policy, for in all these topics he implicitly trusted the Cardinal. Henry was already entertaining designs of a totally different nature—designs he had not yet ventured to communicate in their fullest extent even to his minister.

On the 30th of April the treaties were signed and sealed, and it was agreed that Poyntz and Clarencieux should be sent with the Bishop of Tarbes to defy the Emperor. On the 1st of May the French remained at home for fear of the London apprentices. On Saturday the 4th, they were taken to Greenwich, where they found the King seated on his throne, surrounded by Wolsey, the ambassadors of the Pope, of the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan, with many prelates and nobles. After Henry had embraced them they were conducted to a seat in front of the throne, whilst the knights of the Garter were seated behind them. De Tarbes made a complimentary oration in Latin, to which Tunstal, Bishop of London, replied, standing bareheaded[2] at the foot of the throne. The King concluded the interview by complimenting the ambassador, and thanking God that matters were in such a good train. On Sunday the 5th, the Bishop of London sung mass in the chapel, Wolsey apparently being too ill to officiate.

[1] IV. p. 1412. We must add to her acquirements Spanish, which she had learned from her mother; but as no Spanish ambassador was present, she had no occasion for displaying her proficiency in that language.

[2] The writer is struck with this, because such uncovering of the head was not usual in France. In general strangers visiting England could not help noticing the much greater degree of ceremony and respect with which our Kings were treated, as compared with the usages of other Courts.

The conclusion of these negociations was followed by the most splendid pageant on record, of which a minute account has been given by Hall and by the Venetian secretary Spinelli, who was present on this occasion. The rejoicings, even in an age remarkable for its love of pageantry and grand ceremonial, surpassed in splendour and magnificence all that had ever been witnessed before. The decorations alone, not including the entertainment itself, exceeded 8,000*l.* in our modern estimate of money. Among the poets employed to write and translate in English and Latin verse was the celebrated John Rastall, married to Sir Thomas More's sister.[1] The artists engaged on the decorations were "Master Browne, the King's painter," two Italians, Vincent Vulpe and Ellis Carmyan, who received for their wages 20*s.* a week—that is, about 12*l.* No less a personage than "Master Hans (Holbein) was employed for the painting of the plat of Tirwan, which standeth on the back-side of the great rock," at the cost of 4*l.* 10*s.*—between 50*l.* and 60*l.* in modern computation. This work was greatly admired; for, says Hall, "when supper was done, the King, the Queen, and the ambassadors washed, and after talked at their pleasure; and then they rose and went out of the banquet chamber by the foresaid arches; and when they were between the uttermost door and the arches the King caused them to turn back and look on that side of the arches, and then they saw how Terouenne was besieged, and the very manner of

[1] The argument of the interlude, as given by Hall, varies a little from that in the text. "When the King and the Queen were set under their cloths of estate . . . then entered a personage clothed in cloth of gold, and over it a mantle of blue silk, full of eyes of gold, and over his head a cap of gold, with a garland of laurel, set with leaves of fine gold. This person made a solemn oration in the Latin tongue, declaring what joy was to the people of both the realms of England and France to hear and know the great love, league, and amity that was between the two kings of the two realms, giving great praise to the king of England for granting of peace, and also to the French king for sueing for the same, and also to the Cardinal for being a mediator in the same. And when he had done there entered eight of the King's chapel with a song, and brought with them one richly apparelled; and in like manner at the other side entered eight other of the said chapel, bringing with them another person, likewise apparelled. These two persons played a dialogue, the effect whereof was, whether Riches were better than Love. And when they could not agree upon a conclusion, each called in three knights, all armed; three of them would have entered the gate of the arch in the middle of the chamber, and the other three resisted. And suddenly, between the six knights, out of the arch fell down a bar all gilt, at the which bar the six knights fought a fair battle, and then they were departed. Then came in an old man with a silver beard, and he concluded that love and riches both were necessary to princes; that is to say, by love to be obeyed and served, and with riches to reward his lovers and friends. And with this conclusion the dialogue ended." Hall's Chronicle, p. 723.

every man's camp, very cunningly wrought."[1] The six antique heads of Hercules, Scipio, Cæsar, and Pompey, and two not named, were modelled by John Demyans (de Maiano), "gilt, silvered, and painted, at 26*s.* 8*d.* each"—or about 14*l.* in modern value. Such prices, as compared with Rastall's payment, were liberal, for the poet received "for writing of the dialogue and making (poetry) in rhyme, both in English and Latin, 3*s.* 4*d.*"—equal to about 2*l.* in modern currency.[2]

But it is time to turn to Spinelli.

"On the fourth instant (*i.e.* of May) all the ambassadors, with the exception of the Emperor's, were summoned to Greenwich; where, in the presence of the King and the chief personages of the Court, the French ambassador, the Bishop of Tarbes, delivered an oration, which was answered by the Bishop of London; who on the morrow, Cardinal Wolsey being unable to officiate from indisposition, sang mass with the usual ceremonies, after which at the high altar, where the missal was opened by the Cardinal, the French ambassadors swore in his hands to observe the perpetual peace now concluded with the king of England, he on his part swearing in like manner.

"Two of the ambassadors, namely, the prelate and the soldier, dined with the King, the others dining apart together.

"On rising from the table they went to the Queen's apartment, where the Princess danced with the French ambassador, the Viscount of Turenne, who considered her very handsome and admirable by reason of her great and uncommon mental endowments, but so thin, spare, and small as to render it impossible for her to be married for the next three years.

"Then yesterday there was a joust, the challengers at the tilt being four, the competitors being sixteen, each of whom ran six courses; a very delectable sight, by reason of the prowess of the knights. The joust ended with the day, not without rain, which rather impeded the jousting.

"The King and the Queens, with some 200 damsels, then went to the apartments which I informed you in a former letter were being prepared on one side of the tilt yard at Greenwich[3] for the reception of the French ambassadors, the rest of the company following them. The site adjoined the other chambers, from whence the King and the nobility view the

[1] Hall, p. 722.

[2] See these and many other curious particulars in Sir Henry Guildford's account. IV. p. 1394.

[3] "The King had caused a banquet house to be made on the one side the tilt-yard at Greenwich, of 100 feet of length and 30 feet breadth. The roof was purple cloth, full of roses and pomgarnets; the windows were all clear-stories, with curious monneles (mouldings) strangely wrought; the jaw-pieces and crests were carved with vinettes and trailes of savage work, and richly gilt with gold and bise (bister). This work corbolyng bare the candlesticks of antique work, which had little torchettes of white wax. These candlesticks were polished like amber. . . . At the nether end were two broad arches upon three antique pillars, all of gold." Hall, 722. From this banqueting room the guests passed, by a long gallery richly hung, into another chamber, of which the door was of masonry and embattled with jasper. Round the sides five stages were erected, raised and supported by pillars, and on the top of every pillar was a silver basin filled with branches of white wax. In the middle of the apartment was a gate, the top of which was adorned with antique busts. The ceiling of the chamber was painted by the King's astronomer, and represented the earth surrounded by the sun, with the signs of the zodiac, and the planets with their cycles. Ibid. The supper was served on massive gold plate.

jousts. They were but two halls, about thirty paces in length, and of proportional height and breadth. The centre of the ceiling of the first hall was entirely covered with brocatel, of no great value, but producing a good effect. The walls were hung with the most costly tapestry in England, representing the history of David; and there was a row of torches closely set, illuminating the place very brilliantly, being ranged below the windows, which were at no great distance from the roof. The royal table was prepared in front of the hall, with a large canopy of tissue, beneath which was the King, with the Queens, his wife and sister, at the sides. Then came two long tables; at one end of which, on the right hand side were seated the French ambassador and the Princess, each pairing with some great lady. At the other table, to the left, the Venetian ambassador and the one from Milan, placed themselves, with the rest of the lords and ladies. At no great distance from the two tables were two cupboards, reaching from the floor to the roof, forming a semicircle, on which was a large and varied assortment of vases, all of massive gold, the value of which it would be difficult to estimate; nor were any of them touched; silver-gilt dishes of another sort being used for the viands of meat and fish, which were in such variety and abundance that the banquet lasted a long while.

"The door of this hall was in the form of a very lofty triumphal arch, fashioned after the antique, beneath which were three vaulted entrances. Through one passed the dishes for the table; through the other they were removed; and on each side of the centre one, which was the largest, stood two enormous cupboards bearing the wine to be served at table. Over the triumphal arch was a spacious balcony for the musicians, bearing the arms of the King and Queen, with sundry busts of Emperors, and the King's motto, "Dieu et mon droit," and other Greek words. Could never conceive anything so costly and well designed as what was witnessed that night at Greenwich.

"On rising from table all were marshalled, according to their rank, along a corridor of no great length, to the other hall, which was of rather less size than the first. The floor was covered with cloth of silk embroidered with gold lilies. The ceiling, which was well-nigh flat, was all painted, representing a map of the world, the names of the principal provinces being legible; there were also the signs of the zodiac and their properties, these paintings being supported by giants. Along the sides of the hall were three tiers of seats, each of which had a beam placed lengthwise for the spectators to lean on, nor did one tier interfere with the other. Above these tiers were in like manner three rows of torches, so well disposed and contrived as not to impede the view.

"Within the space for the spectators, on the right-hand side in the first tier, the ambassadors were placed; in the second, the Princes; in the third, those to whom admission was granted, they being few. On the opposite side, in the same order, were the ladies; whose various styles of beauty and apparel, enhanced by the brilliancy of the lights, caused me to think I was contemplating the choir of angels, they in like manner, being placed one above the other. Two-thirds of the distance down the hall an arch of a single span had been erected, its depth being five feet and a half [English measure], all gilt with fine gold, the inside of the arch being decorated with a number of beautiful figures in low relief. The magnificence of this arch was such that it was difficult to comprehend how so grand a structure could have been raised in so short a space of time. In the centre to the front stood the royal throne, on which the King sat, the two Queens being seated below at his feet.

"All the spectators being thus methodically placed, without the least noise or confusion, and precisely as pre-arranged, the entertainment commenced. One thing above all others surprised me most, never having witnessed the like anywhere, it being impossible to represent or credit

with how much order, regularity, and silence such public entertainments proceed and are conducted in England. First of all, there entered the hall eight singers, forming two wings, and singing certain English songs; in their centre was a very handsome youth alone, clad in skyblue taffety, a number of eyes being scattered over his gown; and having presented themselves before the King, the singers then withdrew in the same order, there remaining by himself the youth, who, in the disguise of Mercury, sent to the King by Jupiter, delivered a learned Latin oration in praise of his Majesty; which panegyric being ended, he announced that Jupiter, having frequently listened to disputes between love and riches, concerning their relative authority, and being unable to decide the controversy, he appointed his Majesty as judge, and requested him to pronounce and pass sentence on both of them. Thereupon Mercury departed; and next came eight young choristers of the chapel, four on each side; those to the right were all clad in cloth of gold, much ornamented, and the first of them was Cupid; the others to the left were variously arrayed, and their chief was Plutus. In the centre walked one alone in the guise of Justice, who sang.

"In this order they presented themselves to the King, before whom Justice commenced narrating the dispute between the parties in English, and desired Cupid to begin with his defence; to which Plutus replied; each of the choristers on either side defending their leaders by reciting a number of verses. The altercation being ended, Cupid and Plutus determined that judgment should go by battle; and thus, having departed, three men-at-arms in white armour, with three naked swords in their hands, entered from the end of the hall, and having drawn up under the triumphal arch, an opening was made in its centre by some unseen means, and out of the arch fell down a bar, in front of which there appeared three well-armed knights. The combat then commenced valiantly, man to man, some of them dealing such blows that their swords broke. After they had fought some while a second bar was let down, which separated them, the first three having vanquished the others, fighting with great courage; and the duel being thus ended, the combatants quitted the hall in like manner as they had entered it. Thereupon there fell to the ground, at the extremity of the hall, a painted canvas [curtain] from an aperture, in which was seen a most verdant cave, approachable by four steps, each side being guarded by four of the chief gentlemen of the Court, clad in tissue doublets and tall plumes, each of whom carried a torch. Well grouped within the cave were eight damsels, of such rare beauty as to be supposed goddesses rather than human beings. They were arrayed in cloth of gold, their hair gathered into a net, with a very richly jewelled garland, surmounted by a velvet cap, the hanging sleeves of their surcoats being so long that they well-nigh touched the ground, and so well and richly wrought as to be no slight ornament to their beauty. They descended gracefully from their seats to the sound of trumpets, the first of them being the Princess, hand in hand with the marchioness of Exeter. Her beauty in this array produced such an effect on everybody that all the other marvellous sights previously witnessed were forgotten, and they gave themselves up solely to contemplation of so fair an angel. On her person were so many precious stones that her splendour and radiance dazzled the sight in such wise as to make one believe that she was decked with all the gems of the eighth sphere. Dancing thus, they presented themselves to the King, their dance being very delightful by reason of its variety, as they formed certain groups and figures most pleasing to the sight. Their dance being finished, they ranged with themselves on one side; and in like order the eight youths, leaving their torches, came down from the cave, and after performing their dance, each of them took by the hand one of those beautiful nymphs, and, having led a courant together for a while, returned to their places.

"Six masks then entered. To detail their costume would be but to repeat the words, 'cloth of gold,' 'cloth of silver,' etc. They chose such ladies as they pleased for their partners, and commenced various dances; which being ended, the King appeared. The French ambassador, the marquis of Turenne, was at his side, and behind him four couple of noblemen all masked, and all wearing black velvet slippers on their feet; this being done lest the King should be distinguished from the others; as, from the hurt which he lately received on his left foot when playing at tennis, he wears a black velvet slipper. They were all clad in tissue doublets, over which was a very long and ample gown of black satin, with hoods of the same material, and on their heads caps of tawny velvet. They then took by the hand an equal number of ladies, dancing with great glee, and at the end of the dance unmasked; whereupon the Princess with her companions again descended, and came to the King, who, in the presence of the French ambassadors, took off her cap, and, the net being displaced, a profusion of silver tresses, as beautiful as ever were seen on human head, fell over her shoulders, forming a most agreeable sight. The aforesaid ambassadors then took leave of her; and all departing from that beautiful place returned to the supper hall, where the tables were spread with every sort of confection and choice wines for all who chose to cheer themselves with them. The sun, I believe, greatly hastened his course, having, perhaps, had a hint from Mercury of so rare a sight. So showing himself already on the horizon, warning being thus given of his presence, everybody thought it time to quit the royal chambers, returning to their own with such sleepy eyes that the daylight could not keep them open."

The rejoicings and solemnities in the French court were far less sumptuous. They were, in fact, marked with a parsimony excusable enough in the impoverished state of the French finances, but very unlike the general splendour in which Francis himself, and his subjects, were accustomed to indulge on great State occasions. Viscount Lisle was sent to receive the King's oath, and has left us a description of the ceremonial which took place on Whitsun Eve, June 8th. The great hall was hung with fleurs de lis. The King took his seat under "his cloth of estate," dressed in a gown of purple velvet trimmed with sables, and white hose and doublet. During the ambassador's oration, a gentleman usher kneeled at each corner of the dais. But whilst the narrator is struck with this unusual ceremony, he is no less struck with the familiarity allowed by the French King to his courtiers. "About and behind the King were all the great lords temporal; some leaning on the pommels of his chair. Lautrec and the Grand Master stood on either side; the Admiral and others behind, within a space of two yards between the wall and the back of the King's chair. The archbishops and bishops sat on low stools behind the ambassadors. And when the French chancellor replied, he never rose from his chair, nor uncovered his head, nor raised his

cap"—according to the invariable custom in England—"whether he named the King his master or any other prince." On Whitsunday, the King took his oath in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The most noticeable feature in the ceremony was an enormous cloth of purple velvet, embroidered with gold fleurs de lis, which served for a carpet. After the ceremony dinner was served in one of the canon's houses. "The King was very merry all the dinner-time," says Clerk, "and had much communication with the papal Legate, with us, and with divers other lords and gentlemen which stood about him; some leaning upon his chair, and some upon his table, all much more familiarly than is agreeable to our English manners."[1] At a feast given the Thursday after in the Palace to wind up the rejoicings, the roof and sides of the apartment were merely covered with rich hangings and "rolls of green box with garlands of the same." The devices were not remarkable for splendour or ingenuity. In the first "was a play of shepherds which brought in the *Ruin of Rome*." After this came another device of two angels, each holding the half of a scutcheon in one hand, and a plane in the other; "and ever they planed those half scutcheons until they had fitted the two halves into one whole, half white and half red. One of the angels held a long branch of rose in his hand, and the word *Angleterre* written on his breast, and the other *France*. And so lovingly holding between them the united scutcheon, they made their reverence, and departed."[2]

As the difficulties in the late negociations could not be entirely removed without a personal interview, Henry had more than once expressed, in warm language, his strong desire to see his brother of France, assuring Turenne, that "if their state allowed, he would not be one single day without his company."[3] The proposition was received on the part of the French more coldly than might have been anticipated to a proposal so flattering. They held out no encouragement, but preferred the minister to his master. Already Francis had urged his ambassadors to persuade Wolsey to visit France, and obtain his master's sanction for that purpose. He added, as an inducement, "that he would do for him what he would not do for all the cardinals in Rome;"[4] for he would himself go to Picardy to meet Wolsey and talk privately with him. Evidently he was not prepared

[1] IV. p. 1445.
[2] IV. p. 1444.
[3] IV. pp. 1400 and 1412.
[4] IV. p. 1408.

for another extravagant display like the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in which English wealth easily outrivalled the more frugal display of the French, sorely crippled in their finances by the events of the last few years. Contemporary historians, as usual, attribute to the Cardinal's ostentation and vanity this mission into France, but there is no indication whatever that he either sought or desired it. Indifferent to the opinions of men, solely influenced by his sense of devotion to the King's service, he never condescended to undeceive those who misinterpreted his actions, or credited him with measures of which he was only the minister, and not the author. It is this reserve which makes all judgment of his motives and conduct so difficult and so perplexing. Except Henry himself, none knew precisely the amount of responsibility due to the Cardinal. No one could tell how far he was a spontaneous agent, or stooped to a necessity he could not avoid, or yielded against his conviction, rather than risk a worse alternative. Those who could have done him justice were too much interested in his ruin, and too much wrapped up in the selfish pursuit of their own interests, to waste their magnanimity in vindicating the memory of a statesman to whose ruin they had contributed, and out of whose fall they had reaped their advantage. Cromwell, busily engrossed with his own advancement, troubled not himself about the honour of a master, on whose disgrace he had risen to credit and importance. Cavendish who, more than any other, has painted the last days of the fallen statesman with unrivalled pathos and fidelity, was clearly unversed in politics, and knew nothing, except by vague report, of Wolsey's earlier and more active years. Reformers and Romanists alike, though for opposite reasons, hated the man who, by his influence over the King, had obstructed the Reformation, and injured the monastic orders by subverting so many of their houses to build his colleges. Both condemned him, without pity or reflection, for suggesting, as they thought, the divorce of Queen Katharine, and estranging her husband from the Emperor. Strangely enough, the most conflicting interests and most opposite parties combined in maintaining the Emperor's ascendancy in English politics. The continental trade of the country was carried on at Antwerp and the Flemish ports; and Wolsey's endeavours to transfer it to Calais, and develop our trade with France, encountered bitter opposition. Most of the Hanse merchants, tinctured with Lutheranism, and all of

them engaged in the contraband traffic of importing Lutheran books, then eagerly purchased at enormous prices, were especially alarmed at the prospect of losing their trade, and employed all their influence with the Reformers, whose numbers at this time were rapidly increasing, in denouncing the French alliance as inimical to the Gospel. Their opponents, who hated Lutheranism, but associated with Katharine the cause of the Church, turned to the Emperor as the champion of her in whose singular purity, constancy, and devotion the Church seemed to find its most noble and affecting example. From one cause or another, Tyndall and his bitterest opponents, More and Fisher, Norfolk, Darcy, and Northumberland, satirists and theologians, those who hoped to gain by Wolsey's fall, and those who had nothing to expect from it, then and afterwards, misinterpreted his measures and loaded his memory with obloquy. With still greater perversity they distributed justice with inverted hands, attributing whatever was meritorious to the King, whatever was odious to his minister.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ANNE BOLEYN.

HENRY VIII. was not the "angel of purity" it has now become a fashion with some to represent him; nor was he the monster of lust and cruelty described by others, at all events in his earlier years, and under Wolsey's administration. He had been carefully and even strictly educated by his father Henry VII., whose stern and sombre court formed a striking contrast to the splendour and magnificence in which his son and successor delighted. The horrors of a civil war, of a disputed succession, of a successful rebellion under some powerful noble, had passed away. The old and staid councillors of his father had died; and, with the exception of Wolsey, their places had been mainly filled by younger men of a very different stamp; by laymen, not by ecclesiastics; by those who could enter into the young King's pursuits and amusements—were more fitted for the tiltyard than the council table; loved the tumult, gallantry, pomp, and splendour of the rising generation and the new reign, and served rather to spur than restrain the inclinations of the new monarch. Until the close of the year 1524 the superabundant activity of the King himself and his young courtiers, wasting itself mainly in muscular amusements, or exchanging them for the less justifiable excitement of dice and card-playing, found more wholesome occupation in the war with France, or the expectation of war. But the defeat of Francis at the battle of Pavia left them in utter idleness, without the hope of employment. Men of education, sagacity, and experience, generally ecclesiastics, were at that time engaged in all diplomatic posts, requiring more than usual tact and ability. For such employments the nobility and gentry, who frequented the new court, were either disqualified by ignorance of their own, and still more of the Latin, tongue—the common vehicle of communication—or declined to qualify themselves by the necessary

sacrifices of their time and amusements. In 1525 the King, then thirty-four years old, was beginning to pay less attention to business. He hated the drudgery of looking over files of despatches, from which the most exciting topic was absent; withdrew himself more and more from the metropolis, and spent his days in hunting. At that time he was in the very vigour of his manhood; then, and for some years after, the admiration of all who beheld him; conspicuous for his clear and ruddy complexion, his strength and agility; towering in stature above all those by whom he was surrounded. Even five years after, when time and indulgence had spared neither his looks nor his fair proportions, the Venetian ambassador, Lodovico Falier, cannot refrain from breaking out into enthusiastic praise of his many graces and personal accomplishments:—"In this Eighth Henry God has combined such corporeal and intellectual beauty as not merely to surprise but astound all men. . . . His face is angelic, rather than handsome; his head imperial and bold; and he wears a beard, contrary to English custom. Who would not be amazed when contemplating such singular beauty of person, coupled with such bold address, adapting itself with the greatest ease to every manly exercise. He sits his horse well, manages him yet better. He jousts, wields the spear, throws the quoit, and draws the bow admirably. He plays at tennis most dexterously. . . . Besides the Latin and his native tongue, he has learned Spanish, French, and Italian."[1]

Removed more than ever from the personal influence of Wolsey, now wholly engrossed with the public business, Henry was surrounded by favourites, who recommended themselves to his notice by ministering to his pleasures, and fostering his love of profusion. Chief of these were Sir William Compton, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Henry Norris, and George Boleyn, of whom the last two perished on the scaffold. To these must be added the Duke of Suffolk, exclusively remarkable for his strength and stature; the Duke of Norfolk, a small spare man, of dark complexion, cruel lips, and more cruel temper; and Sir Thomas Boleyn, advanced to the peerage in 1525 as Viscount Rochford. Of these, Sir Thomas was the father of Ann Boleyn; Norfolk (Wolsey's great enemy) was her uncle; George Boleyn, her brother; Sir Francis Bryan, her cousin; Norris, her near relative and admirer; Compton, an intimate friend. With them, or some

[1] Brown's Ven. Cal., iv. p. 293.

of them, Henry spent the day in hunting, and the night in gambling, losing occasionally large sums of money. In 1525 he had attempted to make a favourite of Sir Thomas More, professing to be delighted with his society, his wit, his modesty, and his learning.[1] He had not yet forgotten his fondness for theological controversy, in which More was a proficient; and More had defended the King's book by a bitter attack upon Luther. At the death of Sir Richard Wingfield, in July, 1525, the King had advanced More to the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. "And for the pleasure," says Roper, "he took in his company would his Grace suddenly sometimes come home to his house at Chelsea to be merry with him, whither, on a time unlooked-for, he came to dinner, and after dinner, in a fair garden of his, walked with him by the space of an hour, holding his arm about his neck. As soon as his Grace was gone, I, rejoicing thereat, said to Sir Thomas More, how happy he was whom the King had so familiarly entertained, as I never had seen him do to any before, except cardinal Wolsey, whom I saw his Grace walk once with arm in arm.[2] 'I thank our Lord, Sir,' quoth More," with mingled pathos and humour, "'I find his Grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favor me as any subject within this realm. Howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France—(for then there was war between us) [3]—it should not fail to go.'"

That More, combining the religious fervour and devotion of the recluse with the urbanity, grace, and ready wit of the most cultivated man of the world, a considerate and patient master, a pattern of conjugal purity and fidelity, should not seek to push his fortune among the unscrupulous candidates for royal favour is no more than might be expected. He knew well what were the King's intentions at that time, and did not approve of them. He knew also how hard it was to contend with one whose arguments he could not admit without

[1] See the letter of Vives to Erasmus, Nov. 13, 1525, IV. p. 780.

[2] This remark deserves notice; for, whatever favours the King may have shown him, the Cardinal never forgot the respect due to his Sovereign. The deference paid to him by Wolsey on all occasions is remarkable. He was always a minister, never a favourite.

[3] If Roper means actual war, he is certainly wrong. Wingfield died in July, 1525, and we were never at war with France after that year during More's life. The King's familiarity, rightly assigned to this date by Roper, was evidently connected with the King's anxiety to enlist More in favour of the divorce. But Sir Thomas contrived to elude the snare.

peril of his conscience, or contradict without peril of his life. His learning, his reputation, his legal acquirements, were sure to point him out to the King as the one man above all others in his kingdom whose judgment on the question none would venture to impugn, and few would be inclined to dispute. That judgment he had avoided giving, with all the tact and dexterity of which he was master. But the pursuits of the court, and the individuals of which its innermost circle was composed, were scarcely such as could command his sympathy and approbation. There was hardly one of them whose character was not seriously tainted with that vice against which the unsullied purity of More's mind revolted; not one who looked upon the transgression of the marriage vow as deserving reprobation or censure, or at least as worse than a jest. Suffolk had been betrothed to one lady; then married another; then abandoned her, on the plea of his previous contract, for the lady whom he had in the first instance rejected. Norfolk lived with his duchess on the most scandalous terms. Sir William Compton had been cited in the ecclesiastical court, for living in open adultery with a married woman.[1] The fate of Norris and George Boleyn is too well known to require comment. Sir Francis Bryan, the chief companion in the King's amusements, and the minister of his pleasures, was pointed out by common fame as more dissolute than all the rest.

Unfortunately the Queen had ceased to bear children; and the fact was so notorious as to be made the subject of public comment in the courts of Europe, even by the English ambassadors. She was five years older than the King in age, and more than twice five in temperament and constitution. Short and stout in person, amiable and even cheerful in the midst of all her sorrows and afflictions, beloved and pitied by all, she still retained the King's esteem, and was outwardly treated by him with unfailing respect,[2] though she had utterly

[1] Lady Ann Hastings. See IV. pp. 1943, 1944. There seems to have been some affinity, or at least intimate connection, between Compton and the Boleyns. For he devises in his will to Henry VIII. "certain specialties to the sum of 1,000 marks," which he had of Sir Thomas Boleyn for money lent to the latter. See p. 1943. Sir William died immensely rich in 1528.

[2] On that head we have the unimpeachable evidence of Sir John Wallop. "The English ambassador here," says Marin Giustinian, writing to the Signory from Paris, "does not approve the divorce, praising the wisdom, innocence, and patience of queen Katharine, . . . He says that the Queen was as beloved as if she had been of the blood royal of England." April 15, 1533. Brown's Ven. Cal., iv. 393. She had nothing of the sourness of the recluse about her.

lost his affections. She appeared with him on all public occasions; accompanied him in his progresses; was really or apparently unsuspicious of his intentions. These intentions had been long fostered in his breast before they were revealed to any one. They were only betrayed by degrees; not in their fulness to any—not even to Wolsey. The common story, propagated by Tyndall, repeated by Roper, reiterated since, that Wolsey requested Longland, the King's confessor, to put "a scruple into his Grace's head" as to the legality of his marriage is a mere calumny—one of the many figments propagated by Wolsey's enemies, without dread of contradiction. It was denied by Longland himself; it was denied in open court by the King. "Sir," said the Cardinal, "I most humbly beseech your Highness to declare me, before all this audience, whether I have been the chief inventor or first mover of this matter unto your Majesty; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein." "My lord Cardinal," quoth the King, "I can well excuse you herein. Marry," quoth he, "ye have been rather against me in attempting or setting forth thereof." It was not an idle assertion. The truth of it will abundantly appear in the sequel. Longland's protestation is, no doubt, correct, as confirmed by the King's own words. It was the King himself who first broke the matter to his confessor; "and never left urging him until he had won him to give his consent."[1]

The exact date at which Henry began to entertain these scruples, and their precise shape at the first, can never be determined with accuracy; for the most sufficient of all reasons: they were not known to the King himself.[2] They sprung up unconsciously from a combination of causes, and took definite form and colour in his breast by insensible degrees. They must have brooded in his mind some time before he would acknowledge them to himself, still less confess their existence to others. They first became the subject of conversation in the summer of 1527. The ostensible cause of them, carelessly accepted by historians as the real one,

Foreign ambassadors are unanimous in commending the smiles and cheerfulness expressed in her countenance throughout the terrible ordeal to which she was subjected.

[1] See the extract in Roper's More, ed. Singer, p. 31.

[2] With that extraordinary want of delicacy which characterized all Henry's words and actions in relation to his divorce, he told Symon Grynæus, a comparative stranger, who visited England in 1531, that he had abstained from the Queen's bed seven years; that is, from 1524. See the letter of Grynæus to Bucer, among the letters of the Reformers.

and put forth by the King himself, was the "scrupulosity of his conscience, pricked upon divers words that were spoken at a certain time by the bishop of Tarbes,[1] the French king's ambassador, who had been here long upon the debating for the conclusion of a marriage to be concluded between the Princess our daughter Mary, and the duke of Orleans, the French king's second son." But this was a political figment arranged between the King and Wolsey, when it had become necessary to take fresh action in the matter, and find some justification for their proceedings in the face of Europe.[2] Not a hint of the kind appears in any of the negociations alluded to, though they have been preserved with the greatest minuteness. Furthermore, the Bishop of Tarbes was not in England, nor were any negociations set on foot for the marriage with Mary until March, 1527; and long before that year it is certain that not only was the divorce already entertained, but it had been the subject of secret negociations at the Court of Rome. Clerk, Bishop of Bath, who had formerly been the King's ambassador with the Pope, and was then at the Court of France, writes on Sept. 13, 1526, announcing to Wolsey the arrival of Sanga, the chief confidant of Clement VII. He tells the Cardinal that there will be great difficulty *circa istud benedictum divortium; reliqua omnia sunt clara.* The Pope would make no difficulty about other matters submitted to him by Wolsey; but that "cursed divorce" would not easily be granted; either because Clerk had not yet ventured to broach it to the Pope, or because Sanga, who knew his mind better than any one, held out no hopes of the Pope's compliance.[3] That divorce could be no other than the King's divorce; for in no other cause would the Pope have refused compliance, considering the difficulties in which he was then placed, and his anxiety to conciliate the friendship of England at all hazards. But if any doubt remains, it is dispelled by a letter from Wolsey, addressed to the King, on receiving

[1] Cavendish by mistake writes "bishop of Bayonne" (Grammont), p. 219.

[2] Wolsey admits as much; for, writing to the King from Faversham, July 5, 1527, and detailing his conversation with Fisher, he says, "I then told him the whole matter of the proposed marriage between the French king and the princess Mary, and the assertions made by the bishop of Tarbes, and the investigations to which it had given rise, &c. . . . thus declaring the whole matter unto him, *as was devised with you* at York Place." IV. p. 1471. It is further to be observed, that in urging his cause at the Court of Rome, the King never made any allusion to this supposed objection of De Tarbes; though, had it been real, it would have proved a very effective argument with the Pope.

[3] IV. p. 1109.

news of the sack of Rome. "Sir," he says, "if the Pope's Holiness fortune either to be slain or taken, as God forbid, it shall not a little hinder your Grace's affairs, which I have now in hand (the divorce); wherein such good and substantial order and process *hath hitherto been made and used*, as the like, I suppose, hath not been seen in any time heretofore."[1] It was this desire to conciliate the Pope's favour that induced Henry to send him in his necessities 30,000 crowns the same year. And if there be any truth in the rumour that Wolsey contemplated a marriage between the King and the Duchess of Alençon, it was only in the year 1526 that such a project could have been entertained. For the Duchess, after losing her husband in 1525, visited Francis, then a prisoner in Spain, not returning until the end of the year; and was married already to Henry of Navarre in January, 1527.[2]

But even before the date of Clerk's letter, it is clear that some dreadful secret, which no one dared divulge, least of all commit to paper, was already perplexing the consciences of men. As early as the 30th of October, 1525, Brinon, the French ambassador, informs Louise that he had received a very private communication from Wolsey he did not dare intrust to writing.[3] Vague apprehensions prevail, ambiguous expressions are found, which, taken individually, could hardly be pressed into any direct evidence on the question, but collectively seem to point to the same conclusion; whilst, if we are to trust the King's own assertion, made to Grynæus,[4] it is to 1524 that we must, in all probability, assign the King's first intention of separating from Katharine. For further evidence it will be needful to look in another direction, and to trace more minutely Anne Boleyn's connection with the English court.

Sir Thomas, the father of Anne Boleyn, was born in 1477. He was the son of Sir William Boleyn of Blickling, Norfolk, and of Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond. Margaret's sister Anne, from whom Anne Boleyn received her name, was married to Sir George St. Leger.[5] The

[1] See IV. p. 1433, June 2, 1527. There were no other affairs, except this, before the Pope. See also the context of the whole letter.

[2] Godwin states that the Emperor was aware of Henry's intentions as early as 1526. He had, no doubt, obtained his information from Rome. See God. Hist. Angl., p. 102, ed. 1653.

[3] IV. p. 769.

[4] See note, p. 162.

[5] See her licence to found a chantry, "called Hangfordis chapell," in the church of St. George, Monklee, Devon, in 1519, for herself, the St. Legers, and this Margaret Boleyn, her sister, then a widow. Ann was a common name in the family. Eliza-

estate at Blickling descended to Sir James,[1] who died without male issue. As he was still living in 1534, Anne Boleyn could never have resided on the estate at Blickling. It is probable that Sir Thomas was married before the death of his father, Sir William, in 1505; but what was the connection of his family with the Howards, or what could induce the premier and proudest duke of England[2] to match his daughter with a commoner of no distinction and of little wealth, must be left to conjecture. It is not easier to discover by what influence Sir Thomas was brought forward into public life, or to whom he owed his advancement.

By Lady Elizabeth, Sir Thomas had one son, George, Lord Rochford, married to Jane Parker, daughter of Lord Morley, and two daughters, Mary and Anne. Lady Rochford accused her husband of improper familiarities with his sister, then Queen of Henry VIII., for which both perished on the scaffold; and she herself was afterwards implicated in the guilt of her relative, Katharine Howard, and met the same fate. Of the two surviving daughters—for Sir Thomas had apparently other children—Anne, according to the herald and antiquarian Camden, a competent authority on such subjects, was born in 1507. As her sister Mary was already married before her in 1520 to Sir William Cary, we must infer that Mary was the elder sister. Any doubt on that head is entirely dispelled by the petition presented to Lord Burghley in 1597, by Mary's grandson, the second Lord Hunsdon, claiming the Earldom of Ormond in virtue of Mary's right as the elder daughter.[3] It is inconceivable that Lord Hunsdon could have been mistaken in so familiar a fact; still more that he should have ventured to prefer a petition to the Queen, in which her mother was described as the younger sister, if she had in truth been the elder. Mary's first husband died of the sweating sickness in 1528, and in 1534 she married a second time, far below her rank and expectations, to the great displeasure of Henry, and of her sister Anne, then Queen of England. Her husband, Sir William Stafford, appears among the gentlemen ushers of the King; was a spearman at Calais;

beth, given to the Queen, and daughter of Anne Boleyn, was taken, no doubt, from the more aristocratic branch of the Norfolks. Margaret Boleyn was alive in 1520. Her husband, Sir William, died in 1505, and was buried in the cathedral at Norwich.

[1] Sir James became chancellor to his niece when Queen of England.

[2] The Duke of Norfolk, whose daughter Sir Thomas Boleyn married. He was only Earl of Surrey, however, at the time.—Ed.

[3] See State Papers of Eliz., 6 Oct. 1597.

poor, but of a good family. She had not only the excuse of marrying for love, but, in the more brilliant advancement of her sister, she seems to have been eclipsed and neglected. Sir Thomas, notoriously penurious, notwithstanding his lucrative appointments, had cast her off in the first year of her widowhood; and it was not until he had been pressed by the King that he was willing to receive her, or make some provision for her maintenance. "As touching your sister's matter," writes the King to Anne Boleyn, "I have caused Walter Walshe to write to my lord (Rochford) my mind therein; whereby I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceive Adam;[1] for surely whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honor, but that he must needs take her his natural daughter, now in her extreme necessity." In a letter addressed by Mary to Mr. Secretary Cromwell, three months after her second marriage, she desires him to interpose with the King in favour of her husband: "I am sure," she says, "it is not unknown to you the high displeasure that both he and I have both of the King's highness and the Queen's grace, by the reason of our marriage without their knowledge, wherein we both do yield ourselves faulty, and do knowledge that we did not well to be so hasty, nor so bold, without their knowledge. But one thing, good Master Secretary, consider, that he was young, and love overcame reason; and for my part I saw so much honesty in him that I loved him as well as he did me; and was in bondage,[2] and glad I was to be at liberty. So that for my part I saw that all the world did set so little by me, and he so much, that I thought I could take no better way but to take him, and to forsake all other ways, and live a poor honest life with him. And so I do put no doubt but we should, if we might once be so happy to recover the King's gracious favor and the Queen's. For well I might a' had a greater man of birth, and a higher; but I assure you I could never a' had one that should a' loved me so well, nor a more honest man. And besides that, he is both come of an ancient stock; and, again, as meet (if it were his Grace's pleasure) to do the King service as any young gentleman in his court." She then asks Cromwell to sue the King's highness, "which ever was wont to take pity, to have pity on us; and that it would please his Grace, of his goodness, to speak to the Queen's grace for us; for, as far as I can

[1] IV. p. 1932. I suppose the King means to say that Sir Thomas was influenced in this neglect of his daughter either by his wife or some other lady.

[2] Kept in restraint by her father.

perceive, her Grace is so highly displeased with us both, that, without the King be so good lord to us as to withdraw his rigor, and sue for us, we are never like to recover her Grace's favor;—which is too heavy to bear. And seeing there is no remedy, for God's sake help us; for we have been now a quarter of a year married, I thank God, and too late now to call it again. . . . But if I were at liberty, and might choose, I assure you, Master Secretary, for my little time, I have spied so much honesty to be in him, that I had rather beg my bread with him than to be the greatest queen christened. And I believe verily he is in the same case with me; for I believe verily a' would not forsake me to be a king." Then, a little further on, she adds, "I pray you, good Master Secretary, pray my Lord my father, and my Lady my mother, to be good to us, and to let us have their blessings, and my husband their good will, and I will never desire more of them. Also, I pray you, desire my lord of Norfolk (her uncle), and my Lord my brother (Lord Rochford), to be good to us. I dare not write to them, they are so cruel against us. . . . I most heartily beseech you to be good unto [my husband], which, for my sake, is a poor banished man, for an honest and goodly cause. And seeing I have read in old books that some, for as just causes, have by kings and queens been pardoned by the suit of good folk, I trust it shall be our chance, through your good help, to come to the same." [1]

At the ripe age of thirty, and after six years of widowhood, Mary threw herself away for love, on a gentleman holding a very subordinate situation in the household of her royal brother-in-law. Touching as is the simple faith and the earnestness of her epistle, it is not that of a woman of strong character or decided principles. In this respect she affords a feeble reflection of her more illustrious but less happy sister, brought by circumstances into a more dangerous and dazzling position than was ever the lot of Mary; pushed forward by a great party for their own interests only; sacrificed by thoughtless and greedy parents; and requiring greater firmness and a clearer sense of duty than Mary to guide her safely through her perilous career. Her father, Sir Thomas, from the very commencement of the reign, had been employed in various negociations. We first hear of him in arms with his father against the Cornish rebels in the reign of

[1] Howard's Letters, p. 525. I have spared my readers Mary's orthography, which is phonetic, like her sister's French.

Henry VII.[1] In 1511 he was created governor of Norwich Castle in conjunction with Sir Henry Wyatt. Next year he was sent ambassador to the Low Countries; in 1514, to France; in 1516, to the Emperor. In 1518 and 1519 he accompanied the Earl of Worcester to France; in 1521 he attended Cardinal Wolsey to the congress at Calais. Notices of him are frequent, and his letters numerous, yet from none of them is it possible to glean the slightest insight into his character. In one thing all accounts of him concur. His besetting vice was avarice: he could not resist the temptation of money. Married when a young man, above his rank, burthened with a numerous and increasing family, the habit of parsimony, forced upon him by hard circumstances in earlier years, still clung to him in later and more prosperous times.[2] He outlived his unhappy daughter two years at least, yet not a word escaped him from which posterity can infer how far he bewailed her fate and his own infatuation. The only salient circumstance in his whole life, in which he ventured to show his independence, was his refusal to kiss the Pope's toe in 1529, if Rapin may be trusted.[3] But as the King his master had been already defying and bearding the Pope in his own lair, for declining to pronounce the divorce, such an act of independence carried no peril with it. Erasmus praises him for his piety, his study of the Scriptures, and his love of learning; and in the year immediately following the execution of Queen Anne, dedicated to him, then Earl of Wiltshire, a short commentary on the 23rd Psalm, at Boleyn's own desire. It would be interesting to discover what were the thoughts and afflictions of a man upon whom the heaviest misfortune had descended that could possibly befall a father, who had lost his only son and magnificent daughter under circumstances of so much sorrow, guilt, and infamy. The Psalm he selected for his meditations begins with the verse, "The Lord is my shepherd, therefore can I lack nothing." And,

[1] A.D. 1497.

[2] Even as late as 1530, when he was Earl of Wiltshire, Lord Privy Seal, and loaded with offices and emoluments, we find De Tarbes writing to Montmorenci about him in the following strain:—"The bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci) told me, the day before Rochford's (Boleyn's) departure, that, for the desire he (Ghinucci) had to serve the king of France, he would let me know that Francis had promised lord Rochford certain benefices. He advised that they should be given him on his return to France . . . for the Bishop said he (Boleyn) had great influence in the government, and he would sooner act from interest than from any other motive." March 28, 1530, p. 2828.

[3] Rapin, i. 787, taken from Foxe; and worthless, like many other of Foxe's stories.

considering the many places of emolument which the King had lavished upon him, and suffered him still to retain after his daughter's guilt and condemnation, we can well understand the application of the fifth verse to his own condition: "Thou shalt prepare a table before me against them that trouble me. Thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full." Evidently he was a man of no very deep joys or corroding sorrows. Endowed with a faculty of getting on in the world, and possessing that main requisite for success, a quiet and easy selfishness, unruffled by enthusiasm of any kind, he never courted opposition, or needlessly provoked the resentment, even of the fallen. The Reformers in after times claimed both him and his daughter as the champions of a purer faith and favourers of the Gospel. But, except this act of declining to kiss the Pope's toe, it is not easy to discover any expression or deed in his whole career to justify this presumption, beyond what was perfectly natural in his antagonism to Papal authority, which stood in the way of his daughter's advancement. Both in him and in his royal master such opposition was erroneously regarded by their sycophants as zeal for the Gospel. In 1533 he was chosen with Cranmer to sit in judgment on John Frith, the martyr, and he joined the Archbishop in condemning the prisoner to death for holding an opinion "so notably erroneous" as that there is no "corporal presence of Christ within the Host and Sacrament of the altar."[1] Why he should have acted on such a commission, except it was through the influence of his former chaplain, the primate, it is not easy to divine. But certainly neither this, nor any other action of his life, with the exception just mentioned, can justify us in ranking him among the Reformers of the age. The last notice of him occurs in 1536, shortly after his daughter's death and the outbreak of the Northern Rebellion. It needs no comment. "For my lord of Wiltshire," writes Wriothesley to Cromwell, "he (the King) is very glad you remembered him, and also that you wrote for so good a sum; for his Grace being very merry said, there was a servant of king Edward's, his grandfather, which made once a suit unto him for 1,000 marks, that he might only obtain 20; and so he trusted your request to my lord of Wiltshire should purchase 500*l.* on such a matter, by the reason it was so great; which, being less, would else percase have wrought nothing with him."[2] It

[1] Cranmer's Works, II. 246. Parker Soc.

[2] State Papers, I. 490.

must be remembered that poor Mary Boleyn had solicited Master Secretary's powerful influence in her favour, "for the love that well I know you do bear to all my blood." But the great statesman understood the difference between a Queen regnant and a Queen deposed. He was not indebted for his rise to needless generosity and kindness, nor by acts of needless generosity did he intend to keep it.

Such was Anne Boleyn's father, stripped of the false glare with which courtiers in the time of Elizabeth, out of complaisance to her vanity, endeavoured to invest her grandfather. Of her mother nothing personally is known beyond the calumny propagated by Saunders.[1] She was fully cognizant of the advances made by Henry to her daughter; of whom I now proceed to speak.[2]

Anne Boleyn was born in 1507. The supposition, founded on the list of Queen Mary's attendants,[3] that she, and not her sister Mary, is the person alluded to as "M. Boleyn," is worthy of no credit, long as it has maintained its place in popular histories. The mistake has arisen from the habit of confounding one sister with the other; a blunder from which even the late editors of the State Papers of Henry VIII. have not entirely escaped. No one acquainted with the manners of those times will suppose that a child of seven years old would be taken from the nursery, and her name be inserted in an official list of *gentlewomen*, appointed to attend on the Princess of England at her approaching marriage with Lewis XII., "to do service to the Queen."[4] Cavendish, who wrote in Queen Mary's reign, states merely that "mistress Anne Boleyn, being very young, was sent into the realm of France, and there made one of the French queen's *women*."[5]

[1] My readers must be upon their guard against confounding her with her sister-in-law, Anne, daughter and heir of Sir John Tempest, and wife of Sir Edward Boleyn. This lady held a post in the household of Queen Katharine, and attended her to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Not so Lady Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Boleyn's wife, who, for some reason or other, seems never to have been noticed by Katharine. See III. 170, 180.

[2] Yet popular calumny did not spare her more than her daughter. A mad Welshwoman, Mrs. Amadas, apparently wife of the Crown jeweller, who, in the treatment of his wife, followed, like many others, the King's example, was delated for saying, more coarsely than ceremoniously, that "there was never a good married woman in England except prince Arthur's dowager (Katharine), the duchess of Norfolk, and herself." Speaking of the King's connection with Anne Boleyn, she affirmed that "the King had kept both the mother and the daughter, and that my lord of Wiltshire (Sir Thomas Boleyn) was bawd both to his wife and his two daughters." (Cleopatra, E. IV. 84.)

[3] See it in I. p. 898.

[4] Ibid., p. 899.

[5] Life of Wolsey, p. 120.

But the French Queen there mentioned is Claude, not Mary, who during her life went by the same title. Saunders assigns Anne's first visit to France to the fifteenth year of her age. At whatever period of her life she was taken there by her father, she certainly returned to England in the beginning of the year 1522,[1] and in March the same year was present at one of those revels at Court, in which Henry delighted. The entry is remarkable: "These things remain with the French queen (Mary), the countess of Devonshire, Mistress Anne Boleyn, Mistress Kare (Miss Carey, related to Mary Boleyn's husband), Mistress Parker," and others—eight in number—"a silk caul of divers colours at 2*s.* 8*d.*" (each).[2] The lady here mentioned is, no doubt, Jane Parker, daughter of Lord Morley, afterwards married to George Boleyn, and better known as the infamous Lady Rochford. The reference enables us to date a letter written by Anne to her father Sir Thomas, in French, in the most puzzling and extraordinary orthography conceivable.[3] Sir Thomas had sent his daughter word of his desire that she should visit the Court, stating that the Queen (Mary) would take the trouble of talking French with her. Anne replies, it will give her great pleasure to converse with one of so much worth and nobility (*tante sage et onnete*), in order that she may continue to speak French correctly (*bene*). She proceeds, "Monsieur, I beg of you to excuse me, if my letter is inaccurately written; for I assure you that it is entirely my own; whereas the others I sent you were not done by me, but were only copied with my own hand; and Semmonet (her French master?) dictates the letter to me, but waits for me to do it myself, for fear that otherwise you would not understand what I send you." Apparently she intends to say—for her meaning is not very clear—that in her previous letters written to her father she had merely transcribed the copy, composed for her by her French teacher, but on this occasion, whilst he dictated the letter, she wrote it after his dictation, and spelled it herself. And a very remarkable specimen of French spelling it is, even for a young lady of the sixteenth century.[4] The phraseology is correct enough.

[1] Or perhaps in the end of 1521. At least not after January, 1522, if III. 1994 is correctly dated.—ED.

[2] III. p. 1559.

[3] See IV. 1.

[4] One specimen must suffice:—"Monssr. je vous supllya descusser sy ma lettre et male et sipta car je vous asure quete et ottografie de monantend amant sule la vue les auttres ne sont faiz que escript de maman et Semmonet me dit la lettre mes domeura fan je le fie moy meme de peur que lone ne saces sance que je vous mande." That it was written to dictation is clear from the omission

The formal expressions in it, very unlike those of a girl of sixteen, betray the hand of the master, whilst the "ottografie" (orthography) displays utter ignorance of French spelling, and was undoubtedly due to herself. That it is not the letter of a mere child is presumable from the statements, to say nothing of the whole tenor of the letter. She had written frequently to Sir Thomas; had been in the habit of speaking French; desires to continue the practice; will find great pleasure in conversing with such a lady of distinction as the Queen, who, in her turn, it may be presumed, would not feel any great anxiety to improve her knowledge of French by conversing with a mere child of six or seven years old. The letter, then, must have been composed after she had resided in France, and returned to England.

This is the only authentic specimen we possess of Anne Boleyn's intellectual accomplishments. The genuineness of the letter cannot be disputed. It was bequeathed by Archbishop Parker, her chaplain when Queen, to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and must therefore have been preserved with great care by Sir Thomas as a memorial of his daughter's abilities; on whom, if we may believe historians and biographers, he had bestowed great care and attention. Of her personal attractions, contemporary notices by eyewitnesses are not infrequent. The blood of the Ormonds ran in her veins. From her Irish descent she inherited

"The black-blue Irish hair and Irish eyes."

And, like the Irish Isolt of the great poet, Anne Boleyn was remarkable for the exquisite turn of her neck and her glossy throat.[1] She was a little, lively, sparkling brunette, with fascinating eyes and long black hair, which, contrary to the sombre fashion of those days, she wore coquettishly floating

of certain words which she did not hear correctly, and the extraordinary division of longer words into wrong syllables. Thus, we have *maman*, for ma main; *monantend amant* for mon entendement; *especy ale man*, for especialement; *me vere de clarasion*, me faire declaration; *ne din grati tude que sut en passer ne et fasere mon a vecction*, ne d'ingratitude que sut empecher ne effacer mon affection. It is to be hoped that Sir Thomas was satisfied with his daughter's proficiency.

[1] "Capillo nigro," says Saunders, f. 16 b. "She is young, good-looking, of a rather dark complexion, and likely enough to have children," says Grynæus, who saw her, Sep. 10, 1531. A less favourable witness says, "Madame Anne is not one of the handsomest women in the world. She is of middling stature, dark complexion, long neck, wide mouth, not prominent bust, and in fact she has nothing but the English King's great appetite, and her eyes, which are black and beautiful, and produce great effect on those who once served the Queen (Katharine) when she was in her prosperity." Brown's Ven. Cal., IV. p. 365.

loosely down her back, interlaced with jewels. The beauty of her eyes and hair struck all beholders alike—grave ecclesiastics and spruce young sprigs of nobility. "Sitting *in* her hair on a litter" is the feature at her coronation which seems to have made the deepest impression upon Archbishop Cranmer.[1] "On Sunday morning (1st Sept. 1532), solemnly and in public, Madame Anne being then at Windsor, *con li capilli sparsi*, completely covered with the most costly jewels, was created by the King countess of Pembroke."[2] George Wyatt, grandson of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet, one of her admirers, describes her, in the fantastic language of the sixteenth century, as having "a beauty not so whitely as clear and fresh above all we may esteem, which appeared much more excellent by her favour passing sweet and cheerful. There was found, indeed, upon the side of her nail upon one of her fingers some little show of a nail, which yet was so small, by the report of those that have seen her, as the work-master seemed to leave it an occasion of greater grace to her hand, which, with the tip of one of her other fingers, might be and was usually by her hidden, without any least blemish to it."[3]

Such was Anne Boleyn when she appeared at the Court of Henry VIII. in the spring of 1522. She was at that time in her sixteenth year, and already, whilst absent in France, had been the subject of a communication between the King and Wolsey. A dispute of long standing had existed between the Butlers of Ireland and the Boleyns respecting the right to the earldom of Ormond. The Butlers had been loyal and important allies of the English sovereign, in their unhappy disputes with their Irish subjects. They were too powerful to be offended, and Henry thought the dispute might easily be adjusted by marrying Anne to Sir Piers Butler. Accordingly he wrote to Surrey, her uncle (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), then in Ireland, to inquire whether the Earl of Ormond, the father of Sir Piers, would consent to the match. In October the Earl, in a letter to Wolsey, gave a favourable reply to the

[1] See his letter on the occasion (Cranmer's Letters, p. 245, Parker Soc.).

[2] Ven. Cal., IV. pp. 351, 418.

[3] Wyat's Life of Anne Boleyn, p. 423, ed. Singer. The story that Katharine had her to cards, the better to expose this defective finger to the King, is a mere malignant invention. In the first place, card-playing never seems to have been one of Katharine's amusements; in the next place, it is very doubtful whether Anne Boleyn was ever permanently attached to the Queen's household. That is the statement of Cavendish (p. 120), but no mention of her name occurs on the lists of the Queen's household; and in details of this kind Cavendish must not be implicitly trusted.

overture. For some reason not known, the proposal lingered, but was not broken off, for in November, 1521, Wolsey wrote to the King from Calais to say that when he returned to England he would talk with his Grace on the subject, and bring the match to good effect. At the end of the year Anne had left France, and returned to England; partly, no doubt, in consequence of this project, of which no mention occurs again.[1]

That a young lady highly connected, the object of some solicitude to the King and the Cardinal, having powerful friends and relatives among the King's chief favourites, should have created a sensation upon her first appearance at Court was natural enough. The knowledge of the French tongue was at that time by no means common among our insular and isolated countrywomen. To be able to speak French, if it was no better written French than Anne Boleyn's, was a powerful recommendation at all courtly festivities, where it was the fashion to pair off an English lady with a French or Italian gentleman to dance and to mask with.[2] The reputation of her accomplishments was enhanced by the fact that she was selected by the King's sister, Mary, the French Queen, to take part in a small and select circle with whom royalty conversed, and who clearly formed at that time an exclusive party at Court, regarded with some jealousy and disfavour by its older and more Anglican *habitués*.[3] Without literally accepting all the confused and inaccurate stories afterwards circulated of her early years, it may well be believed that in a gay and lively court, where amusements were so much in vogue, a young girl freshly returned from France and its fashions would not long pine for admirers. Intercourse between the two sexes was but little restricted. Flirtations, prompted partly by idleness and sentiment, partly by an affected gallantry, and fostered by imitations of the old romances and Arthurian legends,

[1] See III. pp. 369, 372, 744.

[2] "This done, and the maskers departed, there came in another mask of ladies, so gorgeously apparelled in costly garments that I dare not presume to take upon me to make thereof any declaration. These lady maskers took each of them a French gentleman to dance and mask with them. Ye shall understand that those lady maskers spake good French, which delighted much these gentlemen to hear those ladies speak to them in their own tongue." Cavendish, p. 201.

[3] This fact seems to me a sufficient refutation of the coarse imputations of Saunders respecting her. Among the reasons stated by Francis I. in 1522 for his suspicions of the English hostilities was the circumstance that the English scholars at Paris had returned home, "and also this daughter of M. Boulon." If she had been so notoriously infamous as Saunders reports, the King could hardly have laid so much stress upon her departure. See his letter to La Batie, III. p. 856.

furnished a pretext for equivocal passion, which might be merely poetical, though sometimes prosaically perilous. In Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Earl of Surrey, we have poets of ripe age and growing families devoured by the pangs of love, and devoting themselves to the celebration of the charms of a youthful mistress, their own woes, hopes, and despondency, with all the imaginary ardour of young lovers not yet arrived at the age of discretion. To this day it is impossible to decide whether the fair Geraldine, in the case of the latter, was the object of a real or mythical attachment; and in the former, whether "his love called Anna," a word "that changeth not, though it be turned and made in twain," was a substantial incorporation of flesh and blood, or only an incorporeal quibble. To a woman possessed of any firmness of character, and brought up in the rigid severity of the old Faith, an ordeal such as this would have proved comparatively harmless. No generous sentimentalism, perhaps no lively imagination, had yet been developed in the female sex, to tinge with its own colours, and invest with its own meaning, the artificial gallantry of the tilt yard and the masque. But times were hard at hand when the old faith was fast losing its influence. A new faith, apparently less rigid and severe, denouncing the ancient strictness as needless and ungodly, was making rapid advances, especially among the gay and cultivated votaries of the Court. Protestantism found two sets of partizans—those who rejected the formalities of fasts and the legal observances of the old Church, as unsatisfactory to their sense of righteousness, "as the thin leaves of mortal superstition" overshadowing the real fruit of immortal truth; and those who hated restraints of every kind, disguising their animosity to truth and righteousness by bitter invectives against the shortcomings of those who professed both. So, for opposite reasons, whilst Protestantism had acceptance with the godly, it was equally acceptable to the scoffer and the licentious. The greatest favourers of the Reformation in France, from which Anne Boleyn had just returned, were the King himself and his darling sister Marguerite; and the writings of the one are scarcely less licentious and offensive than the actions of the other, or more inconsistent with purity. Gallantry was the fashion. It was not, therefore, to be expected that a young girl who had been accustomed to see it thus exemplified in the highest quarters should severely renounce it when directed to herself.

To the dangerous indulgence in this fantastic fashion we may probably refer the following anecdote, told in Anne's praise, strangely enough, by George Wyatt, her admirer and apologist:—"Among these (choice spirits) two were observed to be of principal mark: the one was Sir Thomas Wiat, the elder; the other was the King himself. The knight, in the beginning, coming to behold the sudden appearance of this new beauty, came to be holden and surprised somewhat with the sight thereof; after, much more with her witty and graceful speech his ear also had him chained unto her; so as finally his heart seemed to say, *I could gladly yield to be tied for ever with the knot of her love,* as somewhere in his verses hath been thought his meaning was to express. She, on the other part, finding him to be then married, and in the knot to have been tied then ten years, rejected all his speech of love; but yet in such sort as whatsoever tended to regard of her honor, she showed not to scorn, for the general favor and good will she perceived all men to bear him." He then proceeds to tell how Sir Thomas on one occasion snatched from her a small jewel, "hanging by a lace out of her pocket," which he thrust into his bosom, and refused to return; and that the King at the same time, after less honourable solicitations, fell to win her by treaty of marriage; "and in his talk took from her a ring, and that wore upon his little finger. . . . Within a few days after it happened that the King, sporting himself at bowls, had in his company . . . the duke of Suffolk, Sir F. Bryan, and Sir T. Wiat, himself being more than ordinarily pleasantly disposed; and in his game taking an occasion to affirm a cast to be his that plainly appeared to be otherwise, those on the other side said, with his Grace's leave, they thought not; and yet still he, pointing with his finger whereon he wore her ring, replied often it was his; and specially to the knight he said, 'Wiat, I tell thee it is mine,' smiling upon him withal. Sir Thomas, at length, casting his eye upon the King's finger, perceived that the King meant the lady whose ring that was, which he well knew, and pausing a little, and finding the King bent to pleasure, after the words repeated again by the King, the knight replied, 'And if it may like your Majesty to give me leave to measure it, I hope it will be mine,' and withal took from his neck the lace whereat hung the tablet (miniature), and therewith stooped to measure the cast; which the King espying, knew, and had seen her wear, and therewithal spurned away the

bowl, and said, 'It may be so, but then I am deceived,' and so broke up the game."[1]

Now, if this story had come down to us from an enemy, we might have rejected it as a mere calumny; but, strangely enough, we owe it to Anne Boleyn's warmest apologist, the grandson of Sir Thomas, who evidently narrates it for the purpose of clearing the memory of both from popular scandal! But here, as in other anecdotes of the reign, there is a difficulty which shakes the credit of the narrator. Sir Thomas Wiat, by all accounts, was born in 1503, and is said to have been married and had a son, the celebrated Sir Thomas, as early as 1521. How could he have been married ten years, as his grandson affirms more than once, at Anne Boleyn's appearance

[1] Wyat, III. p. 426, ed. Singer. With this story must be compared the analogous one told by Cavendish of Lord Henry Percy's addresses to Anne Boleyn. Some of the details may be confused and inaccurate, especially when Cavendish relates that a pre-contract had passed between Anne and her suitor; for this was denied by Percy on his oath before the two archbishops when examined by them before the Council, and afterwards to Cromwell, on the Queen's disgrace. But the fact of a denial so formally made is a proof that some intimacy must once have existed between them to require so formal a denial. Cavendish refers this intimacy to a period when the Lord Percy attended the Cardinal, "and was also his servitor; and when it chanced the lord Cardinal at any time to repair to the Court, the lord Percy would then resort for his pastime unto the Queen's chamber, and there would fall in dalliance among the Queen's maidens, being at the last more conversant with Mistress Anne Boleyn then with any other; so that there grew such a secret love between them that at length they were insured together, intending to marry. The which thing came to the King's knowledge, who was then much offended. Wherefore *he could hide no longer his secret affection, but revealed his secret intendment unto my lord Cardinal in that behalf*, and consulted with him to infringe the pre-contract between them." Accordingly, on his return, the Cardinal, "being in his gallery, called there before him the said lord Percy unto his presence; *and before us his servants*," remonstrated with Percy for entangling himself "with a foolish girl yonder in the Court." Wolsey then told him, among other warnings, that the King "intended to have proposed Anne unto another person, with whom the King hath travailed already, and being almost at a point with the same person" (alluding to the Ormond match), "although she knoweth it not." Finding less submission in Percy than he expected, Wolsey sent for his father, who rated him soundly for his presumption and unthriftiness, threatening to disinherit him. In the end it was determined that the contract between him and the lady should be dissolved. Percy was shortly after married to Lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to the great displeasure of Anne Boleyn, who knew nothing all the while "of the King's intended purpose." Cavend., p. 120. As the old Earl died in 1527, and some time must be allowed for the preparation of the marriage, the event to which Cavendish refers cannot have been later than 1526 or 1525. It is probably still earlier, for Percy was already engaged to Lady Mary in Sept. 1523 (III. pp. 1383, 1512), and the marriage was arranged to take place immediately. But as he was employed upon the Borders in the latter end of 1522 and the beginning of 1523, we have no alternative left except to date back this flirtation with Anne Boleyn to the year 1522, shortly after her arrival in England, a date wholly irreconcilable with Cavendish's previous assertion that she did not return until 1524.

in the English Court? Or must we think that the anecdote refers to a later period in her history, when the King's attachment to her was known to all the world; and that even then she allowed herself to be approached on terms of fashionable gallantry by the other sex, inconsistent with her expected exaltation? Unquestionably, after she became Queen she permitted herself to be addressed by her inferiors with a freedom of language repugnant to the dignity of her sex; and she even interchanged jests with them when they ventured to express their regard for her in terms more expressive of admiration than respect. Lively and attractive as she might be, she had not the qualities required to inspire awe. In the estimation of those about her, she never at any time rose above the mistress; and her own equivocal position with the King lowered the whole moral tone of the circle in which she moved, and lent encouragement to laxity and to licentiousness no English Court had witnessed before. How, indeed, could it be otherwise?

Granting that the King was troubled with thoughts of his succession, and doubts of the legitimacy of his marriage with Katharine, can any one imagine that a pure and scrupulous conscience would have adopted such a method as this for removing his perplexities? Would a king of any magnanimity and self-respect have condescended to mix himself up with such intrigues, still less have entered into competition with the hangers-on of his own Court for the favours of a young coquette, who had nothing but her lively airs and thoughtless gaiety to recommend her? Could such a connection be considered as the best method for extinguishing pretensions to his throne, in the event of his decease? Whether it was the contrast between her and Katharine that piqued his fancy, or whether from idle gallantry he fell into a more serious passion, the fascination Anne exercised over him was complete. He awoke from it as from a dream; but only to visit with a terrible Nemesis all who had opposed and all who had been instrumental in furthering his wishes—a Nemesis equally terrible and equally unjust, considering the influence of his own conduct and his own example. In her excuse, it may be said that she was young and thoughtless; was thrown into temptations unawares; was put forward by sycophants, who despised the instrument of their own selfish purposes, and in her highest exaltation never forgot the means by which she had risen. For it was not merely the Cardinal whom they wished

to pull down, but the whole hierarchy, of whose wealth and influence many of them were envious, and whose employments as statesmen and diplomatists they regarded partly with jealousy, and partly disliked from a better motive, as detrimental to the morals of the clergy, and destructive of their spiritual character and functions. The whole party who now gathered round Anne Boleyn were anticlerical. They had their own reasons for disliking the Church and churchmen. They were joined by Reformers, actuated by purer motives, who believed, like Cranmer, that good might spring out of evil, and saw in this union of Henry and Anne Boleyn, as they thought, a better omen for the inauguration of the Gospel. But none of them, whatever their principles, had a word of pity for her at her fall, or, before it, a word of warning against the dangerous courses into which she was now drifting.

It was in April, 1522, that honours and emoluments began to fall thickly upon Sir Thomas Boleyn. On the 24th of April we find him designated treasurer of the household—an office held not long before by Sir Thomas Lovell. On the 29th of April he was made steward of Tunbridge, master of the hunt there, constable of the castle and chamberlain of Tunbridge, receiver and bailiff of Brasted, and keeper of the manor of Penshurst; in 1523, keeper of the park of Thundersley, in Essex; in the same year, keeper of Westwood Park, Notts; in 1524, steward of Swaffham, Norfolk. In 1525 he alone, of all the commoners of England, was made a peer at the creation of the Duke of Richmond. In 1529 he was appointed Lord Privy Seal, with a salary of 20*s.* a day during pleasure; equal to an annuity in our day of between 4,000*l.* and 5,000*l.* Dignities and emoluments continued to be showered upon him until the spring of 1536, when, on his daughter's disgrace and death, he retired from public life, and is heard of no more.

What were Henry's intentions in the first instance, however eventually they shaped themselves, we know not. An idle gallantry betrayed him into an incontrollable passion. It is clear that he felt piqued and uneasy at the attentions paid by others to Anne Boleyn, and endeavoured to thwart them; but he had not yet discovered his intentions to herself, still less to others; and it is certain that he had only revealed them partially to Wolsey. Though the Cardinal knew of the King's inclinations to Anne, he was unconscious at first of the serious form they were destined to take; and if the report be true,

that he had turned his eyes on the Duchess of Alençon—a report of which we have no authoritative confirmation—it was not until 1525 that Wolsey became aware of the real state of the King's mind. Unquestionably, in 1526 matters had so far advanced that Clerk was only watching his opportunity to urge the divorce at the Court of Rome. Cavendish reports, and I think truly, that when the King first disclosed his intentions to Wolsey, the latter fell upon his knees, and endeavoured, without effect, to dissuade him.[1] We have, however, a very singular piece of intelligence, preserved in one of Wolsey's letters to the King, which clearly shows that he differed from his master on this important matter, and from the very first was suspected of being unfavourable to the King's intentions—a notion which rankled long in Henry's breast, and, fanned into a flame by the suggestions of Anne Boleyn and her friends, ended at last in the Cardinal's ruin. The letter runs as follows :—

"Sire, After my most lowly and humble recommendations: It may please your Highness to understand that the message sent unto me this morning from the same, by Master Wolman, hath not a little troubled my mind, considering that your Highness should think or conject upon such a message as I sent unto your Highness by Master Sampson, that I should either doubt or should [seek to hinder] your secret matter. For I take God to record that there is nothing earthly that I covet so much as the advancing thereof; not doubting, for anything that I have heard, [that] this overture (proposal for the divorce) hath come to the Queen's knowledge [by] ———[2] than I have done before. And, as I said unto Master Sampson, if your brother had never known her, by reason whereof there was no affinity contracted, yet in that she was married *in facie ecclesiæ*, and contracted *per verba de præsenti*, there did arise *impedimentum publicæ honestatis*, which is no less *impedimentum ad dirimendum matrimonium* than affinity; whereof (of which impediment) the bull maketh no express mention; and the words that I said unto Master Sampson imported no doubt in me, for those following were my very words." That is to say, the King had secretly determined to disavow his marriage with

[1] It is to this that Wolsey himself alludes in his last dying speech to Kingston: "I assure you I have often kneeled before him (the King) in his privy chamber, on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom." Cavendish, p. 388.

[2] Blank in MS. Query, Fisher? Passages between [ ] are conjectural.

Katharine on the ground that she was "carnally known" to his brother, which she always steadfastly denied, and regard his marriage as a nullity. But Wolsey, on the contrary, without insisting on this, the King's favourite argument, was content to rest the impediment upon the more tenable and ostensible ground, that as she had been married in the face of the Church, the presumption was that the marriage with Arthur must be considered valid; and, without entering into any minute inquiry as to the truth or falsehood of Katharine's allegation, the marriage ceremonies, contracted openly and in the face of the Church, constituted a sufficient impediment to her marriage with Henry. By them she was his brother's wife, and she must in the eye of the law be so reputed. Whilst, therefore, the dispensation removed all other impediments, it left this impediment untouched, and never mentioned it. In other words, none, as Wolsey thought, could dispute this objection, as they might and did question the other, urged by the King and his advisers. He then proceeds: "When Sampson showed unto me that the Queen was very stiff and obstinate, affirming that your brother did never know her carnally, and that she desired counsel, as well of your subjects as of strangers, I said this device could never come of her head, but of some that were learned, and these were the worst points that could be imagined for the impeaching of this matter (for hindering the divorce); for [if it were] that she would resort unto the counsel of strangers or of [others], she intended to make all the counsel of the world, France except, as a party against it (the divorce); wherefore I [thought] it convenient, till it were known what should succeed of the Pope, and to what point the French king might be brought, your Grace should handle her both gently and doulcely, as I instructed the said Master Sampson. This was, in effect, the whole substance of my charge committed unto him; at the declaration whereof was the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk present.

"At the reverence of God, Sir, and most humbly prostrate at your feet, I beseech your Grace, *whatsoever report shall be made unto the same, to conceive none opinion of me but that in this matter,* and in all other things that may touch your honor and surety, I shall be as constant as any living creature, not letting (stopping) for any danger, obloquy, displeasure, or persecution. Yea, and if all men did fail and swerve, your Highness shall find me fast and constant, according to my

most bounden duty, *assuredly trusting that your Highness, of your high virtue, will defend the cause of your most humble servant and subject against all those that will anything speak or allege to the contrary;* like as Master Wolman shall show unto your Highness, unto whom I most humbly beseech the same to give no less credence than to myself, praying our Lord to preserve your most noble and royal estate, giving unto the same the accomplishment of your desires, *to the attaining whereof I shall stick* with your Highness *usque ad mortem.* At my place besides Westminster, the first day of July, by your most humble chaplain, T. CARD^lis^. EBOR."[1]

It seems to me that there are several conclusions fairly deducible from this extraordinary letter. It is, I think, obvious that in the first instance Henry had resolved to cut the knot of his difficulties, after his own trenchant and arbitrary fashion, by simply declaring his own marriage null and void, without any formal trial. As Katharine was devout, obedient, fatherless, and friendless, and any interposition by the Emperor in her behalf was to be dreaded, Henry made no doubt that she might be flattered or frightened into compliance with his wishes; still more, if, as he evidently expected, a bull could be procured from Rome declaring the dispensation illegal or invalid—an authority to which Katharine would implicitly submit. The Cardinal, not quite so certain of success with the Pope, not sure of the French King's policy—and his conjunction with the Emperor would have proved a formidable obstacle to the King's designs—recommended Henry to treat the Queen "gently and tenderly," expecting, probably, more would be gained by mildness than by violence. Perhaps also he was not sorry for a pretext of moderating the impatience of the King, and sheltering a victim, whose only sin it was that she was an innocent obstacle to her husband's impetuous desires. He must have known also, as a churchman, that her cause was his cause, and the triumph of her enemies his own eventual downfall. He had far too much penetration not to see that a cordial union between himself and the Boleyns was impossible, even though he was not so deadly an enemy to the Reformation as More, or Fisher, or Lee, or many others. This moderate advice, interpreted by his previous opposition to the King's project, which no protestations on his part, however vehement, could entirely remove, only exposed him

[1] State Papers, i. 194.

to greater danger and obloquy from his enemies, all of whom, seeing his ruin in the advancement of Anne Boleyn, misrepresented every delay and every measure, even of prudence and precaution, on his part, as an impediment to the King's project, and a betrayal of the royal cause.

But for the present his advice and management were indispensable. The Pope was in captivity, and all expectation from him of a favourable sentence was more distant than ever. The alliance with France was unsettled, and it was by no means certain how its King would take Henry's determination on a divorce, and perhaps a new marriage, by which the interests of his own son or of himself would be seriously compromised. Besides, with all the King's impatience he was governed by one strong passion, the love of popularity. Bold as he was, he was not prepared to face the indignation of his subjects, and the outcry of all Europe. Finally, a new and unexpected difficulty had arisen. Katharine, from whom entire submission was expected, had resolved to defend her own cause, and desired counsel. She must be heard. It was monstrous to suppose that she, who was Queen of England, daughter of a king, and niece of an emperor, could be debarred from that justice which was readily accorded to the meanest of the King's subjects. It was not a civil but an ecclesiastical suit, and the Pope was the last appeal. The Defender of the Faith, the great champion of Papal authority against Lutheranism, must abandon all his former principles and sacrifice his renown, if he flaunted his opposition in the face of the Spiritual Ruler of Christendom, and set in his own person the most flagrant example of disobedience. For this Henry was not prepared. Was it not possible to induce the Pope to see things in the light that the King himself saw them?

Till within a short period of the date of Wolsey's letter, it is clear that Katharine was not aware of the full extent of her misfortunes. The whole affair was carried on with such profound secresy, that, with the exception of the Imperial ambassador, Mendoza, it is not once alluded to in the despatches of the foreign ambassadors, nor does the name of Anne Boleyn ever occur. In 1527 it was buzzed about in every ear, and every tongue was talking of it. If Katharine was aware of the attentions paid by her consort to Anne, her suspicions were lulled, or her remonstrances disregarded. If she complained that after twenty years of married life, with-

out dispute on one side or the other, the legality of her union with the King was now called in question, and the legitimacy of her only daughter imperilled, she was boldly answered that no divorce was intended. It was, she was assured, a mere discussion of an abstract question, which would probably be determined in her favour. On his part, the King himself was not certain of his mistress. He had not at first been able to obtain from her any distinct avowal of her sentiments. In the hottest fit of expectation she would suddenly withdraw from Court, and leave him to mourn her absence. "I have been in great agony," he writes to her on one occasion, "about the contents of your letters, not knowing whether to construe them to my disadvantage, as in some others of them, or to my advantage. I beg to know expressly your intentions touching the love between us. Necessity compels me to obtain this answer, having been more than a year wounded by the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your affection. This has prevented me from naming you my mistress. . . . But if it please you to do the office of a true, loyal mistress, and give yourself, body and heart, to me who have been and mean to be your loyal servant, I promise you *not only the name*, but that I shall make you my *sole mistress, remove all others from my affection, and serve you only*. Give me a full answer on which I can rely; and if you do not like to reply by letter, appoint some place where I can have it by word of mouth."[1]

It is obvious that the promise of making her his sole mistress, and removing all others from his affection had not been given until some considerable time after the commencement of their intimacy; and when thus given some months must have elapsed before he could ascertain her intentions, and give effect to his promise. She was not a woman of any high principle; but, like her father, she was not deficient in worldly wisdom and ambition. That she loved the King, at any time, is questionable; that she would stoop to his advances, as others had done, and throw away her chances of

[1] IV. p. 1467. Her answer has not been preserved, but the tenor of it may be guessed from the King's next letter: "Though it is not befitting for a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant (*i.e.* make a servant of his lady), I shall willingly grant it, if thereby I may find you less ungrateful in the place chosen by yourself than you have been in the place given you by me; thanking you most heartily that you are pleased still to have some remembrance of me." It is clear from the style of these letters that they must have been written at an early period of the King's attachment.

an honourable marriage, was not to be expected. She had been already proposed by the King himself for the son and heir of the Earl of Ormond. But if the King's intentions were honourable, how were they to be fulfilled? How was Katharine to be removed, and herself bear the King's name, and be installed the sole mistress in his affections? Till that was assured he could not expect that she should give up all other suitors, and bind herself to him. The very promise thus made by him would augment her own value in her own esteem, and raise expectations not to be satisfied except by the fulfilment of his word.

Whether but for this letter the King would ever have thought of a divorce, it is needless to speculate. Having once resolved upon it, it was necessary to carry his resolution into effect. Passion blinded him to its difficulties; blinded him also, for the time, to all consideration for the rights and feelings of others—to all means, however vile, however degrading, for carrying his wishes into effect. I would gladly have passed over in silence this dark and revolting page of history, could it have been done with justice. It is not pleasant to have to chronicle the artifices, the dissimulation, the fraud, the intimidation employed to hunt down a forlorn and defenceless woman; still less to see her natural protector at the head of her persecutors, armed with the whole power and wealth of his kingdom, and employing them to gain his end; unscrupulous in his animosity against those who questioned or opposed his wishes, as he was unscrupulous in rewarding those who advanced them. That a grand divorce suit, in which the King figured as the principal actor, should be the sole theme of conversation and discussion for many years; that the sanctity and secrecy of the marriage bed should be laid bare in its most minute details; that roving commissions should be appointed to gather up the loose gossip that passed in Prince Arthur's chamber; that the marital relations between the King and Katharine should be the common talk at every corner, and on every ale-bench;—was odious enough. But it was far worse when, long before any sentence of separation was pronounced—when the illegality of his marriage with Katharine had not yet been determined—as if in contempt of the law which he had evoked, the King openly paraded Anne Boleyn as his wife, and lodged her sumptuously and even ostentatiously in one wing of his palace, while Katharine remained neglected in the other. Had

the King been fully convinced of the nullity of his marriage, neither he, nor any other man in his position, who regarded the honour and respect of his future wife and queen, would have indulged in the unreserved familiarities with which he treated Anne Boleyn. Nor would any woman of purity or delicacy have permitted them.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WOLSEY'S MISSION TO FRANCE.

In May, 1527,[1] a collusive suit was instituted with the greatest secrecy, in which the King was summoned to appear before Wolsey as legate, at his house in Westminster, to answer to the objection alleged against him—as in an ordinary court of divorce—for cohabiting with Katharine, his brother Arthur's wife, during eighteen years. The Cardinal, addressing the King, then sitting on his right hand, explained the reason of the summons. As legate of the Holy See it was his duty to correct offences against the marriage law, and therefore, out of consideration for his office, and regard for his Majesty's spiritual welfare, he had, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Canterbury, visited his Majesty at Greenwich, and requested the King to appear on a certain day before him, that he might take cognizance of the cause. But as it was not fit that a subject should cite his sovereign to appear before him, he begged to hear from the King's own lips whether he consented to these proceedings, and was content that the Archbishop should act as assessor. On receiving from the King an answer in the affirmative, Wolsey proceeded to inform his Majesty of the complaint made against him for his marriage

[1] That is to say, just after the treaty with France had been arranged. Wolsey, as Papal legate, and the general *censor morum* and head of the ecclesiastical courts, was commissioned to take cognizance of all matrimonial offences. As the suit must have been instituted with the King's consent, and he submitted to be tried by Wolsey as legate, it is easy to see the gross injustice of the process set on foot in the Court of King's Bench against Wolsey, after his fall, for breach of the Præmunire in the exercise of his legatine power, as if it had been done without the King's sanction. It is still more revolting that, not individuals, but the whole body of the clergy, who were not only innocent, but, if they had protested ever so much against that authority, would have been helpless in preventing it, should have been condemned as accomplices. Yet in these proceedings the King found servile instruments both in the judges and in Parliament, at the very time when we are bidden to believe that both were beginning to act with a nobler sense of their independence.

with Katharine; that though a dispensation had been granted him, yet as the validity of it was questioned, the King ought to feel some scruples of conscience on the subject, and dread the vengeance of the Almighty, which sooner or later overtakes those who disobey Him. He then demanded from the King what he had to say in justification of this conduct. The King read his reply from a written paper, requesting, as he could not always appear in person, that Dr. John Bell might be received as his proctor. After some formal proceedings Wolsey prorogued the court until the 20th of May, when Dr. Bell appeared and put in a paper containing the King's justification, but admitting the marriage and the impediment. After several prorogations Wolman, the promoter of the suit, produced his objections, of which Bell demanded a copy; and as the case was very difficult of decision, the Cardinal determined that the most learned theologians and civilians should be summoned—among others the Bishops of Rochester, Lincoln, and London—to give their opinion on the matter.[1] The proceedings were never resumed. It may be, for their obvious absurdity. It may be that as an appeal would always lie from the Papal legate to the Pope himself, Katharine would demur to Wolsey's jurisdiction. More probable still, it was feared that Wolsey and the Archbishop, by sitting as judges in an inferior court, would incapacitate themselves from sitting in the Legatine Court. Hence the extreme secrecy observed in these proceedings, which have escaped the notice of all historians. Had they been known, they would have effectually excluded Wolsey from being joined with Campeggio in Papal Commission. If the Pope had remained at liberty, he might possibly have confirmed the sentence of the Court below, and refused all appeal. He was now a captive; worse still, he was in the power of the Emperor. Some other course must be taken.

The King was resolved upon a divorce at all hazards. His letter to Anne Boleyn admits of no other meaning. Not otherwise could he have fulfilled his promise that he would remove all others from his affections, and that she alone should bear his name. He did not at this time urge the plea of conscientious scruples, or the dread of a disputed succession. How could he? It would have been absurd and inconsistent, for he had himself only a few weeks before declared that Mary was his heiress, and he had heightened the terms of his late

[1] IV. p. 1426.

agreement with the French King, on the plea that she would undoubtedly succeed him, and then whoever married her would become King of England. Moreover any such plea, though it might serve to deceive the Pope, had no weight with his own subjects. Their objection to Mary's marriage with a French prince was founded on the fear that by such a match they might hereafter have a foreigner for their sovereign; a fear utterly groundless, if there ever had been any doubt of a female succession. Whatever might be the King's persuasion afterwards, by dint of controversy and frequent repetition, his conscientious scruples at this time had no strong basis of reality; no stronger than his assertion to Charles and other potentates, that his proceedings in this matter were not influenced by any other motive than a conscientious desire to have certain doubts and scruples determined by the judgment of the learned. That judgment he had anticipated already; he had taken every precaution to have it decided in his favour, by the appointment of a court selected by himself, and by securing the Pope's consent to his wishes beforehand. It had been his intention, in the first instance, to have managed the whole affair with such complete secrecy that Katharine should know nothing of what was going on until all opportunity for appeal and remonstrance should be shut out. She was to become the victim of legal proceedings in which no plea on her part should be heard, and be condemned by a tribunal of the King's own choosing, which she could neither challenge nor decline—not unlike the process by which she was afterwards condemned by Cranmer.[1] The Pope's captivity, as we have seen, threw insuperable difficulties in the way. Further, Katharine, to the consternation of the King and his advisers, had received intimation of the King's real intentions. Contrary to her nature, she had shown herself "very obstinate;" in other words, she had resolved to maintain her rights by the legal means allowed in such cases. For this purpose she had demanded counsel.

The demand could not be refused, at least not with safety, until the assent of France had been fully secured, and the

[1] See Cranmer's own letters on the subject. (Works, II. 242.) It appears to have been his object to carry on the proceedings so swiftly and noiselessly that Katharine should have no inducement for appearing, and then be pronounced *contumax* for not appearing. By these means she would be deprived of her right of appeal. Nothing could be more indefensible. The only palliation is that no judge, lay or ecclesiastical, at the time, with the exception of More, would have acted otherwise.

knot between the two kingdoms had been so indissolubly tied that no means should be left to the Emperor for dissolving it. Two other precautions were requisite: first, that Katharine should have no opportunity of communicating with her nephew, or that all such communication should be ineffectual; next, that, if possible, her appeal to Rome should not pass beyond England; and that the Pope, by delegating her cause from himself to an English court, should be precluded from interfering. To obtain these results there was need of a skilful negociator, who was perfectly well acquainted with all the minute and delicate points of this odious business. For that purpose no one was so fit an instrument as Wolsey. Yet the King had secrets he did not communicate even to his great minister, and meant to take his own way, when he saw his opportunity, without regarding the Cardinal's advice. *Nihil est supra malitiam mulieris,* he had been heard to say in the recent discussions; and he was destined to experience the truth of his own words.

So Wolsey started on his mission—ostensibly to settle the particulars of the late treaty; really to divulge to Francis so much of the King's purpose as might be confided to his ears without danger. But his mission embraced other matters of a more difficult and delicate nature, which he was only to press as opportunity allowed him.[1] He was to feel, if possible, the pulse of the nation, to discover how the bishops stood affected towards the King's purpose—especially Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, whose fearless, outspoken opposition, and high reputation for sanctity, the King dreaded, and whom he suspected of corresponding secretly with Katharine. Above all, he was to ascertain the best means of communicating with the Pope, and manipulating his Holiness in conformity with the King's wishes. If the Pope leaned to the Imperialists, and was refractory, he was to be coerced by a declaration from Wolsey and the French cardinals that all his acts during his captivity would be held as invalid. If he showed himself more towardly, he should be asked to delegate his authority to Wolsey for a time; if not as the Pope's vicegerent, yet at least as clothed with all his spiritual jurisdiction for determining

[1] Cavendish, who was in the dark as to the main purpose of Wolsey's mission, thinks that he was despatched on this embassy through the instigations of his enemies, that "by the aid of their chief mistress, my lady Anne," they might "get him out of the King's daily presence," and "deprave him so unto the King in his absence" that he should be in less estimation with his Majesty (p. 148). This may be true, but it is not the whole truth.

the King's cause as irrevocably and infallibly as the Pope himself.

The Cardinal's train consisted of 900 horsemen,[1] and included in it certain lords spiritual and temporal, besides Sir Thomas More, Sir Henry Guildford, Sir Francis Bryan, Stephen Gardiner, and other persons of note. He was attended by Cavendish, his gentleman usher, who has left by far the most minute and interesting account of this embassy, although his name is not mentioned in the official list of Wolsey's attendants.[2] To the rising party of the extreme Reformers, now rapidly becoming popular, such pomp and such magnificence appeared inconsistent with his spiritual character, and furnished another instance of his ambition to eclipse royalty itself, by assuming the insignia of royalty. They knew little of the inner feelings of the man, or the real purpose of his visit. Like vulgar observers, they judged by the outside alone; and thoughtless historians have been implicitly guided by their judgment. It has not been sufficiently considered that so large and imposing a train was necessary for protection as well as for display, both in crossing the sea and in passing the Imperial borders at a time when the disposition of the Emperor was unknown, and with whom the Cardinal was no special favourite;[3] that in descending to the sea-coast he had to travel through the county of Kent, not wholly recovered from the disaffection caused by the Amicable Grant, and such a display was far more likely to impress its inhabitants with a sense of the power and majesty of the administration than any law or individual punishment could effect. More than all, Wolsey was invested with unusual powers, as "the King's lieutenant, and not as an ordinary ambassador, combining for the time in his own person the highest spiritual and temporal dignity of the realm."[4] Cavendish has transmitted an amusing account of the Cardinal's estimate of his novel functions, and the necessity he was under of schooling "his noblemen and gentlemen," and giving them lessons for their behaviour on this occasion—lessons which had not been necessary if he had been the proud and imperious prelate he is often represented to have been. After calling them into his privy chamber, and commending their

[1] Not 1200, as stated more than once by Hall.

[2] See IV. p. 1466.

[3] See his letter to Clerk, IV. p. 1476, clearly showing that this was no imaginary danger.

[4] See his commissions, IV. p. 1449.

diligence in his service, he proceeded to explain to them more precisely the nature of his authority: "Ye shall understand that the King's majesty, upon certain weighty considerations, hath, for the more advancement of his royal dignity, assigned me in this journey to be his lieutenant-general; and what reverence belongeth to the same I will tell you. For my part, I must, by virtue of my commission, assume and take upon me, in all honors and degrees, to have all such service and reverence as to his Highness' presence is meet and due. And for my part ye shall see me that I will not omit one jot thereof."[1] After impressing upon them the necessity of strict attention, he proceeded: "Now to the point of the Frenchmen's nature. Ye shall understand that their disposition is such that they will be at the first meeting as familiar with you as (if) they had been acquainted with you long before, and commune with you in the French tongue, as though ye understood every word they spake; therefore, in like manner, be ye as familiar with them again as they be with you. If they speak to you in the French tongue, speak you to them in the English tongue; for if you understand not them, they shall no more understand you.[2] And my Lord, speaking merrily to one of the gentlemen there, being a Welshman, 'Rice,'[3] quoth he, 'speak thou Welsh to him, and I am well assured that thy Welsh shall be more diffuse (difficult) to him than his French shall be to thee;' and so, urging them in all their behavior to study 'gentleness and humanity,' he dismissed them."[4]

He started on his journey from Westminster, July 3, 1527, passing through London, and over London Bridge,

[1] How they observed their instructions will be seen by the account of a dinner given at Amiens by the Cardinal to the Kings of France and Navarre. The quantity of viands was stupendous. Cardinal Wolsey's attendants served him cap in hand, and, in bringing the dishes, knelt before him in the act of presenting them. Those who waited upon the most Christian King kept their caps on their heads, dispensing with such exaggerated ceremonies. The narrator, an Italian, accustomed to the freer and simpler habits of republics, was not aware that Wolsey, as the representative of royalty, was served with the same ceremony as the King himself. It is clear also, from this and other notices, that the formalities of the English court were more rigid than those of France. No man could wear a cap or hat in the English court without special licence.

[2] These young noblemen and gentlemen had never been abroad before.

[3] Griffith ap Rice, who was afterwards executed.

[4] Cavendish, p. 153. "Humane and gentle." No poet, no philosopher, could have comprised in briefer or truer words the essentials of good breeding. Statesman or ecclesiastic, Wolsey never could have been the arrogant pedant he is sometimes represented.

instead of taking the usual way by water. A description of the cavalcade will be found in Cavendish.[1] The Cardinal himself, as usual, rode with stirrups of copper gilt, on a mule trapped with crimson velvet upon velvet. Before him were borne two crosses of silver, two pillars of the same metal, the Great Seal of England, and his Cardinal's hat. He lodged the first night two miles beyond Deptford, at the house of Sir John Wiltshire. Here he was met by the Archbishop. Next day he rode to Rochester, and was entertained by the Bishop. The third day he reached Faversham, and was lodged in the abbey. From Faversham he wrote to the King, informing him of the particulars of his journey, and stating that this portion of the realm was never in better order; "clear without any such talkings, rumours, or seditious speakings, as was reported and noysed."[2] He goes on: "The first night of this my journey I lodged at Sir John Wiltshire's house, where met me my lord of Canterbury; with whom, after communication had of your secret matter (the divorce), and such other things as have been hitherto done therein, I showed him how the knowledge thereof is come to the Queen's grace, and how displeasantly she taketh it, and what your Highness hath done for the staying and pacification of her; *declaring unto her that your Grace hath hitherto nothing intended, ne done, but only for the searching and trying out of the truth,* proceeding upon occasion given by the French party, and doubts moved therein by the bishop of Tarbes. Which fashion and manner liked my said lord of Canterbury very well. *And noting his countenance, gesture, and manner*—although he somewhat marvelled how the Queen should come to the knowledge thereof, and by whom, thinking that your Grace might constrain and cause her to show the discoverers thereof unto your Highness—yet, as I perceive, he is not much altered or turned from his first fashion, expressly affirming that however displeasantly the Queen took this matter, yet the truth and judgment of the law must have place and be followed. And so proceeding further with him in communication, I have sufficiently instructed him how he shall order himself in case the Queen do demand his counsel in the said matter; which mine advertisement (advice) he doth not only like, but also hath promised me to follow the same accordingly.[3]

[1] p. 149.

[2] State Papers, i. 196. He repeats this in a subsequent letter (ibid., p. 205), showing how much importance was attached to it.

[3] Ibid.

Then, to dissipate any suspicions that Warham (who does not appear to have possessed much penetration or firmness) might have entertained of Wolsey's mission, he tells the Archbishop that he was sent into France to concert means for the Pope's delivery—a confidential communication, at which his Grace was "much rejoiced."[1]

The Archbishop was easily disposed of; a harder task remained at Rochester, where the Cardinal fell into communication with its Bishop, the celebrated Fisher. He was now closely verging on threescore years and ten.[2] Entirely withdrawn from the world, unlike most other bishops of those days, he had devoted himself to a life of prayer and fasting. Calumny, busy against the rest of the hierarchy, never wagged its tongue in disparagement of Fisher, except for his excessive study and protracted austerities. His favourable opinion of the King's divorce would weigh with many—undoubtedly with his great friend More, whose assistance in the cause the King had not yet abandoned all hopes of securing. Wolsey approached him warily, on his weak side. He enlarged on the calamities of the Church, "and what things were devised, as well *in prayer and fasting as other good deeds*, and at your Grace's commandment by me indicted for the redress of the same. After which communication I asked him, whether he had heard lately any tidings from the Court, and whether any man had been sent unto him from the Queen's grace. At which question he somewhat stayed and paused; nevertheless, in conclusion he answered, how truth it is, that of late one was sent unto him from the Queen's Grace, who brought him a message only by mouth, without disclosure of any particularity, that certain matters there were between your Grace and her lately chanced, wherein she would be glad to have his counsel, alleging that your Highness was content she should so have; whereunto, as he saith, he made answer likewise by mouth, that he was ready and prone to give unto her his counsel in anything that concerned or touched only herself, but in matters concerning your Highness and her, he would nothing do, without knowledge of your pleasure and express commandment;—and herewith dismissed the messenger. After declaration whereof, I replied and said, 'My Lord, ye and I have been of an old acquaintance, and the one hath loved and trusted the other; wherefore, postponing all

[1] The Archbishop was old and feeble, unable to cope with the times, much less with the Cardinal.

[2] He was born in 1459.

doubt and fear, ye may be frank and plain with me, like as I, for my part, will be with you.' And so I demanded of him whether he had any special conjecture or knowledge what the matter should be wherein the Queen desired to have his advice. Whereunto he answered, that by certain report and relation he knew nothing; howbeit, upon conjecture arising upon such things as he had heard, he thinketh it was for a divorce to be had between your Highness and the Queen; which to conject he was specially moved, upon a tale brought unto him by his brother from London, who showed him, that, being there in a certain company, he heard say that things were set forth, sounding to such a purpose; whereupon, and then calling to remembrance the question I moved unto him by your Grace's commandment, with the message sent unto him from the Queen, he verily supposed such a matter to be in hand. And this was all he knoweth therein, as he constantly affirmeth; without that that ever he sent any word or knowledge thereof, by his faith, to the Queen's grace, or any other living person."

When he had thus probed the old man's confidence to the bottom, Wolsey began in appearance to be very confidential. After telling Fisher that the King, for excellent reasons, had not intended to disclose this secret, except to very few, yet, seeing that his motives were so grossly misrepresented, Wolsey had been commissioned by the King to discover the whole affair to Fisher, first taking an oath of him to keep it secret, and communicate his opinions about it to Wolsey. He then proceeded to explain how, at the late negociations for marrying the French King to the Princess Mary, the Bishop of Tarbes had desired to know what had been done "for taking away the impediment of that marriage whereof my lady Princess cometh;" and on perusing the bull of dispensation he had said that though he supposed the bull was not sufficient, as the Pope could not dispense in a matter *de jure divino*, yet he agreed that all further discussion upon it should be postponed until Wolsey's visit to France—where, it may be remarked by the way, it never was moved. For this reason the Cardinal said he had gathered many opinions of the "learned, who had right clerkly handled the same, so as the books *excrescunt in magna volumina*." . . . "And thus declaring the whole matter unto him at length, as was devised with your Highness at York Place, I added that, by what means it was not yet deprehended, an inkling of this matter is come to the Queen's

knowledge; *who being suspicious, and casting further doubts than was meant or intended,* hath broken with your Grace thereof, after a very displeasant manner, saying that by my procurement and setting forth a divorce was purposed between her and your Highness; and by her manner, behaviour, words, and messages, sent to divers, hath published, divulged, and opened the same,[1] and what your Highness hath said unto her therein, to the purging of the matter; how and after what sort your Grace hath used yourself to attain to the knowledge of him that should be author of that tale unto her. And I assure your Grace, my lord of Rochester, hearing the process of the matter after this sort, did arrect (attribute) great blame unto the Queen, as well for giving so light credence in so weighty a matter, as also, when she heard it, to handle the same in such fashion as rumor and bruit should spread thereof, which might not only be some stay and let to the universal peace . . . but also to the great danger and peril of your Grace's succession, if the same should be further spread and divulged; and [he] doubted not, but that if he might speak with her, and disclose unto her all the circumstances of the matter as afore, he should cause her greatly to repent, humble, and submit herself unto your Highness; considering that the thing done by your Grace in this matter *was so necessary and expedient,* and the Queen's act herein so perilous and dangerous."

Thus Fisher was persuaded that the sole object of the King was, not to insist upon the objections to his marriage with Katharine, but rather to find reasons, by the advice of skilful doctors and casuists, to satisfy the world that it was good and lawful, whilst Wolsey contrived to make him believe that Katharine in her impatience was hindering the King's thoughtful and benevolent intentions. A wiser man than Fisher might have been deceived by so plausible a story, which shifted the blame from the guilty to the innocent, and contrived to make the worse appear the better cause. In his attempt, however, to represent Katharine as the author of all this scandal, the Cardinal had advanced to the extreme verge of discretion. Fisher in his simplicity was desirous of expostulating with Katharine for her wilfulness and disobedience. Such an endeavour would have discovered all. "Howbeit," writes the Cardinal, "I have so persuaded him that he will

[1] This statement was as untrue as it was ungenerous.

nothing speak or do therein, or anything counsel her, but as shall stand with your pleasure; for, he saith, although she be Queen of this realm, yet he knowledgeth you for his High Sovereign Lord and King, and will not therefore otherwise behave himself in all matters concerning or touching your person than as he shall be by your Grace expressly commanded. Thus Wolsey contrived to alienate from the unhappy Queen the only adviser on whose sincerity and honesty she could implicitly rely. Fox, the Bishop of Winchester, was old and blind, and had long retired from public life; Clerk, the Bishop of Bath, was in Paris; Tunstal, Bishop of London, was in Wolsey's train; West, the Bishop of Ely, was confined to his diocese by a sore leg; Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been already prejudiced against her. The only prelate, Fisher, whose learning and honesty could have availed her in her troubles, was now possessed with a belief that she was acting against her own interests, and imperilling the succession of her daughter by opposing the investigation of those doubts which the King, in his generosity, was anxious to remove! How was Katharine to extricate herself, and her cause, from such a wilderness of misrepresentation and perplexity? How was she, without friends and without advisers, ignorant of all the necessary forms, and still more uncertain whom she might trust, to vindicate her rights, and fight single-handed against so many opponents?

With a skill and dissimulation worthy of a better cause, Wolsey then endeavoured to insinuate doubts into Fisher's mind of the validity of the Papal dispensation, by weakly combating the doubts that had been raised, as if they had proceeded from the French. But here he was not so successful. He could only wring from Fisher an acknowledgment that there were points in the bull which seemed to him doubtful, and he wondered that another had not been "purchased than that, being so slenderly couched, and against which so many things might be objected." He would not, however, argue the question, says Wolsey; whether he began to suspect the matter or not, and saw through the Cardinal's purpose, or whether he had other reasons for remaining silent. So Wolsey departed, taking his journey the next day to Faversham. On Saturday, the 6th of July, he arrived at Canterbury, and lodged in the abbey of Christ Church, in the prior's lodging. Here he remained three or four days. At this time was held the great jubilee and fair in honour of the feast of

St. Thomas of Canterbury.[1] "In which day of the said feast, within the abbey, there was made a solemn procession, and my lord Cardinal went presently in the same, apparelled in his legatine ornaments, with his Cardinal's hat on his head; who commanded the monks and all their quire to sing the Litany after this sort, *Sancta Maria ora pro Papa nostro Clemente*, and so perused the Litany through, my lord Cardinal kneeling at the quire door, at a form covered with carpets and cushions, the monks and all the quire standing all that while in the midst of the body of the Church. At which time I saw the lord Cardinal weep very tenderly, which was, as we supposed, for heaviness that the Pope was at that present in such calamity and great danger of the lanceknights."[2] Probably the cause was much deeper than Cavendish supposed.

On the 10th he reached Dover, and embarked for Calais the next day, between three and four in the morning, reaching his destination at nine. He found the town in great disorder, and the soldiers unpaid. He lodged here at "a house called the Checker, where he lay and kept his house as long as he stayed in the town, going immediately to his naked bed, because he was somewhat troubled with sickness in his passage upon the seas."[3]

During the Cardinal's stay at Calais he received a letter from Dr. Knight, the King's secretary, disclosing the profoundest dissimulation to which the King was now stooping in his infatuation, and the demoralization, like a fatal epidemic, rapidly infecting all who were concerned in this affair. Katharine, who had in the first instance remonstrated with the King on his cruel intentions, now either professing to be satisfied with his explanations, or finding her expostulations useless, ceased to exhibit any further symptoms of displeasure. In a letter of a little later date from Dr. Sampson, a time-serving ecclesiastic,[4] we learn that "the great matter (the divorce) is in very good train; good countenance (meaning the Queen's); much better than was, in mine opinion; less suspicion or little; the merry visage is returned, not less than was wont;"—this was a noticeable feature in Katharine's

[1] Sunday, July 7, the date of St. Thomas's Translation. Respecting this jubilee, procured apparently by Archbishop Warham, see some curious letters in Sumner's Canterbury, App. to Supplement, p. 46.

[2] Cavendish, p. 151.

[3] Ibid., 152.

[4] July 25, IV. p. 1496. "Instrumentum Sathanæ," Pole calls him, in his bitter rhetoric, for siding with the King on all occasions, especially in his assumption of the Supremacy.

behaviour frequently mentioned by contemporaries.—"The other party (meaning the King), as your Grace knoweth, lacketh no wit, and so showeth highly in this matter." The King, in fact, had followed Wolsey's advice; and, contrary to his nature when his wishes were opposed, had treated Katharine "gently and doulcely," hoping to lull her suspicions. He had even shown her more than usual courtesy, for Sampson notices it as an extraordinary circumstance, that on leaving Hunsdon for Beaulieu, though the King was ready to depart "a good space," he tarried for the Queen, and so they rode forth together.

In this apparent reconciliation a sewer and confidant of the Queen, named Francis Phillip,[1] a Spaniard, often mentioned in the list of her attendants, requested licence to go to Spain, "forasmuch, as he sayeth, he would visit his mother, which is very sore sick." The Queen refused her consent, and used her influence with the King to prevent him. The King, suspecting "collusion and dissimulation," resolved also to dissemble; "feigning," says Knight, "that Phillip's desire is made upon good ground and consideration; and easily hath persuaded the Queen to be content with his going. And because it was thought dangerous for him to pass through France, or at this season by the seas, the King hath said that in case Philip be taken by enemies, his Highness will redeem him and pay his ransom; and this policy the King useth to bring Philip in more firm confidence. But his pleasure is, and also he desireth and prayeth your Grace to use such policy, as, notwithstanding any safe-conduct that the said Phillip shall obtain, either by your Grace's means, or any other, of the French king, . . . he may be detained in some quarter of France, so that it be not in anywise known that the said . . . deprehension should come by the King, by your Grace, or any of the King's subjects. The King's highness doth perceive that the Queen is the only cause of this man's going into Spain, as he that is and hath been always privy unto the Queen's affairs and secrets."[2] Wolsey, who was still at Calais, acknowledged this letter on the 19th of July, and commending the King's prudence, added that it was more than necessary for the Queen's sewer to be stopped; for if the

[1] He first comes into notice in 1519, and had letters of denization as the Queen's sewer in 1522. He is mentioned by Erasmus as one of his friends, and appears to have been a musician as well as a scholar.

[2] State Papers, i. 215.

"matter should come to the Emperor's knowledge" it would prove no little hindrance to the King's affair. As, however, Phillip might pass by sea (which eventually he did), it would be better, he thought, for the King to provide against such an emergency, or give instructions to his ambassadors in Spain "for inducing all that shall speak any thing of your secret matter to take all your proceedings and doings, in that behalf, in good and agreeable part." [1]

The suspicions of the King and his minister were partly false, and partly well-founded. They might have spared themselves an act of meanness and duplicity, which was not even attended with the advantage they expected from it, and would have proved unavailing, even if it had succeeded. At the very time when the King and Wolsey imagined that the secret had not transpired, Charles was in possession of the whole affair. He had known it some months already. His ambassador, Don Inigo Mendoza, whose despatches have now for the first time been made public by the labours of Don Pascual de Gayangos, has admitted us into the secret history of his communications with Katharine and his correspondence with Charles on this occasion. He had been sent to England in 1526; was detained in his passage through France; and, owing to various obstacles, did not reach his destination until the 26th of December.[2] On the 28th of March, 1527, he informed the Emperor, that since his arrival in England he had never been allowed to speak with Katharine alone, though she greatly desired it, and had at various times endeavoured to appoint him an interview. More than once the Queen had sent him her confessor, a bishop (Fisher?), assuring Mendoza he would never succeed in obtaining an audience except through the intervention of the Cardinal; that he must not

[1] State Papers, i. 220. In conformity with this arrangement Wolsey wrote on the 1st of August, to Ghinucci and Lee, the English ambassadors in the Imperial Court, telling them that a rumour somehow or other had sprung up in England that the King was taking proceedings to procure a divorce. It was, he assured them, entirely without foundation. There had, indeed, been some discussion about the Papal dispensation, not with a view to a divorce, but to satisfy the objections raised by the French ambassadors. On hearing of the preparations, the Queen had at first conceived some resentment, but on fuller explanation was perfectly satisfied, and no displeasure now existed, except, perhaps, that in the heat of the scandal the Queen, before she knew the truth, may have communicated some suspicion to the Emperor, which they are to use their efforts to discover, and watch the Queen's physician, Ferdinand, and Francis Phillip. They are warned, however, to say nothing of the French objections, *i.e.* De Tarbes'; obviously for fear the fiction, coming to the ears of the French, should produce a disagreeable eclaircissement. See IV. p. 1507.

[2] See Gayangos' Cal., III. 16.

let it appear he had brought her any political intelligence—for the Cardinal dreaded her opposition to the French marriage proposed for Mary,[1]—but only messages and congratulations from her friends in Spain. Mendoza on this suggestion visited the Cardinal. He had been formerly in attendance on the Queen herself, as he told Wolsey, and her mother Isabella; and as he had many personal matters to communicate, in which Katharine was interested, and messages from old friends, he desired to be informed when he might wait upon her. The Cardinal promised to send the ambassador word, and on the Sunday following Mendoza was admitted to speak with the Queen in the Cardinal's presence, taking care not to touch on forbidden or dangerous topics. Their conversation, however, was suddenly interrupted by the Cardinal, who, turning to Mendoza, said, "The King has many things to tell you. Her Highness will, perhaps, excuse us if we take our leave and depart. You shall have an audience at another time." The ambassador thought that the interruption was a preconcerted plan to prevent further communication with the Queen—an inference not likely to be questioned. Nor was the Queen of a different opinion. She foresaw that, without the Cardinal's consent, it would be impossible for him to converse with her in future; and if he did, whatever he might suggest to her in her present difficulties would be more hurtful than otherwise. "As far as I can judge," he writes, "the Queen desires to learn what are the Emperor's real intentions and wishes respecting this matter of the general and private peace (then under discussion), and what directions have been brought by his ambassador to England to prevent any unfavourable determination on the part of the King, her husband, because her suspicions are roused, and she sees they do not tell her the truth in these *and other matters*. She would like to speak to me on the subject, and would do anything in her power to preserve the old alliance between Spain and England; but though her wishes are strong, her means for carrying them into effect are small."[2]

[1] See *ante*, p. 140.

[2] Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 110. Though Mendoza's letter is dated March 18, this interview with Katharine took place early in February. He mentions, as a subsequent event, his receiving a letter from Charles on the 12th of that month, and presenting it to the Queen, "whom hitherto he has been unable to see." p. 116. He adds, "Judging from the pleasure which the Queen seemed to receive on hearing the flattering words contained in the Emperor's letter, I think she must have been *previously misinformed respecting the Emperor's real sentiments*

These wishes were, of course, communicated to the ambassador by a third person, certainly not at the interview when Wolsey was present. Naturally, as a Spaniard, and intimately related to the Emperor, Katharine was anxious to promote the good understanding between her native and her adopted country. But we do her no harm in supposing that she saw in the continuance of that alliance the best security for her own union with the King, which, notwithstanding all the efforts to keep her in the dark, she was now beginning to suspect was about to be called in question.

On the 18th of May Mendoza is more explicit. He has heard on *reliable* authority that the Legate, "as the finishing stroke to all his iniquities," has been scheming to bring about the Queen's divorce; alluding, no doubt, to the collusive proceedings at Wolsey's house, which had taken place the day before.[1] No doubt also he had obtained this information from Katharine herself, who had fallen into the common mistake of supposing that Wolsey was the principal agent and not a mere instrument in these proceedings; ignorant also of the exact relations between Anne Boleyn and the King, which up to this date had been veiled in the most impenetrable secrecy. "The Queen," he continues, "is so full of apprehension on this account that she has not ventured to speak with me. . . . The King is so bent on this divorce, that he has secretly assembled certain bishops and lawyers that they may sign a declaration to the effect that his marriage with the Queen is null and void on account of her having been his brother's wife. It is therefore to be feared that either the Pope will be induced by some false statement to side against the Queen (Mendoza did not then know that the Pope was in the hands of the Imperialists), or that the Cardinal, by virtue of his legatine authority, may take some step fatal to her marriage. I am perfectly aware, though the Queen herself has not ventured, and does not venture, to speak to me on the subject, that all her hope rests, after God, upon your Imperial Highness. . . . It would be very advisable, if, with all possible secrecy, the Pope were put upon his guard in case any application should be made to Rome unfavorable to the marriage; also that his Holiness should tie the Legate's hands, and, by having the cause referred entirely to himself,

in this affair." That misinformation could scarcely have come to her ears from any others than the King or the Cardinal.

[1] See IV. p. 1126.

prevent the Legate from taking part in it, or appointing judges for it in this kingdom. . . . Should the King see that he cannot succeed, he will not run the risk of any preliminary steps being known. But should he insist on pursuing the course he has begun, some great popular disturbance must ensue; for the Queen is much beloved in this kingdom, and the people are also greatly excited at the rumors of war. The Queen desires perfect secrecy to be kept in this matter, at least for the present; so much so that the above wish of hers has been communicated by a third person, who pretended not to come from her, though I suspect he came with her consent."[1] So, long before Wolsey had even started on his mission, the Emperor had derived his knowledge of the King's intentions from the best authority. He was able to appreciate at their true worth the instructions sent to Henry's ambassadors in the Spanish court, desiring him to take "the King's proceedings and doings in that behalf in good and agreeable part."

In consequence of the absence of Wolsey in his embassy to France, the intercourse between Mendoza and the Queen seems to have been less jealously guarded. Absorbed in his own pursuits and pleasures, of which Anne Boleyn now formed not the least portion, secure in his belief that Katharine would not venture on displeasing him, the King was less concerned with watching her movements. It is clear from his letter to the Cardinal he had fully persuaded himself, that, even if she were conscious of his secret, she had never divulged it to any mortal, except perhaps to Francis Phillip, whom she was now devising how to send to the Emperor. As he was already disposed of, or would be in due time, there was little cause for apprehension in that quarter.

To return to the ambassador. "I wrote by the last post," he says in his letter to the Emperor,[2] "how the King and his ministers were trying to dissolve the marriage between the Queen and himself, alleging that the Pope had no power to grant a dispensation for marrying two brothers in succession, as he has done. . . . Up to that date no intimation or summons had been made to the Queen; but on the 22nd of last month (June) the King virtually separated himself from the Queen, telling her they had been living in mortal sin all the years they had been together; and that as this was the opinion of many canonists and theologians whom he had

[1] Gayangos' Span. Cal., pp. 193, 207. [2] July 17, Ibid., p. 276.

consulted on the subject, he had come to the resolution, as he was much troubled in his conscience, to separate himself from her *a mensa et thoro*, and he desired her to choose a place into which she would retire. The Queen, bursting into tears, and being too much agitated to reply, the King said to her, by way of consolation, that all should be done for the best, and begged her not to divulge what he had told her. The King must have said this, as it is generally thought, to inspire her with confidence, and prevent her from seeking the redress she is entitled to by right, and also to keep the intelligence from the public; for so great is the attachment of the English people to the Queen, that some demonstration would probably take place in her household. Not that the people of England are ignorant of the King's intentions, for the affair is as notorious as if it had been proclaimed by the town crier; but they cannot believe that he will ever carry so wicked a project into effect. However this may be, and however much people may asseverate that such iniquity cannot be tolerated, I attach no faith to such assurances, as the people have no leader to guide them. If, therefore, the King should carry his design into execution, and the suit now commenced go on, this people will probably content themselves only with grumbling. As the Queen has no one to come to her aid, she would despatch a special messenger to Spain, if she could; but the English are so suspicious at this time, that no courier from her would be allowed to pass. Nor, at this point of the negociations, would such a step be advisable. I have therefore given her to understand that it would be better for her to write a letter than despatch one of her household as a messenger."

It was the Queen's desire that every possible effort should be made to induce the Pope to deprive Wolsey of his legatine authority; and this measure, the ambassador thought, would be highly popular, as the Cardinal was in great disfavour, in consequence of the divorce, and his opposition to the Emperor, who was much esteemed by all classes of Englishmen, especially by the citizens of London.[1] The impediments thrown in the way of their intercourse with the Low Countries, and the Cardinal's resolution to divert all commerce to Calais, had been very unacceptable to the English traders, and especially to the Hanse merchants—a wealthy body, who had vast influence in the city, and to whom Mendoza was probably

[1] The statement is unquestionable. See pp. 156, 157.

indebted for much of his information. Further, he was of opinion that the popular feeling against the divorce was so strong, not only on the Queen's account, but on that of her daughter, who would thus be bastardised, that if six or seven thousand men were to land on the coast of Cornwall, prepared to espouse her cause, they would at once be joined by 40,000 Englishmen. He adds sagaciously, "though popular favour often fails when put to the test." The fears, then, of a rising in England were not entirely groundless.

In opposition to his advice, the Queen, oppressed with fears, and deprived of counsellors, determined to send Phillip (Felipo) to Spain with a letter to the Emperor, explaining her position. She wished Mendoza to speak with the King upon the subject; but he prudently forbore, thinking that any interference on his part in such a matter would produce no good effect. And thus at the very time when the Cardinal was revealing the King's intentions to Fisher as a profound secret, and justly dreading the consequences of their disclosure on the Emperor and the Pope, to whom they would be represented in the most unfavourable light by the Imperialists, they were fully known to Charles and his ambassador, and both were laying their heads together how the whole project might be turned to the Cardinal's destruction.

With the exception, perhaps, of Cavendish and some few of his immediate household, Wolsey had not a friend on whom he could rely, or whose advice he could trust. Dragged into the divorce against his will, compelled in consequence to prefer a French to an Imperial alliance, he was obliged, at all hazards, to follow a policy discountenanced by many of the Council, and encounter its unpopularity alone. It is explicitly stated by Mendoza that in all his interviews with Henry, whenever the Emperor's name was mentioned, the King exhibited much greater symptoms of resentment than were shown by the Cardinal.[1] He was far more anxious to break with Charles, and scarcely made any secret of his wishes. The Cardinal's enemies saw the difficulty in which he was placed, and determined to take their advantage. To hold back was destruction; to forfeit the King's favour was to expose himself unarmed to the malice of his enemies. To go forward was no better. He might stave off for a time the danger that awaited him. He

[1] "In all these interviews I have found the king of England is much more violent than the Legate, which is quite the reverse of their usual manner." Gayangos' Span. Cal., p. 109.

might, possibly, by superhuman efforts, prevail upon the Pope to satisfy the King, and thus secure the gratitude, or at least the protection of his Sovereign; perhaps shelter himself from the malice of a woman, whom he could never expect to make his friend. Possibly he might blind himself at times to the perils on which an inevitable fate was driving him, but he could never be wholly free from apprehension. "I have tried," says Mendoza,[1] "to ascertain the names of those who opposed the Legate in this late declaration of the King's. I have been assured that his greatest enemies (the party of the Boleyns) are those who are now supporting him in this matter (the alliance with France), hoping thereby to bring him to destruction; knowing, as they do, that the indignation of the whole country is roused against him, and that if he should carry out his warlike plans (against the Emperor), of which he has lately given so many indications, there will be an outbreak and rebellion whenever men and money can be raised for the purpose. Therefore these pretended friends of the Legate are urging him on as much as they can, *for they would not be satisfied with turning him out of office, but they seek his entire ruin;* and so, though unwillingly, they conceal their hatred of him, and favour his politics. Those who, but for the Legate, would be entirely on the Emperor's side, are the Duke of Norfolk, and, among ecclesiastics, the Bishop of London (Tunstal).[2] The Archbishop of Canterbury never comes to Court, unless compelled, on account of the Legate." These statements may be exaggerated; they may be coloured by the prejudices of the writer; but there was sufficient truth in them to shake the courage, even of one so stout-hearted as the Cardinal. In his romantic notions of loyalty he had sacrificed everything for the King; and the King was no better than a reed, ready to pierce the hand of those who presumed too much upon his support. Like an ugly apparition in the distance, the axe which took off the head of Buckingham, awaited Wolsey also, in case of failure. Perhaps, then, he had deeper cause for tears than the captivity of Clement, as Cavendish imagined.

But neither the sorrows of Katharine, nor the anxieties of his minister, affected Henry's serenity. He had disburthened his conscience, and was free to pursue the course his inclination dictated, without further molestations from the reproaches

[1] Mendoza to Charles, May 18. Gayangos, 192.

[2] To these ought to be added Sampson and Pace.

of the one, or the remonstrances of the other. He estranged himself further than ever from public business; and further than ever in his distant progresses he withdrew himself from "the prying eyes and active tongues of the metropolis." In this "pensive and dolorous life," from which the Cardinal was now straining every nerve to deliver him, he found consolation in writing letters to Anne Boleyn, more remarkable for their freedom than their refinement. Throughout the summer of this year he occupied himself in hunting. He was exclusively engrossed with his own amusements, as if to justify the reproach of Cardinal Pole that his reign, long as it was, and prosperous, was never once signalized by any public act of munificence or liberality. "The King," says Fitzwilliam, writing to Wolsey from Beaulieu, "is keeping a very great and expensive house, for there are lodged here the duke of Norfolk and his wife, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earls of Oxford, Essex, and Rutland, viscounts Fitzwalter, and Rochford (Anne Boleyn's father)." As comptroller it had been the writer's intention, in conformity with Wolsey's advice, to reduce the immoderate expenditure of the King's household this summer; but he adds, in a tone of despondency, "I don't see how it is to be done. The King is merry and in good health, and hunts daily."[1]

On Monday, the 22nd of July, the Cardinal resumed his journey, marching out of Calais with a splendid retinue.[2] At Sandingfield, on the Imperial frontier, he found the Comte Brion, captain of Picardy, with a great number of men-at-arms, "standing in array in a great piece of oats," mounted on light horses. These acted as a guard until he reached Boulogne. "For my lord somewhat doubted the Emperor, lest he should lay an ambush to betray him; for which cause the French king commanded them to await upon my lord for the assurance of his person." At Boulogne he was received by Du Bies, and accompanied to church. In different parts of the town three pageants were devised in his honour, "the stories whereof," he tells the King, "though I cannot, by these my letters so hastily despatched, describe unto your Highness, yet I beseech the same not to impute it to my negligence, but only to the obstinacy of my mule, which by the terrible noise of the gunshot was drawn to such a melancholy that I had enough to do to keep myself upon her back." The next morning he arrived at Montreuil, where he

[1] p. 1504. [2] p. 1492. Cavendish, 156.

was received with similar acclamations.[1] Here he was empowered by Francis to set prisoners at liberty during his journey. On the 24th he reached Abbeville, and was lodged in the same house at which Lewis XII. had married Lady Mary, the King's sister. At Abbeville he waited until the 3rd of August, expecting news from the French king, who either was, or affected to be, detained by urgent business in Paris.[2]

In this long interval he had time to look about him, and mature his plans. The French were anxious for peace, and received him gratefully. The great dearth, misery, and poverty of the towns through which he passed formed a striking contrast to the happier condition of England.[3] The recovery of the French princes depended entirely on the influence which England could exert, or the aid she would render to France, in obtaining more reasonable conditions; for the Emperor would abate nothing of his "high demands." The Cardinal might justly flatter himself that he would find in Francis no serious opposition to his purpose. He might even expect, with skilful and able management, to prevail on the French monarch, partly from interest, and partly from necessity, to employ his influence with the captive Pope as Wolsey directed; or, if necessary, supersede his authority by electing another, nominally free from Imperial dictation, really devoted to the service of the two kings, now bound together by the ties of fraternal affection.[4] On the 29th he wrote to the King in the following strain:—"Daily and hourly musing and thinking on your Grace's great and secret affair, and how the same may come to good effect and desired end, as well for the deliverance of your Grace out of the thrald, pensive and dolorous life that the same is in, as for the continuance of your health and the surety of your realm and succession, I consider how that the Pope's Holiness' consent must concur, as well for the approbation of such process as shall be made by me in the said matter, as in case the Queen would appeal (as it is not unlike she will do), or decline from my jurisdiction; whose consent failing and not possible to be had, then the approbation of the Cardinals to be convoked

[1] p. 1494.

[2] He had a better excuse from a hurt in his leg. But it is clear from Clerk's letter, IV. p. 1498, that he was in no hurry to set forward.

[3] IV. p. 1499.

[4] "By that which my Lady hath caused to be showed and declared unto me, as well by the Chancellor of Alençon as M. Johan Joachim, I am in right good hope that your matters shall pass and be brought to good effect with the said French king." State Papers, i. 226.

into one place, representing the state of the College, is necessarily requisite. For the speedy attaining of the which consents I can imagine but two remedies—the one is, the Pope's deliverance and restitution to liberty; that failing, the other is the convocation of the said Cardinals into some convenient place in France. For the which purpose both your Highness, the French king, and I, have not only sent forth our letters to all such Cardinals as be absent, but also devised offers, allections, and practices to be set forth to induce them to assemble in France, of whose repair thither there is good hope and appearance."[1]

If the Pope could be set at liberty through an arrangement between Francis and the Emperor, Wolsey was persuaded that "the King's affair"—this was the official phrase for the King's divorce—would "take most sure, honorable, effectual, and substantial end." By a delusion, only to be accounted for on the principle that drowning men catch at straws, he flattered himself that the Pope, out of gratitude to the King, "would finally be induced to do all things therein (the divorce) that might be to the King's satisfaction and purpose."[2] Nothing but this, and the conviction that failure would expose him to irretrievable disgrace and ruin, could have blinded him to the extreme improbability of succeeding in either alternative. That the Pope, who was thus to be indebted for his liberty to the condescension of the Emperor, should, out of gratitude to the King, consent to the divorce of the Emperor's aunt, was as probable as that the French cardinals would assemble at Avignon under the quasi-papacy of Wolsey himself. But he had committed himself to a cause from which retreat was impossible, and he clutched at any delusive hope of escape with the agony and energy of despair.

Yet to careless and inconsiderate observers never had Wolsey appeared more happy or more prosperous. He seemed, to the envy of all his enemies, to monopolize the favour of his royal master, who had no will but that of his great minister. He was courted and flattered by all the crowned heads of Europe. Even the Emperor himself thought it worth his while to conceal the profound dislike he entertained for the Cardinal under the mask of the most cere-

[1] State Papers, i. 230.

[2] Quite unknown to Wolsey, the Emperor had already written to the Pope to recall Wolsey's legatine authority, and disqualify him from taking cognizance of the divorce, on the ground that he was prejudiced against the Queen. IV. p. 1502.

monious respect. Notwithstanding his many just causes for dissatisfaction, he continued to treat Wolsey with the same deference he had been accustomed to manifest in former years. He was never more outwardly courteous, never more willing to purchase his favour, than at the present moment. At the commencement of this year, 1527, it was the first object of the new Spanish ambassador to wait upon the Cardinal the day after his arrival, and assure him "how earnestly the Emperor wished for his prosperity and welfare, and how much indebted he was to the Cardinal for his past services."[1] A few days afterwards Charles assured the Cardinal that if he would consent to keep and foster, as he had done at other times, the friendship between himself and the King of England, the Emperor would immediately order all arrears of his pension to be paid, and would bestow on him besides an additional "pension of 6,000 ducats, to be consigned on the best revenues in Spain."[2] On the very eve of his journey into France, Mendoza, to tempt him with "a higher bait," pointed out to Wolsey how useful the Emperor might be in securing for him the Pontificate, "dwelling upon his own merits, and the opportunity which the Emperor now had of forwarding his elevation, as the papal chair was entirely in his hand," by the captivity of Clement VII.[3] To all these flattering offers Wolsey turned a deaf ear. "God forbid," he said, "that I should be influenced by such motives. It is enough for me if the Emperor really intend to replace the Pope, and restore the Church to its former splendor." Whatever construction may be put on these refusals, the fact remains that Charles was not less anxious than Francis himself to secure the favour of the Cardinal. Wolsey saw himself, as no ecclesiastic of that or any other age had ever seen himself, the object of the profoundest attention and most delicate flattery from kings, emperors, and nobles. What was the poor and lank shadow of the papacy, beleaguered by a noisy band of German ruffians in the Castle of St. Angelo, dependent on the charity of an aged beggar-woman for a daily salad, compared with the substantial grandeur, power, and authority of one whom all agreed to honour if they did not love?

On Sunday, the 4th of August, "after dinner, about one of the clock," he rode over from Pequigny to Amiens, where the French King had arrived with all his train the day before.

[1] Gayangos' Span. Cal., III. pt. ii. p. 17. [2] Ibid., p. 24.
[3] Ibid., p. 273.

Francis was preceded by his mother the Regent, "riding in a very rich chariot," with Margaret the Queen of Navarre, followed by upwards of a hundred ladies mounted on white palfreys, and attended by a large retinue of noblemen and gentlemen. Two hours after, the King appeared with his three companies of guards—the Swiss, armed with guns and haversacks; the French, with bows and arrows; the third, *pour le corps*, consisted of tall Scotsmen, much comelier personages than the rest. They wore a uniform of white cloth, guarded with silver bullion. As Wolsey approached "he was encountered from place to place with divers noble and worthy personages, making to him divers orations in Latin, to which he made answer again *ex tempore*." At two miles from the town he was met by the corporation; at a mile and a half the King himself came in sight, "mustering upon a hill-side, his guard standing in array along the same, expecting my Lord's coming; to whom my Lord made as much haste as conveniently it became him; until he came within a pair of butt-lengths, and then he stayed awhile." On seeing this, Francis sent one of his nobles, De Vaudemont, to learn the reason for his delay. To gratify his vanity or love of mischief, De Vaudemont, plunging down the hill at a hand gallop, "caused his horse to come aloft once or twice so nigh my Lord's mule, that he was in doubt of his horse; and with that he lighted from his courser, doing his message to my Lord with humble reverence; which done, he mounted again, and caused his horse to do the same at his departing as he did before." Then as the King advanced, the Cardinal, on his mule richly caparisoned, dividing his company, proceeded alone to meet him; "and his Grace," as Wolsey writes to Henry, "doing the semblable for his part, being discovered (uncovered), with his bonnet in his hand, encountered, and with most hearty, kind, loving countenance and manner embraced me (the Cardinal), presenting unto me the king of Navarre, with the cardinal of Bourbon." After many compliments on both sides, Francis insisted that his visitor should ride on his left hand; "and thus entering and passing throughout the city, which was marvellously replenished with people, crying *Vive le Roy*, he forgot not, far above my deserts, to recognize how much he, his mother, and realm, were bounden unto me, and how heartily I was welcome unto them. And as he did know (so it pleased him to say) that your Highness used me in all your affairs as your chief and prin-

cipal councillor, so he from henceforth would do the same; praying me, therefore, to be contented with no less affection to embrace his affairs than I daily do and have done your Grace's own. . . . And albeit I often demanded what his Grace's intent was, seeing he was past his palace wherein he was lodged, to go and proceed any further through the city, conjecting thereby that his intent was to accompany me to my lodging—which to do I refused, with as many humble persuasives and exhortations as I could devise; yet it was not in my power to dissuade him, but in anywise he would accompany me to the town, without suffering me to return with him to his palace. And so, after demand whether I would see my Lady that night (whereof I showed myself to be very glad and desirous), I parted from him, and by the cardinal of Lorraine was brought and accompanied into my lodging, which I found richly and pompously apparelled with the French king's own stuff." Having described the magnificence of the hangings, he proceeds: "After a little pause and shifting of myself, there was sent unto my lodging the cardinal of Bourbon, the duke of Vendôme, with many other prelates and noblemen, to conduce me to my Lady's presence, who was lodged in the Bishop's palace; in the hall whereof, being large and spacious, richly hanged and apparelled with arras, was placed and set in right good order, on both sides, the French king's guards, my Lady his mother, the queen of Navarre, Madame Renée, the duchess of Vendôme, the king of Navarre's sister, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen standing in the midst. To whose presence I somewhat approaching and drawing nigh, my said Lady also advancing herself forwards, in most loving and pleasant manner encountered, welcomed, and embraced me, and likewise saluted my lord of London (Tunstal), my Lord Chamberlain (Sands), Master Comptroller (Sir Henry Guildford), the Chancellor of the Duchy (Sir Thomas More), and most part of such gentlemen as came with me, and most specially the earl of Derby[1] (a lad of eighteen), whom it liked her Grace to kiss and right lovingly to welcome. In the doing whereof, I, for my part, semblably saluted the queen of Navarre, Madame Renée . . . and a great part of the other ladies; which done on both sides, my Lady returned, and taking me by the arm, led and conveyed me into her inner chamber, where under a rich cloth of estate were set two chairs, garnished, one of

[1] Edward Stanley. See Inquisit. p. m. 13 Hen. VIII.

black velvet, and the other with cloth of tissue." After many compliments on both sides,[1] and a promise on her part that in the event of his meeting with any obstruction in arranging the alliance, she would interpose her authority in his favour, they separated, "forasmuch as it was eight of the clock, and my Lady had not supped."[2]

On Monday, at 3 o'clock, he received a message that Francis would give him audience. "At my entering into the great chamber, there met with me the king of Navarre, who conduced me to the French king's bed-chamber, where he lay upon a couch, covered with a white sheet (the weather was very hot) without any cloth of estate or sparver (tester) over the same, made for the easement and staying of his leg, which, by the travail of the day before, was much altered, and in such wise swelled, that without great pain he could not go nor stand upon the same. On the right side whereof was placed my Lady the French king's mother, the queen of Navarre, and a little distance beneath them, the lady Renée, the king of Navarre's sister, and other ladies and gentlewomen, to a great number; and on the other side the cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine . . . with many other prelates, nobles, and gentlemen. And incontinently as I was come to the French king's presence, he excusing the manner of his lying there, and being sorry that he could not use himself otherwise unto me, and I again repeating how glad I would have been to have taken more pain upon me, whereby I might have alleviated his Grace of the great labor and travail that the same hath sustained . . . he said he knew well my good will and mind in that behalf; nevertheless, for declaration of his duty towards your Grace, he would not have omitted any thing of that he hath done, though the same should have put him in greater danger; which his pain, that he now sustaineth, proceeding of a light hurt in his leg, is not, by God's grace, to be much regarded or feared. And herewith, he taking with him my Lady and me, withdrew himself into a little secret chamber, excluding all other; wherein was a little couch for his Grace to lie upon, for staying of his leg; and by the same two chairs set, the one for my lady, the other for me. And albeit, standing, I would have delivered your Grace's letters, and, the same read, proceeded to the further declaration of my charge, yet his Grace,

[1] This would imply that Wolsey spoke French fluently.
[2] State Papers, i. 235.

till I and my Lady were set, would in no wise permit and suffer me so to do." Conforming himself to the King's wish, the Cardinal proceeded to unfold his mission; first, in relation to the marriage of the Princess Mary, whom Francis, with the easy assurance of his nation, professed that he loved above all creatures, adding that he regarded her as the *lapis angularis* of the new alliance. He urged this with great vehemency, professing "your Grace should have of him as humble and obeissant a servant and son as any man should have in earth, esteeming and reputing the same more than the recovery of his children, or any other thing in this world." In these asseverations he was joined by his mother, both exhibiting, no doubt, proportionate urgency, as they felt assured that their request would not be granted. "I, replying," continues Wolsey, "showed that your Grace no less desired the said marriage . . . and that I, being her godfather, loving her entirely next unto your Highness, and above all other creatures, was desirous that she should be bestowed upon his person, as in the best and most worthy place of Christendom." But if he married Mary, interposed the Cardinal, what was to become of Eleanor, and how were his children to be recovered? "*Vous dictiz vray, Mons^r Cardinal,*" he replied after a pause; "I pray you, therefore, show me your advice." In the end it was arranged that Francis should fulfil his engagement with the Emperor, and Mary should be married to the Duke of Orleans.

The next point turned on the conditions to be offered to Charles, to which Francis assented with some difficulty, declaring, "with tears descending from his eyes"—a fact, not a figure of speech—"that by his truth and faith he would do more at your Grace's request than at all the world's." The next day was spent in communicating these arrangements to the French councillors, who were scarcely prepared to assent to them without raising some real or pretended objection. All difficulties, however, were smoothed away by the interposition of Louise, and the protestation of eternal friendship and perpetual peace on the part of Francis, followed with the usual commentary of "tears in his eyes;" so that even a veteran diplomatist like Wolsey, not generally sympathizing with such melting moods, greatly rejoiced; and he and the King's councillors with him "were moved with the same."[1]

[1] State Papers, i. p. 246. This must be the long despatch to which Cavendish refers. It is dated the 9th of August, and contains a postscript giving an

He found Francis all that he could have desired. Never was king in a more complaisant or yielding temper. But he had not yet broached the great secret of his mission, and he contemplated the necessity of so doing with no little reluctance. On the 11th, apparently the day on which he gave a grand supper to Madame and the ladies of the Court, he wrote to Henry that although he had found Francis ready to comply in every respect with the King's wishes, he had forborne to disclose the King's "secret matter" until he had put all things in assured train. To anticipate the Emperor's negociations with the Pope in favour of Katharine—for Wolsey had now heard from Flanders that the Emperor was acquainted with the King's intentions—he had devised, by Clerk's advice, "certain expeditions[1] to be made at Rome" by Ghinucci, the Bishop of Worcester, whom he had recalled from Spain, and by Gregory Casale and Salviati. "I have," he says, "set forth such practices, not sparing for offering of money, that by one mean or other there is great appearance that one of those I purpose to send . . . shall have access unto the Pope's person; to the which if they or any of them may attain, there shall be all possible ways and practices set forth for the obtaining of the Pope's consent, as well in the convocation of Cardinals," as in the administration of the Church during his captivity, and granting of other things beneficial to the King's purpose.[2] He proposed, therefore, to defer communicating to Francis the particulars of the King's divorce, until the arrangements between the two crowns had been signed and completed. That done, he would disclose it in "such a cloudy and dark sort that he shall not know your Grace's utter determination and intent in that behalf, till your Highness shall see to what effect the same will be brought."[3]

account of the interposition of Louise, "with a right severe countenance," and her rating of the French Chancellor for the opposition offered by him to Wolsey. Cavendish states that, "the next morning after this conflict," Wolsey rose early, "about 4 of the clock, sitting down to write letters into England unto the King, commanding one of his chaplains (Allen or Gardiner) to prepare him to mass; insomuch that his said chaplain stood revested until four of the clock at afternoon, all which season my Lord never rose once . . . ne yet to eat any meat, but continually wrote his letters with his own hand, having all that time his nightcap and keverchief on his head." He adds that the letter was sent by Christopher Gunner. p. 175. There is a letter from Knight, the King's secretary, complaining of the length of time which had elapsed since Wolsey's meeting with Francis, of which he had sent no information. IV. p. 1513. It was a whole week. It may be true that Wolsey wrote the drafts of his letters with his own hands, but he always sent a fair copy in his secretary's hand to the King.

[1] *Certain things to be expedited.*

[2] *State Papers, i. p. 254.*

[3] Ibid., p. 260.

Till now Henry had given out that he intended nothing more by these proceedings than an examination into the legal validity of his marriage, with the view, if possible, of removing all defects, and obviating any future objections to Mary's legitimacy. This was the official version of the affair, devised for the purpose of lulling suspicion and eluding opposition.[1] That the King had resolved upon a divorce is certain; that Wolsey was aware of his intention can scarcely be doubted, even if he cherished a half unconscious wish that possibly the King might, in view of the scandal and the difficulties of such a course, be ultimately diverted from his purpose. Whether, indeed, he knew at this time of Henry's resolution to marry Anne Boleyn, is not so evident; nor is it necessary to suppose that this was "the utter determination" he intended to communicate to the French King. When the divorce was obtained, on the ground of the invalidity of the Papal dispensation, the King would be free to marry whom he pleased. The consent of any other power would be needless. But on the determination of the Pope, and his willingness to comply with the King's demand, the whole case turned; and as it was not to be expected that Clement would invalidate the acts of his predecessor in the Holy See, or oppose the Emperor's wishes, except under great pressure, Wolsey flattered himself that if Francis could be induced to join with Henry in bringing their united influence to bear upon the Pope, the Emperor's opposition might be overcome. For securing this object various devices were suggested and discarded, such as, the liberation of the Pope from his captivity by the remonstrances of the two Kings, in gratitude for which, it was thought, he would show himself more forward in yielding to the King's wishes; or a convocation of the Cardinals at Avignon, who might act in the Pope's name, and in protestation of the liberties of the Church; or, thirdly, a commission to Wolsey, as the Pope's vicegerent—a course always attended with this insuperable difficulty, that Clement or his successor might at any time revoke such a commission, or deprive Wolsey of his legatine authority. Yet as every one of these courses had the advantage of appearing legal and regular, they were exempt from scandal, and involved no flagrant violation of justice.

[1] Throughout all these negociations it is to be observed that not the least allusion is ever made to the supposed objection of the Bishop of Tarbes by one side or the other—a strong proof, if further proof were required, that it was a mere invention.

I have said that the King was fully resolved upon a divorce —by fair means if possible, by any, if not. Ostensibly he had yielded to Wolsey's advice. He had abstained from violent measures, to which he was at first inclined, and submitted his cause to the judgment of the Church. Anticipating how much was involved in the issue, not only as it concerned his own influence, but as it might lead to an open defiance of ecclesiastical authority, to which the King was violently driven by the Boleyns and their advisers, Wolsey justified himself in the course he had adopted. He was persuaded that in complying with the King's resolution he was securing the Church and the nation from greater perils. Though his growing impatience increased with accumulated force, and eventually overwhelmed his unfortunate minister, the King suffered himself for a time to be overruled, and he yielded to the Cardinal's advice. "As touching the tenor of your letter," Knight writes to Wolsey, "concerning the secret matter, his Grace doth suppose that for the *more sure, honorable, and safe conducing* of the King's said secret affair unto the end that is proposed, which, for many high and urgent considerations, a true, loving, and faithful subject ought to desire and pray to Almighty God to bring *to good and brief conclusion*, his Grace hath studied and by your wisdom found that two things must be foreseen, of the which, one is necessary and requisite for approbation of the process that shall be made by your Grace. The first is, the Pope's consent authorizing you so to do . . . and if by occasion of the Emperor by no means admitting conditions reasonable, he be kept in servitude and captivity;—then the other way is, that the cardinals representing the State of the College [do meet in convention at Avignon]."[1] In a subsequent letter he writes that his Highness, considering Wolsey's "continual study, watch, and breach of mind," thinks "he cannot render condign thanks unto his merits."[2]

Yet, after all, Henry was not disposed to surrender himself to the guidance of Wolsey without reserve. There were secrets he did not think fit to communicate to his powerful favourite. Though Anne Boleyn and her party were naturally anxious for the divorce, they were not anxious that the result should exclusively depend on Wolsey's management, and thus increase instead of diminishing his influence. The divorce, if Pole may be trusted, was suggested by the Boleyns and their advisers;

[1] IV. p. 1522, mutilated. [2] IV. p. 1523.

and if Cranmer[1] was one of them, we may well believe that they would have preferred a shorter and more summary process than was agreeable to the Cardinal; and for this the Pope's captivity might have furnished a sufficient justification. It seems that they were not taken into consultation by the Cardinal, nor were they grateful for his exertions. On the 19th, Knight, the King's confidant, writes again to Wolsey, "My lords of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Rochfort (Boleyn), and Mr. Treasurer (Fitzwilliam), be privy unto the *other* letter than I do send unto your Grace at this time with these; *after* the open reading whereof the King delivered unto me your letter concerning the secrets, commanding me to give unto you his most hearty thanks for abiding a time convenient before that ye discover any part of the said secret unto the French king."[2] In this as in a previous communication he states expressly that no one was privy to these affairs, except the King and himself. It will be seen presently that even Knight was commissioned by the King to proceed to Rome on a mission connected with the divorce, which neither he nor the King thought fit to communicate to the Cardinal.

In the mean time negociations proceeded swimmingly in the French Court. On Sunday, the 18th of August, the treaty of Amiens was sealed and confirmed. "On the day of the Assumption of Our Lady," writes a correspondent[3] to Cromwell, "my Lord said mass at the church in Amiens, but not solemnly;[4] after which he gave the Regent, the King's mother, the Holy Sacrament. He then dined with the King, where he was served with many dishes and little meat.[5] The Sunday after, the peace and oath were concluded, with much solemnity, in the cathedral church. The French King and Regent were in one traverse, which was passing lofty, and on the south side of the high altar; and on the north side was a little mount of three steps for the Cardinal, on which was set a cloth of estate and two chairs without any traverse . . . at which cloth sat my Lord and the French legate lately come from Rome (Salviati) . . . He is one of the worst-favored men ever seen, and with the worst countenance. After mass the King took his solemn oath at the high altar, before my Lord, and then my said Lord likewise in our King's behalf." The

[1] See IV. p. 1633. (This supposition, however, is a mistake. See p. 223, note 2.—Ed.)

[2] State Papers, i. 261. Calendar, p. 1520.

[3] John Croke, IV. p. 1525.

[4] "Not solemnly," *i.e.* it was a "low mass," without music, incense, etc.

[5] The French cookery not suiting the Englishman's love of solid food.

writer adds, that "the president of Rouen then made a proposition (oration)" half an hour and more long, during all which time the new Legate "slept like a dormouse in his chair."[1] The ceremonies were concluded on Monday with a sumptuous feast given by the Cardinal to Francis, his mother, and the French nobles, handsomer than the supper received by Wolsey the day before, "and he showed them more gold and silver than the King."[2] On all these occasions contemporary narrators are struck by the magnificence and solemnity displayed by the English, as compared with the simplicity, frugality, and absence of all ceremonial on the part of the French.

Though Wolsey followed the Court to Compiegne, he was now able to devote himself to the business of the divorce with less distraction. The conjunction between the two monarchs was so complete and intimate that he had no longer any danger to apprehend from the machinations of the Emperor. The design of assembling a convention of French cardinals at Avignon as a sort of *conciliabulum*, with the Cardinal as patriarch or Papal representative, was soon abandoned, if indeed it had ever been seriously entertained.[3] So his course of action was simplified, and he had only to concentrate his energies on the Pope, and obtain the necessary authorization for his future proceedings. But success was not easy. Clement, still a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, was watched with extreme jealousy by the Imperialists. As the divorce had now become known to the Emperor, neither English nor Italian agents in the pay of England were readily admitted. Nor, even if they had been, was it at all clear that the Pope, secluded from his Chancery and legal advisers, could or would proceed to take any step involving such serious ecclesiastical and political consequences as that of annulling the dispensation of his predecessor Julius II., or suffer Wolsey to annul it. At all events, the legal formalities to be observed on this occasion were sufficient to furnish him with innumerable pretexts for delay. Strange to say, on this occasion the English monarch and his minister were the most uncom-

[1] IV. p. 1525. Compare Cavend., p. 166.

[2] See Ven. Cal., iv. 84, 86.

[3] He tells the King that though he had offered the cardinals money to pay their expenses, they could not be persuaded "leaving Italy to come to Avignon," dreading thereby lest the See Apostolic, as it hath been in times past, should be translated out of Italy into France. "They had received secret orders from the Pope not to leave." State Papers, i. 270. Wolsey tells the King that he has devised, with Salviati and others, articles for the government of the church in the event of the Pope remaining in captivity.

promising advocates for the personal infallibility of the Pope, and pronounced the divine commission of St. Peter a sufficient justification for any act that his successor might do. Clement himself took a more mitigated view of his own authority. He was not convinced when they urged him to reverse the official decisions of previous pontiffs by an extrajudicial determination of his own, and to declare that determination irreversible and infallible. Nor were they more successful when, in their anxiety to secure their own ends, they went so far as to assert that without the possession and exercise of such an authority the Pope could not be the father of his people, nor the Head of that Church which Christ had founded for the good of mankind. If Henry had obtained his divorce, he and Wolsey would have ranged themselves among the most unqualified supporters of the Pope's personal infallibility. In these views they did not wholly want the support of more than one Roman lawyer and ecclesiastic.

Clerk had been despatched into England, before the end of August, to inform the King of what had been already "done and sped at Rome," concerning his secret matter.[1] It appears that, for purposes of his own, to which I shall refer more explicitly, the King had resolved to send Knight, who was privy to all his intentions, to the Pope—ostensibly with the view of carrying Wolsey's plans into effect; really to try a little negociation on his own account. Wolsey heard of this determination with ill-disguised dissatisfaction. He had sent for Ghinucci, the Bishop of Worcester, the King's ambassador in Spain, as the fittest person for obtaining "anything that might concern the King's privy matter, or any protestation to be made by the Pope." He urged, sensibly enough, that if a dexterous Italian negociator found it extremely difficult to gain admission to the Pope, much more was it to be feared that the King's secretary (Knight), "who had no colour or acquaintance there," would not be admitted or suffered to come into the Pope's presence; and even if he might attain thereunto—"the ways and means whereof," urged Wolsey, "I cannot possibly imagine—it is not to be thought, considering he is sent from your Grace, that he shall anything do or speak with the Pope *sine arbitris*, which is clean contrary to your Grace's purpose." He desired, therefore, that Knight's mission should be deferred, and that Worcester (who had heard of the divorce in Spain) might be sent in his place.

[1] See IV. p. 1534.

Without detailing the particular reasons for his request, Worcester was to obtain a general faculty for Wolsey to execute plenary jurisdiction in the King's suit during the Pope's captivity; "by means whereof I may delegate such judges as percase the Queen will not refuse or appeal from." In event of such an appeal he had provided that the cause should immediately be brought before himself, and his decision as Papal viceregent should be regarded as final. With this view a clause was to be inserted in the general commission, by virtue of which the Pope should ratify any sentence pronounced by Wolsey, as if it had been pronounced by his Holiness himself. "And, Sir, having nothing so much in my heart, daily study, and thought, as the bringing of your Grace's intended purpose to honorable fruit and effect, since I am advertised that the Pope's Holiness is detained in strait hold, and, as some men write, conveyed to Gaeta, I cannot imagine no better instruments in earth to be sent unto the Pope than Gregory de Casalis, the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci), and the Prothonotary Gambara, who shall find more feasible entrance to his Holiness' presence than your Secretary (Knight), or any other person to be sent from your Grace out of England."[1] He then adds significantly, "by this mean, and such other things as be set forth to be obtained at the Pope's hand, there is perfect hope, *if your Grace will take a little patience, suffering such things* to be experimented and done, which be and shall be devised for that purpose, by one way or other, your intent *shall honorably and lawfully take the desired effect;* which to bring to pass is my continual study and ardent desire, ready to expone my body, life, and blood for the achieving of the same."

These words show clearly the difficulties which the Cardinal had to encounter, both in the temper of the King himself, and the course he proposed to adopt. Impatient as ever of the least opposition or impediment to his wishes, the King was ready to adopt any plausible device recommended to him by his favourites for accomplishing his purpose. It was only by Wolsey's persuasion that he could be prevailed upon to take the measures required for his dignity and his safety, and assume some appearance of decency, by submitting to the

[1] State Papers, i. 270. In this letter Wolsey states that he had brought over two of the Roman lawyers to his opinion respecting the Pope's dispensation, for that the impediment of affinity in *primo gradu* is *de jure divino*. Ibid., 272.

forms of law in dissolving his marriage with Katharine. Of justice and veracity in this matter, or even of decorum, as will be seen hereafter, he was by no means careful. Yet in this as in all his actions, arbitrary as he was, he was anxious, if possible, to shelter himself behind the law, and decline responsibility. This was the strongest hold that Wolsey had upon an imperious nature, not deficient in traits of magnanimity and grandeur, but now spoiled by indulgence, and emancipated from all salutary restraints. It was Wolsey's conviction that if the King could not obtain his purpose honourably and lawfully, he would obtain it violently and unlawfully, to the peril of all concerned. For this he was induced to expose "body, life, and blood," in accomplishing the King's desire. It may be said that a man of higher principles and more delicate sense of honour would rather have resigned his appointments than allowed himself to become the instrument of designs so flagrantly cruel, unjust, and dishonourable. Nothing could be more revolting than the hypocrisy of pretending a strict regard for the forms of justice amid these secret efforts to defeat justice; nothing more base than to pretend to the Queen conscientious scruples as to the legality of her marriage, and yet take such measures against her as should prevent these scruples from being judicially tested. But though nothing can be said in defence of these proceedings, it must be remembered, in palliation of Wolsey, that resignation involved utter ruin. As Mendoza expressed it, his enemies did not seek his fall only, but his destruction. He was too able and powerful to be suffered to live in retirement, or even in disgrace. The King's favour carried with it honour, safety, the security of the Church, the welfare of his colleges, even life itself: the loss of it was the loss of all. Nor did he stand alone in this excessive deference to royalty. There was not a nobleman in the land, not a thorough-paced Protestant or Reformer, who did not entertain the same exaggerated notions of submission to the royal will, partly from fear of an authority that recognized no control; partly from a sense that the most tyrannical exertion of it was better than the licence and lawlessness of the civil wars; and partly because the Spiritual Supremacy, to which even the most arbitrary monarchs had once been compelled to yield some show of deference, had now fallen into abeyance. It had become nothing better than a shadow, an instrument of tyranny, subservient to the selfish designs of temporal princes.

But Henry had no intention, on this or on any other occasion, to be ruled implicitly by his minister. He thanked Wolsey for his excellent advice and his diligent service—"a service," he said, "which cannot be by a kind master forgotten, of which fault I trust I shall never be accused, especially to you-ward, which so laboriously do serve me." Yet he resolved, notwithstanding, to follow his own counsel, and he secretly determined on sending Knight to Rome, pretending to fear that the Queen might anticipate him "in his great matters;" really, if not to defeat, to counteract Wolsey's plans in one very important particular.[1]

To understand the reasons for this extraordinary proceeding, it must be remembered that the Cardinal had proposed to obtain a protestation from the Pope that nothing done in the Papal Court to the prejudice of the King or his allies, during the Pope's captivity, should be considered valid. By such a declaration His Holiness would be precluded from depriving the Cardinal of his legatine authority, as the Emperor desired, and would incapacitate himself from revoking the cause and cancelling the proceedings in England. The next step was to obtain a commission for the Cardinal to decide the cause by himself or his delegates, without appeal. Much as the King desired a divorce, either at his own suggestion, or more probably at the instigation of the Boleyns, who seem to have been chiefly guided by Cranmer in all their measures,[2] he did not care to see Wolsey invested with greater authority than he possessed already. He was apparently jealous of an expedient which seemed to overshadow the dignity of the Crown, and he sent Knight to the Pope with secret instructions to obtain a dispensation for second nuptials, without insisting on a commission for Wolsey. He could easily annul, if needful, the legateship, by forbidding its exercise in his own dominions; but a commission from the Pope, procured by the King's own intervention, could not be so easily disposed of. Knight found Wolsey at Compiegne on the 10th of September.

[1] See IV. p. 1551.

[2] In proof of this the author referred in the original Preface to a subsequent letter of Knight's (Dec. 4, 1527), in which he states that one of the King's servants, "*with a chaplain of my lord of Rochford*," had arrived with letters from the King, ordering Knight to proceed at once to Rome. State Papers, vii. 16. But although it is true that Cranmer was Rochford's chaplain, he is certainly not the chaplain mentioned here; whose name, as will be seen by IV. 3749, was Barlow. He was not, however, the notorious William Barlow, afterwards bishop, but John Barlow, his brother. See preface to the Calendar of Henry VIII., vol. VI. p. ix., note. —Ed.

He had taken time by the forelock, and had already despatched Casale and others to Rome, for the commission. The rest shall be told in Knight's own words. He wrote to the King, "Please it your most noble Grace to understand that Christopher Mores, in discreet manner, hath delivered unto me your gracious letters concerning your secret affair, *which is to me only committed;* the contents whereof I shall not fault to follow according unto your Grace's pleasure, with such diligence, discretion, and dexterity as in me shall be possible. And where at my coming hither my lord Legate supposed to have[1] so fully contented your Highness, that by the coming of Christopher Mores I should have been by your Grace countermanded, willing me therefore to abide and tarry for the said Christopher, I, for the avoiding of (his) suspicion, showed myself content so to do; being, nevertheless, determined to proceed in my journey, if the said Christopher Mores had not come the next day. And now your Grace's pleasure known, my Lord hath advised me to repair to Venice; which counsel cannot hinder your Grace's purpose. For there being, if there be any possibility of access unto the Pope, I have commodity to pass by the sea, till within one hundred miles of Rome. And, Sir, if your dispensation (*i.e.* to marry again) may be obtained *constante matrimonio* (that is, without any divorce from Katharine) whereof I doubt, having any possibility of access I shall soon obtain it; and if it cannot be impetrate *nisi soluto matrimonio* (without a divorce) then less diligence may be suffered. Of which doubts, at my coming into Italy, I shall be soon resolved." Comment is needless. If the Pope would have allowed Henry to marry two wives, Wolsey's commission and elaborate diplomacy would be needless. But what, then, is to be thought of Henry's conscientious scruples?

The Cardinal was profuse in his gratitude for the King's condescending acknowledgment of his services. "I cannot," he says, "with my pen or tongue express how greatly it is to my consolation, rejoice, and comfort to understand by your Grace's most loving, eloquent, and excellently indicted letters, that my labors, travail, and poor service, is so graciously and thankfully by your Highness accepted and taken;[2] whereby I

[1] *i.e.* supposed he had.

[2] I may perhaps be permitted to notice here, in passing, that the notion entertained by some critics, that the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer used English synonyms with words of classical origin (*e.g.* "erred and strayed" and the like) to assist the unlearned, is founded on a misconception. The practice was in use long

do not only account my said service and troubles well bestowed and employed, but also that I am most highly rewarded for the same." Then alluding to Knight's mission to Rome, and his own proceedings touching the commission, he adds, that if it be well pondered, nothing better could well be devised for furthering the King's wishes; "and God I take to my Judge, that whatsoever opinion, contrary to my thoughts or deserts, *by any report or suggestion*, your Grace hath or might conceive, I never intended to set forth the expedition of the said general commission, for any authority, ambition, commodity, private profit, or lucre, but only for the advancement of your Grace's secret affair. And if the same were now presently or hereafter should be obtained, if your pleasure were that no part thereof should be executed, I shall with most humble, reverent, and obeisant heart submit myself to the same; assuring your Highness that I shall never be found, but as your most humble, loyal, true, and faithful obeisant servant, delighting in none earthly thing so much as to set forth, avaunce, and accomplish all your commandments and pleasures without contradiction, or sparing of my body, life, or goods. And were it not (besides my most bounden duty) for the ardent and reverent love that I have and bear unto your Majesty, and the increase and exaltation of your honor, *there is no earthly good or promotion that should cause me to endure the travail and pains* which I daily and hourly sustain, without any regard to the continuance of my life or health, which is only preserved by the assured trust of your gracious love and favor, the contrary whereof I shall never deserve."[1]

Was ever loyalty more chivalrous or more romantic? Was it ever more eloquently set forth, or expressed in terms of profounder devotion? Did it not pass the love of woman? Even in his fall, when he had met with the basest return for all his services, the sentiment immortalized by the great dramatist still recurs to his lips, that the favour and respect of his prince had for him a greater charm and attraction than love or conquest! Old, yet not weary of service, he left Compiegne on Tuesday the 17th of September, arrived at Boulogne on the 21st, and crossed over from Calais at the end of the month. "These things finished," says Cavendish,[2]

before, and seems to have arisen from the imperfect fusion of two elements in the language, just before it passed into its more completely English character. It is very significant of what was going on in the nation at the time.

[1] State Papers, i. 278.

[2] p. 186.

"and others, for the weal of the town (of Calais), he took shipping and arrived at Dover, from whence he rode to the King, being then in his progress at Sir Henry Wyat's house in Kent.[1] It was supposed among us that he should be joyfully received at his homecoming, as well of the King as of all other noblemen; but we were deceived in our expectation. Notwithstanding, he went immediately after his coming to the King, with whom he had long talk, and continued there in the Court two or three days." A more explicit account of his reception is given by Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. Mendoza states that at the end of September the Legate returned with his train from France, and immediately after repaired to Richmond, where the King was then staying. Arriving at the palace, he sent word to the King, apprizing him of his return, and asking where and at what hour he might visit his Majesty, "it being the custom, whenever the Legate has affairs of State to communicate, for the King to retire with him to a private closet. Now it happened on this occasion that the lady called Anna de Bolaine, who seems to entertain no great affection for the Cardinal, was in the room with the King; and before his Majesty could reply, she exclaimed, 'Where else should the Cardinal come? Tell him he may come here, where the King is.' With this answer the messenger returned, and the Legate, though extremely annoyed at the circumstance, which boded him no good, dissembled it as much as he could, and concealed his resentment. Though it was thought at the time—and perhaps the Legate himself may have believed so—that this sudden change in the King's manner was indicative of his displeasure, the matter has gone no further, and things remain *outwardly* as they were before."[2]

[1] A slip of the memory, of which this is not the only instance in Cavendish. The King was certainly at Richmond from the 25th of September to the 12th of October.

[2] Gayangos, Oct. 26, 1527. In their statement of facts the Spanish ambassadors may generally be trusted, if some allowance be made for their prejudices; but in their speculations as to motives they are seldom accurate. Too haughty and reserved to mix freely with others, they rarely heard more than one side, unlike the Venetian ambassadors, who mixed more freely with society, and were excellent retailers of general gossip. Among other explanations of Anne Boleyn's displeasure, the Spaniard suggests two, which seem to account for the popular belief, common among the writers of that time, though utterly groundless: first, that Anne Boleyn believed that Wolsey, during his mission to France, was seeking a match in that country for the King of England—a curious perversion of the truth; next, that, fearing the influence of Anne with the King, and her substitution in the place of Katharine, who could do him no injury, Wolsey had employed his efforts to prevent the divorce. The latter statement seems to confirm the suspicion, put forth in these pages, that Wolsey was in the first instance deceived by Henry, and when he yielded to the King's wishes for a divorce was not fully aware of his real intentions.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE POPE AND THE DIVORCE.

I RETURN to Knight, who was now making the best of his way into Italy, fully assured that he should obtain from the Pope the dispensation desired by the King by a more short and summary process than the tedious and circuitous devices of Wolsey. Nothing can show more clearly the superior statesmanship of the Cardinal than his appreciation of difficulties, and the care and caution used in making his advances. The flexibility with which he adapted himself to the varying moods and circumstances of the hour is remarkable, as compared with that insular arrogance and unbending deportment which, overlooking all difficulties and despising all caution, were too common in Englishmen especially at this time, and though due to their shyness, in some measure, were aggravated by their inexperience. Knight reached Parma, and proceeding to Foligno,[1] he seems for the first time to have become aware that he would not be suffered to enter Rome without a passport. The city was held by the Imperialists. The Pope, shut up in St. Angelo, was surrounded by the Emperor's spies and minions; a messenger from so powerful a sovereign, whose will was omnipotent in England, even though nominally allied to the Emperor, would have little chance of obtaining a private interview, still less of communicating "the King's secret," without being overheard. Knight was therefore compelled to remain at Foligno, unable to proceed, until the beginning of December, when he received from the King, by "a chaplain of my lord of Rochford" (probably Cranmer),[2] a minute for a new dispensation. Perceiving the King's "fervent desire," he advanced to Narni, and the next day to Rome. The news was then rife of the Pope's delivery. At twelve miles' distance from Rome Knight fell in with banditti, and narrowly escaped with his life. His coming had long been

[1] Nov. 4.

[2] See p. 223, note 2.

anticipated by Gambara, who, together with Gregory Casale, had been despatched by Wolsey in September. Gambara had contrived to enter the city unperceived, and hold communications with the Pope before the 26th of November.[1] From that moment all Knight's hope of success was delusive. As Wolsey told the King,[2] the secretary had too little experience to be trusted with a delicate and difficult mission in a Court so subtle and labyrinthine as that of Rome. On entering the city, he took up his apartments in the house of a Roman, where many Spaniards were lodged. "That day," says Knight, "I found mean that the Pope was advertised of my arrival, and his Holiness ordained immediately that the prothonotary Gambara should come unto me; albeit, and though he were at the door of my lodging, he durst not adventure to come unto me.[3] Wherefore the next morning I went unto him, and was informed there was no mean to speak with the Pope, for if he would have offered 10,000 crowns for a safe-conduct for me, he could not have obtained it. And seeing that there was none other remedy, I wrote as much as I would have said on your Highness' behalf unto his Holiness; and the same with your Grace's letter of credence, and the last minute for your dispensation, closed together in a paper and sealed, and directed unto his Holiness, which the Cardinal of Pisa delivered unto him in the presence of the prothonotary Gambara." The Pope, as Gambara reported, read the inclosures, and sent word that as Knight's arrival was known to Alarcon, the commander of the Spanish forces, he had better leave Rome as rapidly as possible, and remain at Narni or the neighbourhood; and as "soon as he were at liberty he would send unto me all your Grace's requests in as ample a form as they be desired. I suppose verily that his Holiness is at his liberty by this time, or undoubtedly shall be shortly. . . . And thus I trust in Almighty Jesu to have in my custody shortly, as much perfect *spedd and under lede*, as your Highness hath long time desired; and under *secret manner*" (that is, unknown to the Cardinal and others),[4] "for I have written unto the Pope's Holiness that your Highness esteemeth as

[1] IV. p. 1623.

[2] See above, p. 220.

[3] It was not to be expected that Gambara would incur the suspicions of the Spaniards.

[4] This is certain; for in a subsequent letter Knight informs the King that he had sent notice to Wolsey that he had obtained the dispensation, "inasmuch as he sent hither the minute of a dispensation to be sped; *but I specify not after what form* your dispensation is granted." See IV. p. 1613.

much the keeping secret the dispensation as the obtaining of the same."[1]

On the 9th of December,[2] the evening before the arrangements with the Imperialists for his liberation were to be completed, the Pope contrived to effect his escape. His profound distrust of the Spaniards, who had so grossly deceived him already, is manifested in the careful preparations he had made for his flight, and his resolution to carry these preparations into effect, at the very moment when the discovery of them would have effectually neutralized the negociations already set on foot for his release. In the dusk of the evening, when the sentinels were changed, he presented himself at the gates, disguised in a blouse and long false beard; his head and his face were partly concealed by a slouched and tattered hat; on his arm he carried a basket, and an empty sack at his back. Thus accoutred he was taken for one of the domestics belonging to the major-domo of the Papal palace. Pretending that he was sent forward to provide lodgings on the road for the Pope, who was to travel the next day to Viterbo with the Cardinals, he was allowed to pass unchallenged. He crossed the garden of St. Peter's, and letting himself out by a secret gate, of which he had secured the keys from the gardener, he at once mounted a chaise provided by Louis Gonzaga; and at midnight, attended by a solitary peasant, he traversed Celano, struck through the wood of Boccano, took a slight repast at Capranica, and, taking the mountain track, arrived the next morning at the dilapidated town of Orvieto.

At daybreak the Imperial colonels presented themselves, as usual, at the gates of St. Angelo, to pay their respects to his Holiness. As it was his custom to hear mass in his private chapel before he gave audience, this delay in his appearance created no suspicion. The day passed on, but no Pope was seen. They demanded of the valets de chambre whether his Holiness did not think of rising, as the day was far advanced, and it would be needful to start early, for the road was bad, and the hours for travelling were short in the winter. The attendants had no suspicion of what had occurred, and the Pope was already safely housed at Orvieto some hours before the truth was discovered.[3]

[1] Knight to Henry VIII., from Foligno, Dec. 4. State Papers, vii. 16.

[2] Authorities vary, some dating the Pope's flight on the 8th, and some on the 9th. Gregory Casale writes from Parma, on the 8th of December, that the Pope had already escaped, and was on his way to Orvieto. See IV. p. 1639; and also Jerningham's letter of the 9th, p. 1640.

[3] Buonaparte, p. 214.

It was here that, miserable and alone, with no attendant cardinals and few of his household about him, Knight, some days after, found the Pope in the dilapidated and ill-furnished palace of the Bishop. If Gambara has not misrepresented him, his escape from imprisonment had altered his tone already. He referred to Knight's previous message, and the danger he was in from the Spaniards at Rome; adding, that although he had promised to forward the dispensation desired by the King, he must now beg for delay, as he had been required by an ambassador from the Emperor[1] to suffer nothing to pass prejudicial to the Queen. "And forasmuch as this dispensation might encourage your Grace to cause my lord Legate *auctoritate legationis* to hear and discern in the cause that your Highness intendeth, and his Holiness standeth as yet in manner in captivity and perplexity, his Holiness therefore besought your Grace to have patience for a time, and it should not be long or (ere) your Highness should have not only that dispensation, but anything else that might lie in his power." Knight protested vehemently against the delay. He had already sent word to his master, as he informed the Pope, that his Holiness had granted the King's desire. How, then, would the King ever be persuaded that the Pope would make good his promise hereafter, if he attempted to evade it now? In the end, Clement consented to send the dispensation on condition that the King would do nothing in the divorce until the Pope was at liberty. "After this his Holiness showed the minute (that is, of the dispensation sent by the King) to cardinal St. Quatuor (Santi Quattro), telling him to reform it according to the style of this Court; which done, he showed it unto me; and after said that he thought good that I should depart, because I rode but competent journeys, and the prothonotary Gambara should follow by post and bring the bull with him, which is of the same form and substance that your Highness' minute is of; and if there be anything omitted, or to be added, his Holiness is always content to reform it." A copy of this bull Knight sent by Gambara to the King.

It must be remembered in this perplexing affair, that when the King, under pretence of trusting the Cardinal, was trying, not very successfully, with Knight to outwit him, two dispensations at least, if not more, were desired. One of these was to be kept secret, and was known only to Knight and the King. When, therefore, the news should be brought to the

[1] The General of the Observants.

Cardinal that the Pope had granted the dispensation to Knight as required, he would be deceived into supposing it was the same dispensation as he himself had contrived. In the dispensation contrived by Knight and the King, it was stipulated that Henry should proceed at once to second nuptials, whether the nullity of his marriage with Katharine was established or not. But in the dispensation devised by Wolsey it was only provided that the King should be allowed to marry, within certain degrees, after sentence pronounced by the Cardinal, or by delegates appointed by him, by virtue of the Papal commission. Thus it will be seen that the two were quite distinct in their purposes: nor is it likely that Wolsey, had he known their contents, would have approved of Knight's instructions. If the first demand was impracticable, Knight could fall back upon the second, and urge it on the Pope in conjunction with Wolsey, without betraying his secret to the Cardinal. Knight was by no means a skilful negociator, and the dispensation devised by the King was soon abandoned. He then tried his hand at obtaining a commission. But the value of a commission depended entirely upon its provisions, and the judges to be appointed under it. Various plans were suggested: first, a general commission for Wolsey to hear and determine the cause as the Pope's vicegerent—a demand not likely to be conceded, "as he might be thought partial;" next, the substitution in his place of Staffileo, Dean of the Rota, who was friendly to the King. In the last resort, some Cardinal, whose authority and impartiality could not be questioned, was to be sent by the Pope, and joined in the commission with Wolsey. By such a device it was thought that Katharine would no longer resist, but be awed into acquiescence.

Knight carried with him from home a minute of the dispensation required, and a memorandum of the commission drawn up in England. The form and substance of the first were to be embodied in a bull. But as the Pope professed that he was not expert in framing commissions, the draft brought by Knight was submitted to St. Quatuor. The Cardinal, like an experienced canonist, perceiving it was the work of vulgar and unskilful hands, declared it "could not pass without perpetual dishonor unto the Pope, the King, and your Grace (Wolsey)." Setting to work with the severity of a parliamentary draftsman, he omitted this clause, declared another to be informal, and objected to a third as obscure,

until he had reduced the whole into a shape, if not as explicit and stringent as the one desired, yet seeming to the unsophisticated judgment of Knight to answer the purpose sufficiently. "At all events," as he wrote with undissembled satisfaction to Wolsey, "*I do bring a commission* with me, *and a dispensation*, which I trust the King and your Grace will like well." For this valuable piece of service, Knight offered St. Quatuor a fee of 2,000 crowns.[1]

He started on his return to England, a happy man. He had obtained within a very brief period all that the King had desired, and had easily distanced his Italian competitors, who had conjured up such needless difficulties and delays. The dispensation under lead, and the commission for Wolsey, "which is sufficient, though not like the minute," were duly despatched to England. When they arrived they were found to be "of no effect or authority."[2] So Knight and his mission were unceremoniously snuffed out—a warning to all who wade beyond their depth in the law, or dabble in diplomacy they do not understand.[3] He was not, however, the only one who was shipwrecked on this rock. Knight's inauspicious mission produced no other effect than that of awakening the suspicions of the Pope, and putting him more completely on his guard. He had been so profoundly intimidated by recent events—the resentment of the Emperor, as compared with the distant promises and ineffectual protestations of his French and English allies, had been so direct and immediate—that he was thoroughly resolved never again to encounter it, or expose himself to its terrors by joining in any demonstration of hostility against Charles, however seductive might be the chances of success. Whilst, therefore, to enhance his own credit with the Emperor, Clement was ready to accept Henry's professions of support, and retain his friendship, if the terms were not too costly, it was not his intention to incur any hazard, beyond fair words and a show of compliance. Least of all, however appearances might tell against him, did he intend to provoke the Emperor's displeasure, or a repetition of his resentment, by taking upon himself the responsibility, directly or indirectly, of pronouncing the marriage of Katharine

[1] See IV. pp. 1672 and 1686. It was not, however, accepted. See Gardiner's letter, p. 1820.

[2] IV. p. 1745.

[3] About a year after he wrote a very pensive letter to Henry, saying how it pierced him to the stomach, that any charge committed unto him by the King should not be performed according to his Majesty's pleasure, as chanced in his last voyage of 1527. IV. p. 1848.

informal. He was not to be moved by those torments of conscience which the King professed to feel, and for the abatement of which he had recourse to the Pope as his spiritual physician. In that violation of the Levitical law, which Henry alleged was the cause of his disquiet, he did not believe. But even if the King's scruples had been ever so real, had in fact been as genuine as Henry wished them to be thought, Clement was not inclined to expose Rome to another siege, and himself to a second imprisonment in St. Angelo, in order to quiet them. He commanded Sanga, his confidant, to discover what the dispute was about, and how it had arisen; for the Imperial agent, the General of the Observants, had been already importuning his Holiness to interfere, and inhibit all further procedings.[1]

I return to Wolsey, to whose abler hands, after Knight's egregious failure, the King was only too willing to leave the management of the cause. He had proposed from the first to employ Italian agents, as more skilful diplomatists, and more likely to secure effectual aid at the Court of Rome. For this purpose he had suggested the employment of Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, who was acquainted with the King's secret, and was at that time the King's ambassador with the Emperor. But in this he had been overruled. As Knight was preferred by the King, he had to acquiesce in the arrangement, and entrust him with a minute of a general commission to be procured from the Pope. He had contrived that it should be so artfully drawn as to disclose as little as possible of the King's intentions.[2] This was the commission which the Cardinal St. Quatuor reformed, at Knight's desire, extracting its teeth and rendering it inoperative. Suspecting Knight's inefficiency, or unwilling to be out-generaled, Wolsey had at the same moment dispatched Gambara, the nuncio, to negociate with the Pope, and facilitate Knight's mission. As a further precaution he had sent orders to Gregory Casale to join them on the road after he had settled his business with Lautrec.[3] Thus, by bringing various influences to bear upon the Pope, he hoped to succeed in his object.

As Casale was kept in the dark in regard to the exact nature of his commission, it was necessary that the Cardinal should word his instructions in so ambiguous a manner, that, whilst he appeared to repose implicit confidence in his mes-

[1] Sanga to Gambara, Feb. 9, IV. p. 1735.

[2] See IV. p. 1553.

[3] IV. p. 1538.

senger, Casale should learn no more than suited the purposes of his employer. Wolsey, therefore, began by assuring him that the King had consented to employ him in his secret matter, on the Cardinal's assurance of his fidelity. "I have told you already how the King, partly by his assiduous study and learning, and partly by conference with theologians, has found his conscience somewhat burthened with his present marriage; and out of regard to the quiet of his soul, and, next, to the security of his succession, and the great mischiefs likely to arise, he considers it would be offensive to God and man if he were to persist in it. With great remorse of conscience he has now for a long time felt that he is living under the displeasure of the Almighty, whom in all his efforts and his actions he always sets before him. He has made diligent inquiry whether the dispensation granted by pope Julius to himself and the Queen, his brother's widow, is valid and sufficient; and he is told it is not. It was founded on certain false suggestions;—as that his Majesty desired the marriage for the good understanding between Henry VII., Ferdinand, and Isabella; whereas there was no suspicion of any misunderstanding, &c. Next when the King reached the age of fourteen, the contract was revoked, and his father objected to the match. It is to this offence against his Maker that the King attributes the death of his male children, and dreads the heavy wrath of God if he persists. Notwithstanding his scruples of conscience he has resolved to wait for the judgment of the Holy See, trusting that, out of consideration to his services in behalf of the Church, the Pope will not decline to remove these scruples, *and discover a method by which the King may take another wife, and, God willing, have male children.*"

This was the official account, intended to pass current for the real one. Whether it transpired or not, no inconvenience would ensue. It was modified in certain particulars, as place and circumstances required. Not a word was said, as on other occasions, that the King's doubts were first suggested by his confessor, still less that they were started by the Bishop of Tarbes.

"As his Holiness," continues Wolsey, adroitly manipulating his agent, "is now in captivity"—the letter was written shortly before the Pope's escape—"and there are some (the Imperialists) who will endeavour to interfere with his wishes, a method has been devised whereby his Holiness

may be deftly instructed in this matter, and induced to grant the King's request. Trusting in your faith and dexterity, the King desires you to change your dress, and, as if you were employed in some other person's service, obtain a secret interview with the Pope, at which no one else shall be present. You are to promise those who have the management of these matters any sum of money required for securing the interview. When admitted to the Pope you shall exhibit the King's letter of credence, in which there is an urgent paragraph written by the King's own hand.[1] You shall insist on our grief at the misfortunes of the Church; enlarge on the unsatisfactory nature of this marriage—the King's scruples—the vehement desire of the whole nation and nobility, without any exception, that the King should have an heir;[2] that the more thoughtful among us consider that God has refused us so great a blessing in consequence of the illegality of this union; and that unless some remedy be provided, worse evils will succeed—factions and controversies will arise on the death of the King and the nation will be plunged into the horrors of civil war." To give greater effect to these arguments, Casale is instructed to insist on the services rendered by Henry as Defender of the Faith. He is to say that a man of far inferior deserts, suffering from remorse of conscience, would have a claim on the Pope's consideration. "You shall then request the Pope, all fear and doubt set aside, to consider the case, and the infinite advantage it will be to the Holy See if, without delay, or disclosing his purpose to any one, the Pope will issue a special commission in the form of a brief directed to me, granting me a faculty to summon whom I please to inquire into the validity of the dispensation" (which, of course was equivalent to declaring it invalid) "according to the tenor of a copy now inclosed—*so written and arranged as not to require transcription, or occasion any delay* if the Pope's officials must take a copy of it. But to avoid all peril in that behalf, the Pope may affix to it his signature and seal, thus openly testifying that it is of his own will and pleasure that I should take cognizance of the cause."

In order that the reader may understand what sort of a

[1] See it in IV. p. 1639.

[2] It is almost needless to say that of any such desire there is no indication whatever in contemporary documents. If it had been so, popular indignation would not have followed the Cardinal for being the supposed originator of the divorce. All evidence points the other way. But diplomacy is not history.

commission was here desired, I must briefly interrupt Wolsey's instructions, which I have slightly abridged from the original Latin, and turn to the commission itself, to which the Pope was requested to affix his signature at once without further inquiry. The substance of the commission was as follows:—[1]

"Clement VII. to our beloved ———, health and apostolic benediction. . . . Whereas 18 years ago, our dearest son in Christ, Henry VIII. king of England, &c., was induced by the persuasion of those about him, and a pretended apostolic dispensation, to contract marriage with Katharine, his brother's widow; and whereas it has been found, upon further examination, that the said dispensation was granted on false pretences, and is faulty and surreptitious; that thereby the King's conscience is troubled; and that, in full confidence of our plenary power as supreme ruler here on earth, he has required, &c. &c. In consideration of the premises we appoint you, our dear son, the cardinal of York, of whose virtues, love of justice and equity, we are well assured, to exercise our authority in your own person for the trial of this cause. We also appoint you ——— as assessor, enacting that the decision of either of you shall be valid in the absence of the other. You are to proceed summarily and *de pleno*, without the publicity or formality of judicial proceedings, and inquire into the validity of the said dispensation. And if you, jointly or severally, are satisfied of its invalidity, you shall pronounce the marriage between Henry and Katharine to be null and void, allowing the parties to separate, and contract marriage *de novo*, all appeal or challenge set aside. Also by this our authority we empower you to overrule all canonical defects or objections, and declare the issue of the first as well of the second marriage to be legitimate, if you think fit. And whatever is done by you in this cause, judicially or extra-judicially, we ratify and confirm in the fullest manner, without revocation."[2]

Never was a more extravagant demand made on any Pope's good nature, and never was a stranger proposal submitted to the highest spiritual authority of Christendom. A man even of less firmness than Clement VII., and less regard for justice, would have resented a suggestion that he should

[1] It is necessary that the historical student should beware of a very common blunder into which many writers have fallen, of mistaking documents thus prepared in England for the Pope's adoption, as if they had emanated from the Pope himself.

[2] See IV. p. 1655.

abdicate his functions of supreme judge, and lend himself a willing and unresisting instrument to such a gross act of injustice. By assuming the invalidity of the dispensation, the commission prejudged the case which it authorized the Cardinal to try, and pronounced sentence before the evidence had been heard. Nor was it less scandalous or immoral that the decision should in effect be committed to Wolsey, the King's own subject, who had already expressed an adverse opinion, and now desired the authority of a judge, not to hear, but to condemn. With good reason might Cardinal St. Quatuor declare that a commission so drawn, and with such clauses, could not pass without perpetual dishonour to the Pope, the King, and the Cardinal. In urging Clement to so flagrant a violation of decency and justice, we may believe that Wolsey was influenced, not merely by a desire to gratify the King, but by the thought that in so doing he was saving the Church from imminent destruction. Opposition to the King's wishes would convert Henry, as he foresaw, into the bitterest enemy of the Papacy. Compliance with his intractable humour, which no one understood better, might stave off the danger for a time. In a letter of the same date, he bids Casale tell the Pope, in terms hardly exaggerated, that his life will be shortened should his Holiness refuse. "His Majesty," he says, "will of two evils choose the least; and as he is absolutely resolved to satisfy his conscience, if in so doing he cannot obtain redress from the Holy See, he will cease to respect it, and its authority will fall into contempt from day to day, especially in these perilous times."[1] That the Boleyns and their advisers were no friends to himself, the Church, or its hierarchy, of which he was the chief representative, he clearly perceived. He had reason to suspect that they would prove tempting and dangerous advisers, and use their influence with the King in furthering the designs of those who hated the Church as much as they loved its endowments. Contempt for spiritual authority was increasing at a rapid pace. Many, already, both in England and the Continent, were loud in their denunciations of the clergy. But if these were his motives, it is strange he should ever have imagined that the spiritual authority could be strengthened by such an act as this. In asking the Pope to comply with these dishonourable demands, he was himself setting an example of disrespect for that authority, the loss of which he regarded as

[1] See IV. p. 1638.

perilous to the best interests of Christendom. Nothing could show more clearly the real degradation of the Papacy, or the little hold it still retained on the respect and affections of mankind. The attempt was a wound more fatal to the Papal supremacy, by those who professed their desire to uphold it, than any formal repudiation of it by Parliament or Convocation. It might have been supposed that when the commission was granted, the King and his minister would require nothing more. By it Wolsey was appointed supreme judge, without appeal. It enabled him, by himself, or in conjunction with an assessor, to proceed summarily; and if satisfied as to the invalidity of the Papal dispensation—a point on which Wolsey had satisfied himself already—he might dissolve the marriage contract. What more was necessary? If sentence was given in conformity with his anticipations, Henry might contract a second marriage, either with Anne Boleyn or any other lady. What was to prevent him from following his inclinations? Yet in the directions sent to Casale, as to others employed in this suit, a clause was slipped in, unobtrusively, as though it were of no importance: "I send you," says the Cardinal, "*a dispensation* also drawn out in due form of a brief, to be expedited by his Holiness affixing to it his signature and seal. And though the King does not fear any consequences that might possibly ensue, yet, remembering from the example of past times what fictitious claims have been put forward, to cut off all controversy for the time to come, he requests this of the Pope, as a thing absolutely necessary."[1] What, then, it may be asked, was this dispensation? What disputes as to the succession could possibly arise from his marriage with Anne Boleyn? She had neither royal blood in her veins, nor, except for her pre-contract with Ossory or Percy, was there any legal impediment to her marriage. Had none existed more valid than these, they might easily have been removed by a provision of the simplest kind. But the dispensation demanded and submitted to the Pope was of a more comprehensive nature. It included a number of extraordinary clauses, as will be seen by the following version:—

"As the steward and dispenser of the Lord's household is bound to listen to the prayers of the Faithful, especially to one who, like Henry VIII., has distinguished himself in defence of the Church, and by his accession to the crown of England has reconciled the conflicting claims of Yorkist and

[1] See IV. p. 1636.

Lancastrian—whose succession, therefore, ought to be protected against the designs of the ambitious:—We, in order to take away all occasion from evil-doers, do hereby, in the plenitude of our power, and exercising supreme and absolute authority, suspend, *hac vice*, all canons forbidding marriage in the fourth degree; also all canons *de impedimento publicæ honestatis*, preventing marriage in consequence of espousals clandestinely contracted, and vitiating such contract. Further, we suspend hereby all canons relating to any precontracts clandestinely made, but not consummated, but tending to prevent or invalidate a subsequent marriage; also all canons touching any impediment caused by affinity, arising from any illicit connection, in any degree whatsoever, even in the first; so far as the marriage to be contracted by you, the petitioner, can be objected to, or anywise be impugned by the same.

"Furthermore, to avoid all canonical objections on the side of the woman, by reason of any former contract clandestinely made, or impediment of public honesty and justice arising from such clandestine contract, or of any affinity contracted in any degree, even in the first, *ex illicito coitu*, and in the event that it has proceeded beyond the second or third degree of consanguinity, whereby otherwise you, the petitioner, would not be allowed by the canons to contract marriage, we hereby license you to take such woman to wife, and suffer you and the woman to marry, free from all ecclesiastical objections and censures."

Further, by this dispensation the Pope removes all possible objections, *ex certa scientia et mero motu suo*. He legitimizes the children against all objections, frees the King's conscience from all scruples, and declares all objections to be frivolous and inefficacious that might hereafter arise on the ground that this dispensation was granted during his captivity.

This extraordinary document could have in view no other contract than the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn. It must have been intended to remove certain impediments to her union with the King, and anticipate objections which might hereafter arise as to the validity of their union. The numerous corrections and additions made in the draft show with what care and consideration it was drawn up, and how fully it was intended by its framers to overrule all canonical flaws and defects. The commission was intended to dissolve the King's marriage with Katharine; the dispensation, to remove all obstacles to his marriage with Anne Boleyn. What

those obstacles were, real or supposed, I need not detail. They are startling enough; nor can it be supposed that provisions, so minute and circumstantial, would have found a place in this document, had not certain objections against the King's union, in this instance, existed in fact or common report.[1]

"When you have expounded all this to his Holiness," continued the Cardinal, "it is not to be doubted that the Pope will freely at once consent to the King's request, and grant the commission without making any one privy to it. But if this cannot be done, you are to urge the Pope not to refuse to make the concessions required, by briefs or bulls, in the most ample form; taking care that it does not come to the ears of

[1] That they were not wholly imaginary may be inferred from the following letter, addressed to the King himself, some years after, by Sir George Throgmorton, and preserved in the Record Office:—

"In my most humble manner to your Highness remembered, pleaseth the same to be advertised, about six or seven years past, as I do remember, I met with Sir Thomas Dyngley at St. John's, and he and I walked into the garden until the dinner was ready. And he fell in communication with me of the Parliament matters, marvelling greatly that such acts as the appeals and other should pass so lightly as they did, or words much like to this. And I said it was no marvel, for that the Common House was much advertised by my Lord Privy Seal, and that few men there would displease him. And the said Sir Thomas said, 'I hear say ye have spoken much in divers matters.' And I said, 'True it is. I have spoken something in the Act of Appeals, whereupon the King's grace did send for me and spake with me in divers matters; so that I perceive his Grace's conscience is troubled, for that he hath married his brother's wife, and he thinketh God is not pleased therewith.' And I said to him that I told your Grace I feared if ye did marry queen Anne, your conscience would be more troubled at the length, for that it is thought ye have meddled with both the mother and the sister. And his (your?) Grace said, 'Never with the mother.' And my Lord Privy Seal, standing by, said, 'Nor with the sister nother; and therefore put that out of your mind.' And this is all I said to him, or he to me, or words much like to the same effect, to my remembrance, as God shall judge me at my most need. And if he have spoken these words, or any like, upon my mouth, to your Grace's displeasure, it is without my knowledge and consent; for I will take it on my soul, whensoever it shall please our Lord to take me to His mercy, I thought no harm to your Grace in the speaking of them; for that I ever spake these words to him or to any other man, was to lament what I thought would follow of that marriage to your Grace and to your realm in time to come."

The sting of the imputation consists, not in the character of the writer, but in the tacit admission made by the King. To suppose that the conversation here detailed existed only in the heated imagination of Throgmorton himself, and that in writing to the King himself he could have had the folly and effrontery to tax the King with words he never uttered, exceeds my belief. He was by no means the only person about the Court who believed a report which the terms of this dispensation seem so strongly to confirm. The real objection, if the imputation be true, is the extraordinary absence of all decency and morality in every one of the Boleyns, who encouraged the connection, and of the King himself. But, true or not, for such a report to have existed, conveys no exalted opinion of the King's purity, or the scrupulous honour of the Boleyns.

those who can interpose any impediment. Rather than that, you shall be satisfied with his simple signature to the aforesaid drafts, which he may afterwards confirm by subsequent instruments."

As it might so happen that the Pope would object to the appointment of Wolsey, as one of the King's subjects, and refuse to allow him to pronounce judgment in the cause, Casale was to make strenuous efforts to remove this objection. "You shall," he says, "urge my appointment strongly, assuring the Pope that I will do nothing contrary to my duty as a Christian and a cardinal." If these arguments proved ineffectual, Casale was to require that the commission should be directed to Staffileo, Dean of the Rota, whom Wolsey had already converted to his own views. If the Pope proposed to add to the Dean any other assessor than Wolsey, Casale was to refuse his consent, and contrive that no assessor should be appointed. With these instructions the Cardinal inclosed a private letter, to be shown to the Pope, in which he insisted upon the importance of his request, representing that his own life depended upon the result. He urged that in event of refusal the Pope would forfeit the friendship of the King, which was of the utmost importance to him in his present necessities; that it was of no use for him to indulge in the hope that the dissolution of the marriage with Katharine could be prevented or deferred. "There are," he says, "secret reasons, which cannot be committed to writing, which make this concession imperative—certain diseases in the Queen defying all remedy, for which, as well as for other causes, the King will never again live with her as his wife." "Considering the premisses, I am a humble suitor to the Pope to grant this request, not so much as an English subject, but as one who has certain knowledge what the result must be. Therefore, I urge him, by obliging the King, to bind him to the protection of the Holy See."[1]

It was not till after the Pope's escape that these instructions reached Casale, then resident at Florence. He found Clement at Orvieto, on the 22nd of December, "miserable and alone," irresolute and dispirited. But before his arrival another method of procedure had been resolved upon, and Casale received a second commission, evidently suggested by the fear that the Queen might appeal against the Cardinal's

[1] See IV. p. 1638

decision. It was, therefore, thought advisable to add increased "gravity to the process," by asking for Campeggio, Trani, or Farnese to be sent into England, with sufficient commission to determine the cause; "so," writes Wolsey, "all objection which might be urged by the Queen against me as the King's subject, and all evil surmises, may be avoided."[1] To anticipate any proposal on the part of the Pope of revoking the suit to Rome, he insisted that the King would never consent, nor could, in equity, be compelled, to have the cause tried out of his dominions, where his continual presence was required; still more, as the proofs to be adduced must depend upon witnesses who would have to be examined in England. If Casale found any delay on the part of the Pope or the Cardinals, or any intention to send a legate or judge who was not known to be favourable to the King's cause, he was to drop the second commission and obtain the first. He was to urge speed at all hazards, as speed was of the utmost importance, and delays were dangerous.[2]

Though Wolsey never declined responsibility where the King's wishes or interests were concerned, it is not improbable that he was willing to share the odium of pronouncing the divorce with a legate to be sent immediately from Rome. He could not be ignorant of the danger to which he was exposed, and the increasing unpopularity of the whole proceeding. In vulgar estimation Katharine's divorce was connected with the French alliance; and that was hated in England on commercial and religious grounds. How could Wolsey be assured that the King's new attachment might not be superseded by another? Nor, on the other hand, was the King himself unwilling that the supremacy of the judge should be diminished by this division of authority.

On the last day of December, the Pope, after great importunity, granted the second commission, as corrected by St. Quatuor, and he delivered it to Knight with profound sighs and many tears. He protested that if it were divulged, it would cause his ruin. His life was at the mercy of the Emperor, and he was now "in the power of the dogs;" for though he had escaped immediate danger, the Spaniards were still upon his track, and his restoration to the Vatican was more hopeless than ever.[3] Engaged in making terms with the

[1] See IV. p. 1055.
[2] Ibid.
[3] To these general causes must be added the special grievance caused by the Venetians detaining the two Papal cities of Cervia and Ravenna, much

Emperor, unknown to the King or the Cardinal, he was not unwilling to take advantage of their friendship. The union of the French and English sovereigns, who had now declared war, and set a large army on foot in Italy, under the command of Lautrec, would, so Clement thought, make the Emperor less willing to alienate the Pope by needless harshness. It was his policy, therefore, to continue at present on good terms with Henry, and concede his demands, so far as they could be conceded without committing himself to an irrevocable decision, and involving himself in a direct quarrel with the Emperor.

The proposal to send a legate into England was duly submitted to the Pope by Casale on the 12th of January, and a long conference ensued. Hitherto he had contrived ostensibly to satisfy the King's wishes, without incurring any personal responsibility. To issue a commission privately, especially such a one as proved wholly inefficacious, was an act easily concealed from the Emperor's agents, and involved no hazard. Not so the sending a legate openly to England, to be joined with Wolsey in pronouncing the divorce. To Clement this appeared a much more dangerous and responsible course. Such a step could not be taken without coming to the Emperor's knowledge, and implicating the Pope in a dispute he was anxious to avoid. He received Casale's proposal with trepidation. In his perplexity, his advisers, St. Quatuor and Simonetta, proposed that the cause should be committed to Wolsey. If the King, they urged, was really troubled by scruples, and what he required could be done with a safe conscience, no doctor sent from Rome could resolve his own difficulties more honestly than himself. If, therefore, he was determined to continue no longer in the marriage state with Katharine, he had better entrust the cause to Wolsey; marry again; follow up his marriage by a trial; and if any dispute arose, apply publicly to the Roman consistory for a legate. This, they urged, was the shortest and most expedient course; whereas if the King proceeded to trial, the Queen, they said, would not appear, except to protest against the place and the judges, and the Emperor would demand a prohibition from the Pope. In that event the King would be precluded from marrying again, and his children by the second marriage

to the anger and grief of the Pope, who had hoped that they would have been restored by the influence of the French and English Kings. See IV. p. 1702.

would be declared illegitimate. The Pope could not refuse to entertain the appeal, or avoid revoking the cause; on the contrary, if the King were once remarried, all prohibitions would be useless.

So ingenious a device, it is easy to perceive, was contrived only to extricate the Pope from all responsibility. Fully alive to the danger of either alternative, he desired nothing better than to wash his hands of the whole affair. Provided he was not called upon to interpose, he was indifferent what course was pursued by the King. Perhaps, also, he was not sorry to throw the responsibility upon the Cardinal; as Wolsey, on his part was by no means unwilling that it should be shared by the Pope.[1]

But in making this suggestion Clement was careful to urge that it should not appear to have emanated from himself. As for the legate to be employed, he was willing to leave the choice to Casale's discretion. But here various obstacles arose: one cardinal was laid up with the gout; another was a hostage at Naples; a third had a bishopric in Spain. The inclinations of others were not known; and Campeggio, who appeared the most suitable for the King's purpose, could not leave Rome until it was secured from all danger by the advance of Lautrec. The object of this manœuvré is obvious. If the French advanced on the Roman capital, the Emperor would become more desirous of an accommodation with the Pope, and the efforts of the King of England in promoting that advance could be secured by no more efficient method than by making the mission of Campeggio dependent upon it.[2]

But, like his previous efforts the diligence of Casale was of no avail. The dispensation and commission granted by the Pope, and amended by St. Quatuor, were declared to be insufficient on their arrival in England, or were really so, in the present change of the King's proceedings. It was resolved therefore that additional agents should be sent to Rome. Edward Foxe, the King's almoner, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, were appointed for this purpose. The implicit trust reposed in the latter by the Cardinal is manifested by the expression *dimidium mei* applied by him to Gardiner.

[1] "All that hitherto hath been spoken by them, that the King's Highness should first marry, and such other devices . . . were set forth only for that intent, that whatsoever they did, they would not be noted of counsel in the beginning of the matter;" *i.e.* the Pope would not have it thought that he had been in any sense the author of the King's designs to get rid of his wife.

[2] See IV. p. 1694.

Of Gardiner's birth, early career, and admission into Wolsey's service, little is known. He was born at Bury St. Edmund's; was master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1525; must in the earlier years of his life have studied in Paris, for he is mentioned by Erasmus in one of his letters, with a humorous allusion to his skill in compounding salads when they studied in that city together.[1] He is first found in Wolsey's service in 1526;[2] was in his train at his journey to France in 1527; and must even at that period have contrived to ingratiate himself with the King, as he was among the very few who had been already entrusted with the King's secret. Of his serviceableness to the Cardinal even then, we have a proof in Wolsey's reluctance to part with him even at the King's request.[3] His ability is further manifested by the fact, that though his name is mentioned only second in the commission, Wolsey desired he should take precedence of Foxe in managing the negociations; and Foxe, who was remarkable for his modesty, was contented to yield precedence to his coadjutor, not merely in this respect, but in rank also. It is doubtless to Gardiner that Henry alludes in his letter to Anne Boleyn:—"The bearer (Gardiner), and his fellow, are despatched with as many things to compass our matter, and bring it to pass, as wit could imagine, which being accomplished by their diligence, I trust you and I will shortly have our desired end. . . . Keep him not too long with you, but desire him for your sake to make the more speed; for the sooner we shall have word from him the sooner shall our matter come to pass. And thus upon trust of your short repair to London (she was evidently then at Hever) I make an end of my letter, mine own sweetheart."[4]

[1] John Leland, the antiquarian, praises his knowledge of the law, his eloquence, his fondness for the comedies of Plautus—which Gardiner recited, *felix actor et eloquens*, to the admiration of all who heard him—and anticipates for his great abilities his advancement to a bishopric. Encomia, p. 117. The story that he was the natural son of Lionel Woodvile, Bishop of Salisbury, the younger son of Richard Woodvile, Earl of Rivers, rests upon the sole authority of a writer of the seventeenth century, Richard Parker, in his Sceletos Cantab., p. 212. As the imputation is not noticed by Foxe and other bitter enemies of Gardiner, it would be sufficiently discredited, even if the authority for it had been more weighty than it is. It rests mainly on the fact that Gardiner is generally called Doctor Stevens, his mother's name after her marriage, as Parker imagines, and not by his own. Gardiner always writes his own name Steven Gardiner, but Wolsey and others call him by his Christian name Stevens (*i.e.* Stephanus), Steven or Stevens being the same name. The practice of calling secretaries by their Christian names only, as "Master Peter" for Peter Vannes, is of no uncommon occurrence.

[2] IV. p. 3043.

[3] See IV. pp. 1511, 1514.

[4] See IV. p. 1772.

Gardiner and his companion were not dispatched till the middle of February. They were instructed to consult, on their arrival at Rome, with the Bishop of Tortona and with Casale, who had been kept entirely in the dark with regard to the new arrangements. They were commanded to convey the King's thanks to the Pope for his good intentions, telling him, however, that the dispensation and commission were insufficient for the peace and stability of his realm; and as the King desired to know from the Pope's own lips what were his intentions, he had sent Foxe and Gardiner to declare to him what he considered necessary for his cause. "Secondly," continues the despatch, "as Wolsey finds that the Pope has been labouring under some misapprehension, as if the King had sent on foot this cause, not from fear of his succession, but out of a vain affection or undue love to a gentlewoman of not so excellent qualities as she is here esteemed, the ambassadors are to assure the Pope that the Cardinal would not, for any earthly affection to his prince or desire of reward, transgress the truth or swerve from the right path; nor would he have consented in any way to have reported to his Holiness otherwise than his conviction of the insufficiency of the marriage, nor have been guilty of any dissimulation. If God has given any light of true doctrine to the greatest divines and lawyers of this realm, and if in this angle of the world there be any hope of God's favour, Wolsey is well assured, and dare put his soul, that the King's desire is founded upon justice, and does not spring from any grudge or displeasure to the Queen, whom the King honors and loves, and minds to love and to treat as his sister, with all manner of kindness; and as she is the relict of his dearest brother, he will entertain her with all joy and felicity. But as this matrimony is contrary to God's law, the King's conscience is grievously offended. On the other side, the approved excellent virtuous qualities of the said gentlewoman (Anne), the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, chasteness, meekness, humility, wisdom, descent right noble and high through regal blood, educated in all good and laudable qualities and manners, apparent aptness to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualities, more to be regarded and esteemed than the only progeny, be the grounds on which the King's desire is founded, which Wolsey regards as honest and necessary."

In consideration of these things they are to urge the Pope

to supply the defects of the last commission and dispensation, regarding more the usages of England than of Rome, according to the form "here devised;" and, if possible, obtain leave for Campeggio to be sent in preference to any other. If the Pope objected to the form as unusual, they were to urge that it was indispensable in order to avoid the evils that otherwise might befall the realm. If he showed fear of the Emperor, they were to insist on the dishonor he incurred by refusing justice through fear of any earthly person. If he attempted delay, they were to send word immediately, assuring his Holiness that the King would proceed to execution, whether the Pope consented to his wishes or not; and as, of all the Pope's friends, Henry is the most frank, so of all men he would most abhor the ungrateful. If, in spite of all these remonstrances, the Pope should continue obdurate, and propose a different method of procedure, they were only to accept it on condition that a legate should be joined with Wolsey in the execution of the commission. The alternatives required were, a legate to act in conjunction with Wolsey; if that could not be granted, a legate only; or, last and least, a commission to Wolsey and the Archbishop of Canterbury jointly.[1] They are instructed to urge each of these propositions successively, with all the arguments at their command. In the course of these communications they were to exhibit a book to the Pope on the insufficiency of the King's marriage, and prevail upon him and the Cardinals, if possible, to exhort the Queen to conform herself to the King's wishes, forbearing from all further trouble and delay, as by so doing the King would have greater reason to deal liberally with her.[2] With these instructions Wolsey wrote letters in his own name to the Pope and the cardinals, recommending the King's suit to their favourable consideration and assistance.

[1] The third request seems to have been granted without any difficulty, for a bull to that effect, *sub plumbo*, dated April 13, is in the Record Office; but no notice of it occurs in Gardiner's account of his discussion with the Pope. Burnet wonders why it was not acted on. Probably because of the three proposals it was least suited to the King's purpose. It embodies the draft submitted to the Pope (see IV. p. 1655), with certain modifications. Extraordinary as it may seem, Clement made no difficulty in granting it, because he wished to avoid all responsibility, by leaving the cause to be decided in England. The point, too much overlooked, to which the King and the Cardinal bent all their efforts, was not merely to obtain the divorce, but the Pope's sanction to it; and this Clement did all he could to avoid. Of course, if Katherine objected to Wolsey as one of the King's subjects, her objection would be still stronger if both judges were Englishmen.

[2] IV. p. 1740.

The two ambassadors arrived at Dover on the 11th of February, and, embarking next day, were compelled to return by a contrary wind, and wait for a passage until two o'clock on the Saturday morning. Relying on the assurance of the bailly of Dover that the passage, though tedious, would in all likelihood be sure, they were detained at sea that day and the night following, and found themselves at daybreak within four miles of Calais. Here they were overtaken by such a violent tempest that they were compelled to abandon their course, and landed with two servants only on the coast of Gravelines, "having been two days and nights without food, and sea-sick."[1] They left Calais on Wednesday the 19th, and arrived at Paris the Friday following. On Sunday they had an interview at St. Germain's with Francis, just recovering from his disease, but still suffering from an impediment in his speech. They visited Winter, Dean of Wells, then under the care of Lupset, the famous grammarian.[2] From Paris they took the road to Lyons; arrived there on the 3rd of March, left it on the 4th for Orvieto, taking the way by Genoa; and, after "journeying with the greatest possible diligence," they reached Lucca on the 16th. At Lucca they were treated with "a goodly present" from the citizens, consisting of fish, served on silver dishes, sweetmeats from Portugal, four basins of toasted bread—"a very dainty thing"—marchpanes, torches and candles of virgin wax, and 40 gallons of various wines, all of which were brought in by fifty attendants, with trumpets and musical instruments.[3] Next day they started for Orvieto, and reached their destination on Saturday, the 21st, "with no garments but the coats they rode in, which were much worn, and defaced by the foul weather." In crossing a river, swollen with melted snow, in order to reach the town, they had to wade through the stream on horseback until the water "reached almost to their *girdles*."[4] "Master Gregory Casale says," writes Gardiner, "that in summer the south wind brings pestilence here from a river within a mile of the city. The place may well be called *Urbs Vetus;* no one would give it any other name. I cannot tell how the Pope should be

[1] IV. pp. 1747 and 1750.

[2] See IV. pp. 1783 and 1785. He had also another celebrated scholar for his tutor, Volusenus (or Wilson), author of a work, "De Tranquillitate Animæ."

[3] IV. p. 1805.

[4] In consequence of a cold caught in fording this stream, they lost soon after one of their attendants, Master Richard Herde, "a young man, learned in physic, Greek and Latin," who "some time dwelled with Master Chancellor of the Duchy," Sir Thomas More. IV. p. 1809.

described as being at liberty here, where hunger, scarcity, bad lodgings, and ill air keep him as much confined as he was in Castel Angel. His Holiness could not deny to Master Gregory that captivity at Rome was better than liberty here." To add to all these discomforts, "the city," continues Gardiner, "is very liable to contagion, and the weather so moist, that, except there be some change of the inhabitants soon, it will be of little consequence who are lords of this country, unless for penance you would wish it for the Spaniards, as being unworthy to die in battle."

As Orvieto could not supply their diminished wardrobe, they had to remain at home while their garments were "at the making." Borrowing was out of the question, as few men in Orvieto had "more garments than one." They found his Holiness in the dilapidated palace of the Bishop, and, before reaching his privy chamber, had to pass through three rooms, "all naked and unhanged, the roofs fallen down, and, as we can guess, thirty persons, riffraff and other, standing in the chamber for a garnishment."[1] On Monday, the 25th, after dinner, they were admitted to an audience with the Pope in his bed-chamber. When Gardiner had explained the cause of their coming, and directed the Pope's attention to the defects in the dispensation and commission, the Pope replied, that, notwithstanding his promise to amend them, he must dissemble until Italy was pacified: "And whereas it was declared how your Grace (Wolsey) being advertised that his Holiness somewhat stayed in expedition of the King's desire, for that it was showed him that the matter (the divorce) was set forth without your consent or knowledge, and you begged us to protest of your sincerity and mind concerning the merits and the qualities of the gentlewoman (Anne Boleyn), the Pope said all such protestation was needless, for he could not believe that the King would be led by any undue (improper) affection, and he desired to see the King's labour and study in the matter. He added, he did not believe the report that you were not privy to it, or that anything of so high consequence would be set forth without your advice. But he confessed that the report had made him waver until he had ascertained the truth."

Next day they presented the King's book to the Pope. He began to read it standing awhile. Then sitting upon a form covered with an old coverlet, not worth twenty pence, he read

[1] IV. pp. 1808, 1812.

the preliminary epistle, and the latter part of the book touching the law, without suffering any one to assist him. Commenting upon it as he turned the leaves, he greatly commended it, said he would keep it, and read it at leisure; and as the preliminary epistle was directed to Wolsey and other prelates, he inquired for their answer. The ambassadors replied that "there was none, but he might infer the answer from Wolsey's letters." Then he demanded whether the King had ever broken the matter to the Queen. They replied in the affirmative, adding that she was content to abide by the judgment of the Church. Next he inquired whether Wolsey would be objected to as suspect, "for that by answering the King's epistle and delivering your mind, you had given sentence beforehand, and could not be considered indifferent." This was an objection they had not anticipated, and it was not very easily parried. In the evening they had an interview with Cardinal St. Quatuor, and succeeded apparently in persuading him that the commission devised in England was agreeable to the canon law. Returning to the Pope, on Wednesday, they found him unwilling to discuss the commission, as St. Quatuor was unwell. Their proposal for despatching Campeggio to England was heard with ill-concealed dislike; still more their pretext "for componing peace between princes;" though, says Gardiner, the Pope had received a similar proposition from the Emperor, as "he finally admitted." The next day they found St. Quatuor with his Holiness, and in another corner of the room three more cardinals. As they entered, the Pope withdrew to a little study used for a sleeping apartment, and ordered stools to be brought; then seating himself on one of them, with his back to the wall, he commanded the rest to sit round him. They proceeded to discuss the commission, Gardiner acting as the chief speaker, and answering all objections, in Latin, for the space of four hours. The debate lingered on from day to day, the Pope urging them, on the plea of informality, to accept a general commission in lieu of the one which they required; Gardiner insisting that if the Pope and his advisers objected merely on a point of form, and the King could obtain no more favour from them than an ordinary person, he would take the remedy into his own hands, and not suffer his cause to be decided by men whose hearts had already prejudged it. Overawed by the passionate boldness of these words, the Pope professed his willingness to satisfy their request as soon as

he had consulted the cardinals De Monte and Ancona.[1] This despatch was sent home by Lord Rochford's priest, who seems to have been continually employed in these negociations.[2]

The discussion was renewed on the 1st of April. Gardiner pressed for instant decision, but the Pope, as usual, hung back, declaring he must tarry for the advice of his lawyers. Admitting as he was willing to admit the King's arguments, the cause, he said, must come before the world, and therefore his advisers must be satisfied in the course to be pursued. He was sorry to confess that he was no canonist. They urged that he ought not to be afraid of what the world might say, but decide for himself, especially as he had acknowledged the justice of the King's petition. The dispute now turned upon the point whether they should have a commission in the exact terms submitted by Wolsey to the Pope, which would have been summary and final, or a general commission which could not take effect without the Pope's subsequent confirmation. Gardiner and his fellows clung tenaciously to the first; the Pope and his advisers insisted on the second, urging that the other was unusual and informal, and that the King himself had been heard to say, that as the Queen might object to Wolsey, it would be as well if the Cardinal "meddled not as a judge in this matter."

The point was contested with great firmness by Gardiner, and with an intrepidity of language and manner to which the Pope had never been accustomed. So far from condescending to flatter, he worked upon the fears and hesitating temper of Clement VII. He desired the Pope and all who were present to note what he had to say of the Papal authority, assuring them, in the most undisguised language, that if they wavered in the course they ought to pursue, it would be said that they either would not or could not give a satisfactory reply. If they could not point out the right way to the wanderer—a task entrusted to them by God—specially to a prince from whom they had received so many obligations—the world would exclaim against their cunning and dissimulation, for they promised much, and performed nothing. England, he remarked, had a special claim on the Pope for counsel; and if it were refused, the King and the lords of England would be driven to think that God had taken away from the Holy See

[1] IV. pp. 1819 and 1837.

[2] John Barlow. See p. 223, note 2. On his return home he was rewarded for his services with the living of Sundridge. See IV. 4647 and App. 197.—Ed.

the key of knowledge, and would go over to their opinion who thought that Pontifical laws, which were not understood by the Pope himself, might as well be committed to the flames. The Pope sighed, said he was not learned—the more the pity. He must be ruled by the lawyers, who objected to their demands. And though it was a saying of the canonists that the Pope had all laws locked up in the cabinet of his breast (*quod Pontifex habet omnia jura in scrinio pectoris*), to his misfortune he must confess that God had never given him the key wherewith to open it. Who could fail to appreciate the temper of a Pope that could thus take refuge, after four hours of incessant badgering, in a witticism conceived at his own expense? Able disputant as Gardiner was, and there were few abler, the imperturbable good humour of Clement was more than a match for all his energy and his eloquence.

It was hopeless to insist, so Gardiner and the rest fell back on the other alternative of a general commission in terms less stringent than had been devised in England. When the first was demanded, this had been repeatedly urged by the Papal advisers as the wiser alternative; but when that was abandoned, this also was contested. "We were always told," says Gardiner, "that it should be of our own devising. But when it was drawn and submitted to them, every one had some fault to find. One thought the matter was good, but the style was too ornate; another, that the whole was inadmissible. Another complained of the beginning, and proposed to substitute a different one of his own composition." In Gardiner's homely phrase, "they praised the present flavor of the meat, but blamed the cooking." In the end it was committed to the judgment of the cardinals present, who promised not to introduce too many alterations; but when the amended draft was submitted to Gardiner, he found in it so many changes, and none for the better, that he broke out in violent protestations against the deceit. "And here," to use his own words, "began a new tragedy," each party unreservedly charging the other with dissimulation. He fell sharply on Gambara, accusing him of luring ambassadors to Rome, as men do hawks, by exhibiting flesh upon their fists. Gambara retorted, that he had done no more than his commission required. After further bickering, Gardiner exclaimed, that when he should have to report what sort of friends the King found in the Papal court, he would abandon it; and the Apostolic See, now tottering, would collapse entirely, to the

applause and satisfaction of all the world. "At these words, the Pope's Holiness, casting his arms abroad, in great agitation, bade them put in the words contended for; and therewith walked up and down the chamber, casting now and then his arms abroad, the rest of us standing in great silence."

After all "these tempests" they came at last into still water. The commission was granted for Wolsey and Campeggio to try the cause, the Pope expressing his hope that what he had now done would satisfy the King, for as things then stood, this concession would be construed into a declaration of hostility against the Emperor. It did not satisfy Gardiner entirely.[1] He was outwitted, notwithstanding his quickness, ability, and decision.[2]

Foxe was despatched to England with the dispensation[3] and commission. Till this time, under whatever disguises the King may have veiled his intercourse with Anne Boleyn, he had not cast them aside entirely. The letters he addressed to her during her occasional absence from court were conceived in a style of gross familiarity, by no means calculated to inspire a favourable opinion of the "pudicity" of the writer or the receiver of them. Either she had disguised her previous resentment or she stood on better terms with the Cardinal. "I thank your good Grace," writes Sir Thomas Heneage, "that it pleaseth you to write to so poor a man as I am; and also Mistress Anne in like manner thanketh your Grace for your kind and favourable writing unto her."[4] On another occasion he writes, "Mr. Carre (Carey, her sister's husband) and Mr. Brown are absent, and there is none here but Norris and myself to attend the King in his bedchamber, and keep his pallet. Every afternoon, when the weather is fair, the King rides out hawking, or walks in the park (at Windsor), not returning till late in the evening. To-day, as the King was going to dinner, Mistress Anne spoke to me, saying she was afraid you had forgotten her, as you had sent her no token (present). I was requested by my lady her mother (Lady Elizabeth Boleyn) to give her a morsel of tunny; she said she

[1] IV. p. 1857.

[2] Throughout the whole discussion Gardiner spoke *ex tempore* in Latin; and the readiness, precision, and force of his language convey a very high idea of his ability and scholarship.

[3] In reference to the dispensation there had been no dispute. The Pope passed it, says Foxe, without alteration. See his letter, IV. p. 1871. Foxe seems to have overlooked the fact that the value of the dispensation depended entirely on the nature of the commission.

[4] IV. p. 1806.

had spoken to Forrest to ask you for it. . . . To-night the King sent me down with a dish to Mistress Anne for her supper . . . she wished she had some meat from you, as carps, shrimps, or others. I beseech your Grace pardon me that I am so bold to write unto your Grace hereof. It is the conceit and mind of a woman."[1]

On his arrival in England at the end of April, Foxe hastened to Greenwich, where he expected to find Wolsey with the King. He had left two hours before. "At which my repair," he writes to Gardiner, "the King, being advertised of the same, commanded me to go unto Mistress Anne's chamber; who at that time, for that my lady Princess and divers others the Queen's maidens were sick of the small-pox, lay in the gallery in the tilt yard. And so admitted unto her presence, after declaration made unto the same in generality, first, of such expeditions as were obtained, and sith, of your singular fidelity, diligence, and dexterity used, not only in the impetration thereof, but also in hastening the coming of the Legate, with your most hearty and humble commendations; which she most thankfully received, and seemed to take the same most marvellously to heart, ofttimes in communication calling me Master Stevens, with promise of large recompense for your good acquittal in the premisses."

As they were talking the King came in, to whom Foxe gave an account of their proceedings at Orvieto; first, touching the dispensation, next the commission, which could only be obtained after long debate, though every effort had been used to procure it in the first form as devised in England; failing in this attempt, he informed the King they had to be satisfied with one of a less stringent character, drawn up by Gardiner, embodying the most important provisions of the first, with a promise from the Pope that he would confirm the sentence, and never revoke the cause. The King seemed to take these observations "marvellously thankfully, and made marvellous demonstrations of joy and gladness, calling in Mistress Anne, and causing me to repeat the same thing again before her."

Foxe, with no common generosity, took the opportunity, without any reserve, of attributing their success chiefly to

[1] Heneage to Wolsey, March 3: IV. p. 1779. Wolsey had considerable fisheries at Norham. They were leased to the "men of Berwick" for 120*l.* per annum, "besides sending 20 barrels of salmon yearly to London." p. 1934.

Wolsey's letters, without which, he said, "we should have obtained nothing, for that the Pope's Holiness shewed us it was reported unto him, *long before our coming*, that the King's grace followed in this matter *privatum aliquem affectum*, in that she was with child, and of no such qualities as should be worthy his Majesty." But Wolsey's letters had proved so effectual that the Pope afterwards "leaned to justice, and showed himself marvellous prone and glad to satisfy the King's requests, so far as equity would support and defend the same." In the end, after highly commending Gardiner's diligence, the King commanded Foxe to repair to Wolsey. "Before I could come to Durham Place, whereas my lord's Grace lieth now (the hall of York Place, with other edifices there, being now in building, my lord's Grace intending most sumptuously and gorgeously to repair and furnish the same), it was past ten of the clock at night. And although my lord's Grace was then in his bed, yet, understanding of my coming, it pleased his Grace to admit me unto his presence." More cautious and sagacious than the rest, Wolsey was less satisfied with Foxe's tidings. He thought the commission devised by Gardiner was scarcely more valid than the first; but upon further consideration with Dr. Bell, he professed himself better contented, in the presence of Lord Rochford, Anne's father. After a meeting next day with two canonists, Dr. Wolman and Dr. Bennet, all agreed that Gardiner (as they reported to the King) had shown great wisdom and dexterity in conducting the cause. "Yet my Lord's Grace," continues Foxe, "as of himself, by his high wisdom perpending and pondering the exoneration of his own conscience, and sith the consent . . . of other the prelates here, and, finally, the chances of mortality . . . willeth and desireth you eftsoones to solicit and move the Pope's Holiness, and to experiment with the same all kinds of persuasions you possibly by your wisdom and rhetoric can devise and excogitate, to grant the commission decretal" (*i.e.* confirming the Legate's decision) "in most secret fashion and manner." The Cardinal's reasons are stated at considerable length. They turn chiefly upon the greater security which would thus be obtained for their future proceedings. And as Gardiner was apt to adopt a tone of haughtiness and severity, he is warned "to use all goodly and dulce ways, without concitating the Pope by any sharp words of discomfort."

Further, as it was urged by the lawyers that the Queen

might refuse to appear, or might appeal against the sentence, Gardiner was instructed to make secret inquiry whether this could be done; and, if so, how such a refusal would affect their proceedings; what was the remedy; and whether, during the appeal, it would be lawful for the parties to marry again. In minor points connected with the process, he was to obtain the opinion of learned men, chiefly with the view of obviating any objections which might arise on the Queen's part, of whose line of defence the Cardinal had contrived to obtain some information. Gardiner was also to inform himself how far, in a case "of this high consequence," for the conservation of his honour, "or else immortal ignominy and slander, and the damnation of his soul," Wolsey, for the discharge of his conscience, might rest the King's cause on the fact that he was wholly unacquainted with the granting of the bull for the dispensation of his marriage with his brother's wife, and "whether the said ground be so justifiable, and of such sort, as his Grace might well build his conscience upon it, without grudge or scruple hereafter." [1]

Whilst Foxe was concluding this long letter, from which these details are derived, fresh difficulties had been started respecting certain phrases in the commission, and the powers conferred upon the legates. It was justly inferred that as an appeal must in equity be allowed in all such cases as this, be the clauses of the commission as large as they might, the hands of the judges would be tied; for the Queen could always insist on her right of appeal, "and so protract and defer the decision of this matter, and finally frustrate the King's expectation, to the utter and extreme peril of all those that had intermeddled in this cause." Gardiner is, therefore, to write boldly and freely according to his learning, as the King was resolved to do nothing contrary to the law, and was also persuaded that if the Queen resorted to an appeal it would rather promote his suit than otherwise, "which opinion and good conformity to justice, like as it has been my lord's Grace's high wisdom, *by little and little instilled into the King's breast*, so his Grace ceaseth not daily to increase the same by marvellous prudent handling and dexterity." "Insomuch," writes Foxe, "that yesterday, to my great and no less joy and comfort, his Grace openly, in presence of Mr. Tuke, Mr. Wolman, Mr. Bell, and me made protestation to the King's highness, that although he was so much bound unto the same

[1] Foxe to Gardiner, May 11, 1528.

as any subject might unto his prince; and by reason thereof his Grace was of so perfect devotion, faith, and loyalty towards his Majesty, that he could gladly spend goods, blood, and life in his just causes; yet sith his Grace (Wolsey) was more obliged to God, and that he was sure he should render an account *de operibus suis* before Him, he would in this matter rather suffer his high indignation, yea, and his body jointly to be torn in pieces, than he would do anything in this cause otherwise than justice requireth; ne that his Highness should look after other favour to be ministered unto him in this cause on his Grace's part, than the justness of the cause would bear. But if the bull (*i.e.* of pope Julius) were sufficient, he would so pronounce it, and rather suffer *extrema quæque*, than to do the contrary, or else *contra conscientiam suam*."

How are we to interpret such language as this? Is it the rhapsody of an enthusiast carried away by his own emotions, or the rhetoric of a politician simulating sentiments he did not feel? Yet what had Wolsey to gain by such protestations? The idol of his homage may have little deserved it. He may have fallen far below the standard of true kingship. Still, in his earlier years, when Wolsey entered the King's service, Henry VIII. approached nearer than most sovereigns to the type of that ideal Arthur, in whom Englishmen, notwithstanding the prosaic elements of their nature, were still willing to believe, when he

> "With lance in rest,
> From spur to plume a star of tournament,
> Shot thro' the lists at Camelot, and charged
> Before the eyes of ladies and of kings."

Manly and beautiful in person beyond all his contemporaries; noble and kingly in his thoughts, words, and actions; a most scrupulous observer of his religious duties; learned and devout, gracious and magnificent above all sovereigns of his time, and, with all his love of courtliness and splendour, never forgetting the man in the trappings of the monarch, there was no one who in all respects so completely realized to Englishmen their ideal of a king. It is not strange that they were unwilling to be undeceived; that it was long before they would admit the existence of glaring faults and vices, which, undeveloped in his youth, and controlled by better influences, were strongly and sharply manifested in maturer years. Racked and distressed by the Civil Wars, accustomed to the severe, precise, and suspicious rule of Henry VII., England

suddenly sprang forth, as at the dawn of a new day, upon the accession of Henry VIII. Gayest among the gay, the head and centre of the brilliant throng by whom he was surrounded, the young King, in the flower of his youth and beauty, brave as a paladin, courteous as a knight of old, mixed freely as no sovereign had ever mixed with his people, and, fond of popularity, was popular with all classes, as no king had ever been. Loyalty was not a duty, but a fascination; and not the less because the older influences which had divided or absorbed the zeal and devotion of mankind had fallen to decay. Popes and emperors had sunk to the level of ordinary humanity. The Church produced no saints. Little art, and less literature, existed to interest and divide the thoughts of men. The ideal loyalty of the young gentry in the court of Elizabeth was mixed with gallantry prompted by her sex. It was somewhat artificial at the best. But the loyalty which drew men round her father, Henry VIII., was of an intenser kind; and though it showed itself in its most passionate form in Wolsey, to a degree inconsistent with modern notions, it pervaded all classes of the community, and all diversities of opinion. In the light of that loyalty Englishmen judged the King; and in the light of that loyalty they refused to condemn him, let him do what he would. Supreme over the wills and consciences of his subjects, there was little need for any violent assertion of the royal authority. No prelate, no noble—not even Fisher or More—would have dreamed of opposing his wishes; much less others not so firm in their principles, or so disinterested in their motives. If the King, then, submitted his will to the laws, as he did in this instance, that submission was owing, undoubtedly, to the influence exerted by Wolsey, not without great difficulty and great delicacy.

Meanwhile this apparent monopoly of the King's favour served to expose him more than ever to the malicious insinuations of his enemies. The fact of his appearing to be the sole adviser of all measures, brought upon him the responsibility of all. "What gives the Cardinal most anxiety," says Du Bellay,[1] "is that those who desire to catch him tripping are very glad for the people to cry out, Murder! And some would be very glad if all went wrong, that they might be able to say, 'See, these are the fruits of my lord Legate's doings!' Consequently many of those (Norfolk and Suffolk, etc.) who cried out, when you (Montmorenci) were here, 'We must go

[1] Feb. 23, 1528: IV. p. 1756.

and fight the Emperor,' now change their note. But I am of opinion that if you do what the Legate asks, he will be able to stop their mouths; if not, however good may be his will, and great his authority, he will not run the risk. For it is no small cost to have to support a measure against the opposition of others, and yet suffer from misrepresentation."

CHAPTER XXX.

SOME CAUSES OF DISCONTENT AT HOME.

In compliance with the terms of the treaty of Amiens, the King, in conjunction with Francis, had sent a defiance to the Emperor at the commencement of the year. But though war with the Emperor was necessary for the King's immediate purpose, it was by no means palatable to the King's subjects. Peace with the house of Burgundy had been long established as a popular maxim. English commerce from early times had been chiefly confined to Spain, or the Flemish towns of the Emperor; and even if it could have been speedily turned into a new channel, there was no inclination on the part of the merchants to permit it. Wolsey's attempt to divert trade from Antwerp to Calais, though conceived with a view to English interests, was unpopular with all parties. English commerce with Spain was oppressed by this defiance of the Emperor, and the Flemish ports were closed against it.[1] The declaration of war, justified by the Cardinal in the Star Chamber,[2] and defended with his usual ability, was coldly heard, or accepted with derision. "Some knocked other on the elbow, and said softly, '*He lieth.*' Other said, that *evil will said never well.* Other said that the French crowns made him speak evil of the Emperor. The common people much lamented that war should arise between the King and the Emperor; and especially their consideration was because the Emperor's dominions had holpen them with corn, and relieved them with grain, when they could have no corn, or little, out of France."[3] . . . "The war with the Emperor was dis-

[1] Jan. 22, 1528: IV. p. 1752.

[2] In this speech occurs a curious illustration of the barbarous slaughter of the deer slain in hunting. Describing the cruelties of the Emperor's soldiers at the siege of Rome, and their horrible atrocities, Wolsey compares the sight to the garbage and paunches of the deer, cast round about in every quarter of the park, when the King in hunting had slain 300 of them. Hall, p. 744.

[3] Hall, p. 744. The reverse would have been nearer the fact; but Hall merely repeats the vulgar notions and misrepresentations of his own

pleasant, both to merchants and clothiers; for the merchants durst not adventure into Spain sith April last past, and now was come the 11th day of March; wherefore, all broad cloths, kersies, and cottons lay on their hands, insomuch as when the clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wiltshire, Suffolk, and other shires which use clothmaking, brought cloths into Blackwell Hall, of London, to be sold, as they were wont to do, few merchants, or none, bought any cloth at all. When the clothiers lacked sale, then they put from them their spinners, corders, tuckers, and such other that live by cloth-working, which caused the people greatly to murmur, and specially in Suffolk, for if the duke of Norfolk had not wisely appeased them, no doubt but they had fallen to some riotous act. When the King's Council was advertised of this inconvenience, the Cardinal sent for a great number of the merchants of London, and to them said, 'Sirs, the King is informed that you use not yorselves like merchants, but like graziers and artificers; for when the clothiers do daily bring cloths to your market for your ease, to their great cost, and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulness will not buy them, as you have been accustomed to do. What manner of men be you?' said the Cardinal; 'I tell you that the King straitly commandeth you to buy their cloths, as before time you have been accustomed to do, upon pain of his high displeasure.'" The merchants demurred to buying cloth they could not sell, "'for in all place,' they said, 'our vent is stopped and forbidden.' 'Well,' said the Cardinal, 'if you will not buy the cloths at Blackwell Hall, they shall be brought to Whitehall, at Westminster, and so you of London shall lose the liberty, and the King shall buy them all, and sell them to merchant strangers.'"[1]

Though Wolsey is exclusively credited by Hall with this device, it was in reality suggested by Norfolk, who was then at Stoke endeavouring to appease the popular discontent. On his assurance that English merchants were not arrested in Spain or in Flanders, he had induced the clothiers to continue their men in employment. "If I had not quenched that bruit," he writes to the Cardinal, "I should have had two or three hundred women suing to me to make the clothiers set their husbands and children to work;" and he urges Wolsey not to allow the London merchants to leave so many cloths

time, occasionally with additions of his own. Foxe borrows from Hall, adding darker colours and increasing confusion.

[1] Hall, p. 745.

unsold in Blackwell Hall.[1] It was the object of the London merchants, many of whom were closely connected with the Flemings, and shared strongly their national antipathy and jealousy of the French, to foment the popular discontent. They hoped that the commons, by complaining that "they be not half set a' work," might induce the King to withdraw his defiance of the Emperor.[2] Various untoward circumstances contributed to the present distress. Bad seasons, a dearth of corn, a general interruption of industry, and enhanced prices, augmented the murmurs of the people. To ascertain the amount of grain in every man's possession, commissioners were sent into different shires. The statutes against regrating were strictly enforced.[3] Idle persons and vagabonds were apprehended, and their haunts in village alehouses, "of late very much increased," were put down with a strong hand. Short-sighted observers, as commonly happens in popular discontents, attributed the evils under which the nation languished to commercial disturbances, or the mismanagement of the Government—in other words, to Wolsey. But the true causes were of older date, were much deeper and more complicated than such crude and simple notions. They have been admirably summed up by some unknown contemporary writer,[4] whose philosophical views would not have disgraced the ablest political economist of modern days. In a paper entitled, "Considerations as to the dearness of all manner of victuals," he traces the evils of the times to the following sources:—"1. In consequence of the King's foreign wars, which had continued for two or three years. 2. The year in the which the war ended there was a greater rot and murrain among the cattle than had been seen for 40 years before. 3. Three or four marvellously dry summers in succession had produced surfeits among the cattle and sheep, owing to the scarcity of grass and lack of hay and water. 4. In consequence of this there had been no fat cattle in the common fields from Michaelmas to Martinmas, as there usually were. 5. By reason of the lack of fodder, husbandmen had fewer lambs and calves; and the few that were bred were hunger-bitten and worthless, except when they were bred in pastures. 6. Formerly, at such plagues or murrains restraint was laid on killing lambs and calves, but since this dearth no such regulations had been enforced. 7. Owing to the great

[1] March 9: IV. p. 1796.
[2] IV. pp. 1826, 1831.
[3] IV. pp. 1608, 1613, 1698.
[4] See IV. p. 1678.

droughts in summer and frosts in winter, the fish and fowl in the fens had been destroyed, and the price was trebled. 8. Pork had become scarce, because of the dearth of mast, peas, and beans; and from the lack of fodder, the peas had to be given for food to the horses and beasts; nevertheless many horses died. 9. Dearth of cattle made poultry and all white meat dear. 10. Regraters and forestallers had raised the price of cattle, so that in Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, and the North, no graziers could buy fat or lean beasts, except at third or fourth hand. 11. Notwithstanding all this, thanked be God, all things be as plentiful this day as ever they were, and are like to be, if God send seasonable weather; *also if the pastures at this day may continue; and then even dearth never long continues; for the murrain in the common fields hardly attacks the cattle in the pastures at all.* The latter also relieve the common field again with their breed of cattle, to the increase of the husbands, and the composing (compost) of the land, which is the chief cause of the plenty of corn, which will never be scarce as long as there are plenty of sheep. At the time when meat is scarce, between St. Andrew's tide and Midsummer, cattle and sheep are brought out of pastures and marshes, except the few that are stall-fed. If there were no pastures within 40 or 50 miles of London, the butchers could not sell so cheap, for they bring up the beasts as they want them, and are put to no charge for grass. The beasts lose little flesh by their long journey, and do not cost much for carriage."

Such were the sensible observations of this unknown author, evidently intended to calm the apprehensions of his countrymen, and counteract the agrarian schemes of his own days—an epidemic not confined to the sixteenth century. Then, as now, a great outcry was raised against grass lands, and rash economists were intent on passing laws for the distribution of tillage in compliance with popular prejudices.

Simultaneous with this was another grievance. So long as nations must engage in war, either for their own defence, or to protect the rights of others, standing armies are the most moral as they are the most economical instruments. As to their greater efficiency there is no dispute. Armies raised by hasty levies from a rural population are among the costliest as they are the worst of all political expedients, and certainly the deadliest, as the experience of ages has testified again and again. Disturbing the industry required for the cultivation

of the soil, habituating the labourer to a new and irregular mode of life, returning him to his village home with disorganized habits and new notions, leaving him to the precarious chance of finding employment, when his own place has been already filled in his absence—the wars of these ages were doubly wasteful and destructive. Disbanded soldiers, as More shows in his *Utopia*, formed the great mass of thieves and thriftless vagabonds, whom no punishment could reclaim, for the most pressing of all reasons—that they must either starve or steal. They formed the backbone of all the riots and insurrections of the times—a material ready to explode in all such disturbances as were now engaging the attention of the Cardinal. Besides, the knowledge of arms thus acquired, the practice of keeping arms ready for use in every house, and at every muster, increased the danger, and made all such insurrections much more difficult of repression. Add to this, as was seen in this instance, that the authors of such disturbances were closely allied in blood and occupation with the rural population. No jury would convict them; none that sheltered would surrender or betray them.

The county of Kent, where the memory of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade still lingered, and was surrounded with a romantic halo in the imagination of the common people, had ever been foremost and formidable in these disorders. When the Amicable Loan was pressed two years before, this county had menaced the Government, and the measure had to be withdrawn mainly through the opposition it encountered in Kent. But it was not withdrawn before it had produced a deep and unpleasant impression in the minds of the people. When Wolsey was sent on his mission to France six months before, it was one of his objects, though not avowed, to discover the temper of the Kentish men. The report was favourable; to all appearance the people were tranquil. But now the general distress, caused by want of food and the disturbances of the clothiers, brought up their disorderly [propensities to the surface. On the 14th of April they circulated a petition addressed to the Archbishop, praying him to move the King to repay them the amount of the former loan, as the Archbishop had promised it should be refunded, "seeing they were so sore impoverished by the great dearth of corn."[1] The same day they sent a deputation to his Grace, and on being asked by whose summons they had assembled, "they said poverty

[1] IV. p. 1843.

only, and they and their neighbours lacked meat and money; that no one counselled them, except their own minds when complaining to each other." This, the Archbishop informed Wolsey, was not the fact, for some among them had acted "as summoners;" but he did not dare to make further inquiries for fear of incensing the multitude. He reminded them of a similar rising two years ago, with which the King was not well pleased. They said they hoped he would not be displeased, but would pity their poverty, as they were his true subjects. On the Archbishop inquiring why they came to him, they replied because he was the chief of the commissioners, and had most of all "practised the loan." On his promising to present their petition to the King, if they abstained from unlawful assemblies, they dispersed apparently contented. "But," says Warham, "I hear that some spoke unfitting words after they had been in the town and drank their full." [1]

This gathering of discontented Kentish men, who threatened vengeance against those who refused to join them, was more formidable as indicating the temper of the county, than from its present numbers. But such symptoms were not to be neglected or removed by feeble remedies. "I pray God, your Grace, by your high wisdom, may so provide that no more speech be thereof" (that is, of the loan), writes Norfolk to Wolsey; "for that is more to be feared than any other thing." [2] Norfolk was at that time engaged in suppressing similar disturbances in Norfolk and Suffolk. His intrepid and resolute temper was more than once successful throughout the reign in crushing disturbances, which once and again threatened the Crown. The accuracy of his judgment in these matters could not be questioned. Lord Rochford and Sir Henry Guildford were immediately joined in commission with the Archbishop, whose easiness of temper seemed rather to encourage than diminish the danger.[3] Rapid measures of repression, followed by indictments for high treason, and the apprehension of the ringleaders, crushed the disturbance in the bud, before it had time to develop itself. By the 5th of June, Sir Richard Broke, who presided at the sessions in Rochester Castle, and sent a return of the persons attainted, could declare, with a safe conscience, that "Kent is in good order, but the old term of *principiis obsta* is executed upon the said evil-disposed persons." [4]

[1] IV. p. 1850.
[2] April 23: p. 1851.
[3] IV. p. 1867.
[4] IV. pp. 1889, 1903.

Wolsey did not fail to come in for his share of popular abuse, on this as on other occasions, partly from dislike of his political measures, partly from religious antagonism. The inhabitants of Goudhurst and Cranbrook, especially, distinguished themselves for the violence and lawlessness of their proceedings. In both places there was a flourishing colony of Flemish clothiers; both also were the centres of correspondence with Tyndall, the translator of the New Testament, and both were active in disseminating this reformer's writings, remarkable alike for their advocacy of Imperialism, and their virulent denunciation of the Cardinal and the English clergy; for Tyndall was by no means the meek apostle he is sometimes represented. The depositions against certain inhabitants of these parts exhibit curious traits of their feelings and notions. One Nicholas Love tells Robert Banks,[1] a cutler of Goudhurst, that he had spoken to John Bigg, a clothmaker of the same town, to know what the men of London intended to do, seeing they could have no course (export) for their cloths. On Sunday, the 10th of May, Robert Bailey (a miller) said to him, "We, with other good fellows, will rise for the Cardi[nal's life]." The miller said to him the same day, "When we have the Cardinal, we may not slay him, for if we do the land shall be interdicted; therefore, if we take him we will bring him to the seaside, and there will put him into a boat, in the which shall be bored four great holes, and the holes shall be stopped with pins, and so the boat and he shall be conveyed, with folks being in another boat, into the sea, and when it is there the pins shall be pulled out, and so sink him." . . . On Ascension Day, the 21st of May, Nicholas Love and twelve others met at Wm. Gastroft's or Gastrode's, shoemaker, and proposed to go to Sir Alexander Culpepper's house, at Bedgebury, and there take his harness, and that of other gentlemen. Robert (Bailey) the miller told them that John Freeman (shoemaker), of Cranbrook, did say that when Robert of Ridsdale[2] made a proclamation, he used a cry, which was this:—

"Who made this cry?
Robert of Redsdale, Jack Straw, and I."

"In his journey (insurrection) he left the gentlemen and justices of the peace behind him, who beheaded him on his

[1] Love was a fuller, and Banks a cutler.

[2] The assumed name of the leader (supposed to have been Sir William Conyers) in an insurrection against Edward IV. in 1468.—ED.

return; but if he had taken the gentlemen with him and beheaded them, he might have ruled all at his will."[1]

With this discontent of the labouring populations, suffering from interrupted employments and bad harvests, other causes combined to aggravate their dislike of the Cardinal. By his preference of a French to an Imperial alliance—a preference forced upon him by the King's anxiety for a divorce—he had brought into one channel all the elements of unpopularity which were now setting steadily against him. For the first time in his career, he had taken active steps for the repression of heresy, as it was then called. Before the year 1528 he had been indifferent, in a much greater degree than More, to the advance of Lutheran opinions. His selection of scholars and lecturers for his new colleges at Oxford and Ipswich had been chiefly made from those who were infected with the new learning, as it was called; at all events, from the rising young men of ability in both universities, whose Lutheran tendencies were scarcely considered by him as any disqualification. He was much less concerned than any other statesman or prelate of the time, to suppress diversities of religious opinion by the secular arm, rightly judging that the most effectual way of meeting the evil would be the diffusion of education; and that societies of scholars, supplied with ample endowments and means for study, as in his College at Christ Church, would prove a more effectual support of the Faith than violent repression, or monastic institutions, which had now fallen far behind the necessities of the age. Puritan writers condemn his worldly pomp and splendour, his arrogance and his ambition; but the charge of persecution is scarcely heard, and never in his earlier years. But now a much more determinate effort was made to suppress and persecute heresy. His legatine authority was employed in purging the realm of false doctrine, and in punishing those by whom it was disseminated. The reason is obvious. The knowledge of Lutheranism came not to this country directly from Germany, but indirectly from Flanders. Throughout the populous towns of Flanders it had spread with inconceivable rapidity, and Brabant had already its martyrs and confessors of the new Faith before that Faith was even heard of here. Antwerp, Mechlin, and Brussels were seething centres of Lutheranism, in one or other of its forms; but Antwerp, Mechlin, and Brussels were the great marts of prohibited books, and the

[1] See IV. p. 1893.

chief haunts of English commerce; not merely on their own account, but for Spain. English broad cloths could not be manufactured without Spanish oils, or find a ready sale except in the dominions of the Emperor. Intercourse, then, with the Flemings, and through Flemings tainted with Lutheranism, active proselytizers, and secret vendors of Lutheran books, which fetched enormous prices because they were contraband, was of the most intimate kind. In every great manufacturing town throughout England, Flemish settlers were to be found, carrying on a prosperous trade with their countrymen abroad, to whom the recent policy of Wolsey was in all respects unpalatable, as it was hostile to their interests. It may be imagined that the dissemination of Tyndall's works, actively carried on by the Flemings, in spite of all prohibitions, contributed not a little to awaken feelings unfavourable to the Church, its riches, and splendid ceremonial, of which the Cardinal was the chief representative. So far as such works roused men to more stern and serious thoughts, it may have been so. But very few of the labouring classes, or even of their superiors, could read, still less purchase Tyndall's writings. The truth seems to be, that the nation, which at first regarded with indulgence, if not with delight, the lavish magnificence of the new reign, was now beginning to regard it with far less complacency. Not only censorious judges and enemies of the Cardinal were ready to connect this magnificence with his personal influence, and condemn it as unbecoming his spiritual office; but in the pressing evils and necessities of the times, the increase of vagabondism, the distress of the labouring classes, frivolities once tolerated and admired now seemed intolerable to the altered temper of the nation. A more frugal, prosaic, and commercial element was daily gathering strength and ascendency, and found itself more in conformity with the severe, rigid, and economic spirit of Protestantism, than with the sumptuous ritual of the ancient Church, or the dazzling amusements of the Court.

This unpopularity of the Cardinal was increased by bitter hostility from another and very opposite quarter. The suppression of a certain number of the smaller religious foundations for his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich had roused the indignation of all who were interested in their preservation. It might be thought that the conversion of the small and decayed monastic houses, encumbered with debt, badly administered, and the source of great scandal from the absence

of efficient discipline, would scarcely have been regarded by any class with displeasure. They had long ceased to be the great centres of religious thought or devotion. They justified, in many respects, the growing complaints of the Reforming party, that they were no better than resorts of idleness, whose inmates spent their lives in gossiping and indolence, regardless of any higher purpose. But even those who, like More and Erasmus, laughed at monks and religious men, were not prepared for the suppression of monasticism. Partly from the dislike of change, partly from unwillingness that the revenues of these houses should be diverted from the neighbourhood in which they were sent to the support of distant colleges, Wolsey's conversion of them into educational endowments was regarded generally with disfavour. The monks might not be very strict ascetics, but they were pleasant neighbours and easy landlords. It was their interest to keep on good terms with those around them; to avoid litigation; to offer shelter and hospitality, not only to the poor, but to the traveller, in seasons and places where no other shelter could be had. A corrody or pension in a religious house was a convenient way of making provision for a poor relative or deserving dependent. Their officers as well as their tenants had easy times, for the religious were neither hard masters nor exacting proprietors. The numerous petitions from great men, found among the state papers, for monastic stewardships, rents, and offices, show clearly how much these things were coveted by the laity. In fact, the embarrassments of the religious had risen mainly from the carelessness with which their property was administered by men who did not understand their business, or were unwilling to demand the utmost value. In rural England there is no greater art of popularity, there is none which places landlord and tenant on a more agreeable footing, or, in the long run, is more ruinous to both. So long as prices in general remained unaltered, and seasons were favourable, tenants and landlords experienced no pressure—especially in the minor monasteries, where the monks or the nuns had ceased to incur expenses for improvements, or even for necessary repairs. But when distress, when a new burthen was beginning to be felt, when not merely from the extension of commerce and the rise of prices, but from loans, benevolences, and other imposts required for the increasing expenses of government, money grew scarce, such good old days and slipshod usages drew to an end. To save

them for some useful purpose before they were entirely wasted, their suppression was an act of necessity. Not the less was it regarded with dislike. It introduced much more rigid landlords, it increased rents, it extinguished easy masters who maintained a society superior to those about them—were the advisers, teachers, apothecaries of the place, and kept a plain and open table for all comers. They may not have been learned; they may not have risen to the level of the times, still less been able to cope with the Bible-logic and acrid dialectics of the rising and earnest Puritan, or religious knight errant, girded with a new sword, to cut down men and things less earnest, rigid, and serious than himself. Small men they were, it is true, taking interest in and contented with small things.[1] The time of great saints like St. Bernard, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventure, had ceased from among them, never to return. Their displacement was keenly felt, not only for itself, but as a warning to similar foundations, too strong and too powerful to be suppressed. But what could not a cardinal do who was armed with two swords, and especially such a cardinal as Wolsey?

Moreover, the agents employed in the suppression were not men who exercised their functions meekly, or even with scrupulous integrity. One of them, Dr. Allen, a hard, astute man, who, like his fellow Cromwell, had been apparently trained to business, was afterwards made Archbishop of Dublin, where his imperiousness and rapacity brought him to a violent end. Of Cromwell it is enough to say, that, even at this early period of his career, his accessibility to bribes and presents in the disposal of monastic leases, was notorious. When Wolsey, who was then at Amiens, proposed to send Allen on a message to the King, Knight wrote to him, "In case Mr. Aleyn be not departed hitherwards in (on) your message, or may be in time

[1] . . . "And then go forth and pass
Down to the little thorp that lies so close,
And almost plaster'd like a martin's nest
To these old walls—and mingle with our folk;
And knowing every honest face of theirs,
As well as ever shepherd knew his sheep,
And every homely secret in their hearts,
Delight myself with gossip and old wives,
And ills and aches, and teethings, lyings-in,
And mirthful sayings, children of the place,
That have no meaning half a league away:
Or lulling random squabbles when they rise,
Chafferings and chatterings at the market-cross,
Rejoice, small man, in this small world of mine,
Yea, even in their hens and in their eggs."
The Holy Grail.

revoked, your Grace might use better *any about you for your message unto the King than him.* I have heard the King and noblemen speak things incredible of the acts of Dr. Aleyn and Cromwell, a great part whereof it shall be expedient that your Grace do know."[1] And though the Cardinal could know nothing of the indirect proceedings of his officers, he was credited with all their misdoings, and generally regarded as the author of their unjust and harsh exactions. So men looked askance upon him, even those who a few months before would have joined with More and Erasmus in ridiculing the monks who hated, or at least seemed to hate, the new learning, and obstinately adhered to the old order.

Whilst the Cardinal's enemies were thus eagerly anticipating his fall from the giddy eminence on which he stood, a terrible calamity swept over the nation, threatening destruction alike to him and them. Amidst the *feux de joie* for a treaty of intercourse recently concluded with Flanders,[2] and the amorous epistles of Henry, the sweating sickness made its terrible appearance with greater severity than before. This time its ravages extended to the Court and the upper classes, and the brevity of its attacks was more than compensated for by their violence. "This sweat," observes Du Bellay, "which has made its appearance within these four days, is a most perilous disease. One has a little pain in the head and heart, suddenly a sweat breaks out, and a doctor is useless; for whether you wrap yourself up much or little, in four hours, and sometimes in two or three, you are despatched without languishing, as in those troublesome fevers. However, only about two thousand have caught it in London. Yesterday going to swear the truce, we saw them as thick as flies rushing from the streets and shops into their houses to take the sweat, whenever they felt ill. I found the Ambassador of Milan leaving his lodgings in great haste because two or three had been suddenly attacked. . . . In London, I assure you, the priests have a better time of it than the doctors, except that the latter do not help to bury. If the thing goes on corn will soon be cheap. It is twelve years since there was such a visitation, when there died ten or twelve thousand persons in ten or twelve days, but it was not so bad as this has begun. The Legate [Wolsey] had come for the term [to

[1] Aug. 19, 1527: State Papers, i. 261. This is the more remarkable after Wolsey's exculpation of himself some time before. Ibid., p. 155.

[2] IV. p. 1922.

Westminster], but immediately bridled his horses again, and there will be no term."[1]

A few days afterwards the same ambassador writes: "The King keeps moving about for fear of the plague. Many of his people have died of it in three or four hours. . . . Of 40,000 attacked in London only 2,000 are dead, but if a man only put his hand out of bed during twenty-four hours it becomes as stiff as a pane of glass."[2] No remedies were effective, and the most opposite treatments were equally unsuccessful. The terror it occasioned was more fatal than the disease itself: children, in consequence, were less affected by it than persons of riper age. It raged mainly in Kent and Sussex, and the neighbouring counties. Out of England it was unknown, nor was the infection carried by merchants or others into foreign parts. Among the sufferers was Bryan Tuke, the King's secretary, one of the few persons admitted at the time into the King's presence. He has described his own symptoms on the occasion to Peter Vannes, Wolsey's Italian secretary. He tells Vannes that his wife has passed the sweat, but is very weak, and an eruption has broken out about the mouth. He adds, that he puts away the sweat from himself nightly, though other people imagined they would kill themselves if they did the same. He had adopted the same practice during the last infection, feeling sure that so long as he was not sick, the sweat was rather provoked by the disposition of the season, and keeping men close, than by any infection. "Thousands have it," he says, "from fear, who need not else sweat, especially if they observed good diet. When a man is not sick there is no fear of putting away the sweat in the beginning, and before a man's grease be with hot-keeping molten. Surely after the grease is heated, it must be more dangerous for a man to take cold than for a horse, which dies in such a case." His opinion that the sweat proceeded mainly from terror is confirmed by the fact that it prevailed nowhere except in the King's dominions. In France and Flanders, it was called "The King of England's sickness," and was little regarded. People visited by it at Calais did not carry the infection to Gravelines, though the intercourse between the two places was frequent. It was spread mainly by report, for if any one passed from London into the country, and talked of the sweat, within a few hours the neighbourhood was infected. In this way it was carried

[1] Du Bellay, June 18: IV. p. 1924. [2] June 30: IV. p. 1941.

from Sussex to London, and a thousand fell ill in one night, merely at the news of it. According to the same authority the disease was occasioned by a distemperature arising from "the moisture of years past having so altered the nature of our meats and our bodies to moist humours, as disposeth us to sweat." . . . Tuke expresses his regret at finding that the Cardinal was doing so much with so little assistance, and begs him not to run into danger. For himself, "he is in extreme perplexity, and is soon cast down by the least transgression of his diet."[1]

On Tuesday, the 16th of June, Anne Boleyn, "one of the ladies of the chamber," caught the infection. The court was immediately broken up. The King dislodged in great haste and retired to Waltham.[2] Anne returned to her father's house at Hever. The King retained very few of his attendants, and their numbers were daily diminished by his fears or suspicion of danger. It was on this occasion that he lost his favourite, Sir William Compton, whom he had loaded with offices and appointments of every description, and William Cary, the husband of Mary Boleyn.[3] The King left Waltham for Hunsdon; then retired to Tittenhanger, a small house belonging to Wolsey, where he remained until the 14th of July, in a great state of alarm. "The King," writes Du Bellay,[4] "has at last stopped twenty miles from here (London) at a house built by Wolsey, finding removals useless. I hear he has made his will, and taken the sacraments, for fear of sudden death. However, he is not ill."[5] Whatever dissatisfaction he might have felt before

[1] Tuke to Vannes, July 14: IV. p. 1970.

[2] This, however, had been already arranged, a day or two before Anne Boleyn's sickness, in apprehension of the sweat. "This day," says Heneage, writing to Wolsey, "his Highness, like a gracious prince, hath received his Maker at the Friars (the Friars Observants at Greenwich), which was ministered to his Highness by my lord of *Lincoln*. . . . His Highness, upon Tuesday next (the 16th), according to his appointment, doth remove to Waltham." On that day Anne was taken with the infection. See IV. p. 1912.

[3] IV. pp. 1931, 1932, 1941.

[4] June 30: IV. 1941.

[5] Tuke was employed in this service. "This morning I found his Grace going to the garden (at Tittenhanger), whither, by commandment of his Grace, I waited. . . . After his return, and three masses heard, his Highness immediately called me with him to a chamber that his Grace supped in apart (*i.e.* without the Queen) . . . and after communication of the good state of this house (Wolsey's house at Tittenhanger), with the wholesomeness of the air, and how commodious it is for such a time of sickness as this is . . . his Highness delivered me the book of his said will in many points reformed." Tuke to Wolsey, June 21: State Papers, i. 295. "I would not," writes Russell, "for all the good in England but that the King had come to your Grace's house; and this day (Sunday, June 28), he hath received the good Lord, and so has the more part that be about him, and he rejoices much that he has done so, and says that he is armed towards

against the Cardinal for opposing his purposes, all such displeasure had now entirely passed away. He expressed his greatest solicitude for the Cardinal's health, on whom the whole weight of public business had now fallen, for the rest of the Council had dispersed. He proposed to send Wolsey a copy of his will, "wherein your Grace shall see," says Heneage, "and perceive the trusty and hearty mind that he hath unto you, above all men living.[1] . . . Also he desireth your Grace that he may hear every second day from you, how you do; for I assure you, every morning, as soon as he cometh from the Queen, he asketh whether I hear anything from your Grace."[2]

Nor were his cares for Wolsey confined to these inquiries. When Tuke read to the King Wolsey's letter giving counsel to his Highness to avoid infection, he not only expressed his gratitude for the Cardinal's attention, but, entering into a long discourse, showed how folks were taken by the sweat; how slight was the danger if proper precautions were adopted; how Mistress Anne (Boleyn) and my lord of Rochford (her father) had had it; what jeopardy they were in; how much they owed to the endeavours of Mr. Butts (his second physician), "who hath been with them, and is returned." In the end he begged Wolsey to keep out of the air, follow his example of having only "a small and clean company, and, over that, use small suppers, drink little wine, take once a week the pills of Rasis, "with more good, wholesome counsel by his Highness, in most tender and loving manner given unto your Grace."[3] On another occasion he sends the Cardinal "manws cresty" (manus Christi), with other drugs, as a preservative.[4] "The King's special desire is," writes Dr. Bell at a later date, "that you be of good comfort, and put apart fear and fantasies, and make as merry as in such a season contagious your Grace may . . . He often wishes your Grace's heart were as good as his is."[5] It was something to have a king for a physician; something perhaps to have such a patient to prescribe for as Wolsey. Never did the Cardinal stand higher in his master's favour, and never perhaps was he more tempted to presume upon it.

In these alternations of terror and devotion, of apprehen-

God and the world." June 28: IV. p. 1938. See also the Bishop of Lincoln's letter, p. 1934.

[1] Wolsey had retired to Hampton Court on the 29th of June: IV. p. 1940.

[2] July 9: State Papers, i. 313.

[3] State Papers, i. 299.

[4] IV. p. 1938.

[5] July 7: IV. p. 1959.

sion for his own personal security—of pity, pills, and prescriptions for Wolsey, Anne Boleyn was not forgotten. The Princess Mary's establishment at Ludlow, either to isolate her from ill advisers, or for fear lest she might become the instrument of a faction in the growing unpopularity of the divorce,[1] had been broken up on the plea of economy, though that of the Duke of Richmond was still retained with undiminished magnificence. Without revealing to Katharine any of his designs beyond the necessity of finding satisfaction for his conscience, the King continued to treat her with studious courtesy. From the ceremonious respect observed between them no ordinary observer could have imagined that Henry entertained towards his wife any but the most benevolent intentions. To Katharine herself, thus closely watched, apprehensive of the worst, prevented from communicating with any others than her immediate attendants, such treatment must have been more galling than woman or saint could be expected to endure; for whilst Henry repudiated her as his wife, he exacted from her the obedience due to a husband, and the submission of a subject. His thoughts and affections were entirely centred on Anne Boleyn. When she was attacked by the sweating sickness he wrote to her:[2] "There came to me in the night the most afflicting news possible. I have to grieve for three causes: first, to hear of my mistress's sickness, whose health I desire as my own, and would willingly bear the half of yours to cure you. Secondly, because I fear to suffer yet longer that absence which has already given me so much pain. God deliver me from such an importunate rebel! Thirdly, because the physician (Dr. Chambers[3]) I trust most is at present absent, when he could do me the greatest pleasure. However, in his absence I send you the second (Dr. Butts), praying God he may soon make you well, and I shall love him the better. I beseech you to be governed by his advice, and then I shall hope soon to see you again."[4]

A few days after he writes again: "My doubts of your

[1] It was not only Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who noted the discontent of the people at the divorce and projected marriage of Anne Boleyn, but the Milanese ambassador states the same thing. "Many persons," he says, "apprehend that, should this marriage take place, the population here will rebel." Ven. Cal., IV. 252. The greatest efforts were made to repress every expression of popular displeasure.

[2] He wrote to her sometimes in French, and sometimes in English.

[3] See Tuke's letter, IV. p. 1931. With this physician, the King during the plague used to shut himself up in a tower, where he took his meals by himself.

[4] IV. p. 1921.

health have disturbed and troubled me extremely; and I should scarcely have had any quiet had I not received some news of you. But as you have felt nothing of it hitherto, I hope you are as well as we are. When we were at Waltham (16th June) two ushers, two valets de chambre, your brother (George Boleyn), and Master Treasurer (Fitzwilliam) fell ill. Since we have retired to our house at Hunsdon (23rd June ?) we have been perfectly well . . . I think if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing for your comfort, that few or no women have suffered from it; what is more, none of our Court, and few elsewhere, have died of it. Wherefore I beg of you, my entirely beloved, to put away fear, and not be too uneasy at our absence; for wherever I am, I am yours . . . I hope for your speedy return (*vous faire chanter le renvoye.*) No more for the present, for lack of time, except that I wish you in my arms, to banish your unreasonable thoughts. *Ma* H. R. *aimable.*"

Thus assured of her escape from danger, the King recovered his usual spirits. From dinner to supper he employed his hours in shooting with the cross-bow. The evenings were devoted to "his book" in defence of his divorce, or to drafting his will. "His Highness," says Tuke, "cometh by my chamber door, and doth, for the most part going and coming, turn in for devising (talking) with me upon his book."

Within the next few days one of his attendants, William Carey, the husband of Mary Boleyn, was stricken down without warning, and died in a few hours. He writes to Anne again, "The cause of my writing at this time, good sweetheart, is only to understand of your good health and prosperity, whereof to know I would be as glad in manner as mine own; praying God that, and it be His pleasure, to send us shortly together" (he was then at Hunsdon, and she at Hever), "for I promise you I long for it; howbeit, trust it shall not be long to (until it be). And seeing my darling is absent, I can no less do than send her some flesh representing my name, which is hart's flesh for Harry, prognosticating that hereafter, God willing, you must enjoy some of mine, which, He pleased, I would were now." ". . . No more to you at this time, mine own darling, but that a while I would we were together of an evening;"[1]—as, doubtless, they had been more than once.

[1] IV. p. 1932.

The lady's part in this extraordinary correspondence has not been preserved; nor, unfortunately, is any date or place, besides what may be inferred from their contents, appended to these letters. It is certain that the order of their arrangement as preserved in the Vatican is not strictly chronological. It is equally certain that they do not extend beyond the close of December, 1528, when the King had prevailed upon his mistress to overcome her scruples, and take up her permanent abode at Greenwich, where he had prepared for her a most magnificent lodging, and allowed her to keep open court, to the manifest disparagement of the Queen. But the commencement and order of the rest is by no means clear.[1] In one of his letters he speaks of being in great agony from his inability to fathom her intentions: "I beseech you, with the greatest earnestness, to let me know your whole intention as to the love between us two. I must of necessity obtain this answer, having been more than a year struck with the dart of love, and not assured whether I shall fail, or find a place in your heart and your affection. This uncertainty has hindered me for some time past from calling you my mistress, if you love me with only ordinary affection. . . ."[2]

At another time he is in despair, because, since he last parted with her, he has been told she has entirely changed the opinion in which she left him. She had refused to come to court with her mother, or with any other person; "which report," he subjoins, "if true, I cannot enough wonder at, being persuaded in my own mind that I have never committed any offence against you; and it seems a very small return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of a woman whom of all the world I value most. Consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence grieves me. I hope it is not your will it should be so; but if I understood for certain that you really desired it, I could only complain of my ill fortune, and by degrees abate my grievous folly."[3]

As the correspondence goes on, his despair diminishes.

[1] I must warn my readers against implicitly adopting the arrangement of these letters in my Calendar. That arrangement was partly determined by convenience, partly by the reluctance I felt to affix positive dates where dates are uncertain. Thus the letters Nos. 3221, 3326, 3218-21, (especially 3218), are earlier, in all probability, than the year 1527, but how far earlier I cannot decide. The letters are in all seventeen; but whether they embrace the whole or a part only of the King's correspondence with Anne Boleyn I cannot determine.

[2] IV. p. 1467.

[3] IV. p. 1507.

From the more respectful address of "mistress," or "mistress and friend," he proceeds to "mine own sweetheart," "darling," or "mine own darling;" and often to expressions more familiar than these and less reserved. It is a libel on the age to say, as some have said, that such expressions are "to be imputed to the simplicity and unpoliteness of the times;" for the age was neither simple nor unpolished; nor in the reign of Henry VIII., at all events, was the written intercourse of the sexes disgraced by the gross allusions sometimes found in this correspondence. If these expressions are not wholly attributable to the nature of the passion felt by the King for a young and lively woman, who possessed none of those higher qualities which could inspire nobler feelings—if, indeed, any woman of high principles would have allowed herself to be entangled in an intrigue of this kind, or have tolerated such addresses,—they show how thin a varnish of romance and chivalry disguised the real sensuality of the age. The King might excuse himself on the plea of a troubled conscience, or the necessity of providing against a disputed succession, but no such excuse can be pleaded for her. No such justification is available for her mother, her father, or her brother, all of whom were only too ready to thrust her into the King's arms, and overcome any scruples or reluctance she might otherwise have entertained. At the same time, she was young, without friend or guidance (though she had Cranmer for her tutor), and the King was past the age when youth might be pardoned for stooping to vice and levity.

It was during the time of this sickness, and whilst the arrival of Campeggio was expected, that Anne Boleyn, forgetting her former petulance, showed more than usual civility to the Cardinal, inquiring anxiously for his health, and professing eternal gratitude. Though the Cardinal, on his part, clearly foresaw the danger, from which escape was impossible, he failed not, by every means in his power, to conciliate her favour. She writes to him on one occasion: "In my most humblest wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your rich and goodly present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your great help; of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that all the days of my life I am most bound, of all creatures, next the King's grace, to love and serve your Grace; of the which, I beseech you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your Grace's

trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped; and that is the King and you; not doubting but that God has preserved you both for great causes known all-only of His high wisdom." [1]

At another time she writes, "My lord, after my most humble recommendations, this shall be to give unto your Grace, as I am most bound, my humble thanks for the great pain and travail that your Grace doth take in studying by your wisdom and great diligence how to bring to pass honourably the greatest wealth that is possible to come to any creature living; and in especial remembering how wretched and unworthy I am in comparing to his Highness. And for you I do know myself never to have deserved by my deserts that you should take this great pain for me. Yet daily of your goodness I do perceive, by all my friends; and though that I had not knowledge by them, the daily proof of your deeds doth declare your words and writing toward me to be true. Now, good my Lord, your discretion may consider as yet how little it is in my power to recompense you, but all-only with my good will; the which, I assure you, that after this matter is brought to pass, you shall find me, as I am bound, in the mean time, to owe you my service; and then look what thing in this world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it. And, next unto the King's grace, of one thing, I make you full promise to be assured to have it, and that is my hearty love unfeignedly during my life . . . being fully determined by God's grace never to change this purpose." [2]

That she was sincere in these protestations, at the time, can scarcely be doubted. For she was capable of very warm, if not of deep and lasting affection, and was too fickle and weak-minded for a hypocrite. Whatever her faults might be, she can hardly be called artful or designing, for these epithets imply qualities of mind she did not possess. Vain and frivolous, she was not only deficient in that real prudence and self-control which could alone have preserved her from danger, but also in the tact and calculating shrewdness of thoughtful

[1] IV. p. 1960.

[2] This letter, first printed by Fiddes (App. 256) from Vespasian, F. XIII., has by some mischance been omitted from the Calendar. See also her letter, written jointly with the King, after she had returned to Court, IV. p. 4360. "I do know," says the letter, "the great pains and trouble that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompensed on my part, but all-only in loving you next unto the King's grace, above all creatures living."

selfishness, miscalled prudence by the world. Too weak for goodness, she wanted strength of will to avoid temptation. Too weak for greatness, she had not the skill to support its weight when it was thrust upon her.

Never before had Wolsey stood so high in the favour of his master. He had triumphed over every obstacle. He had propitiated the Pope, and won over his consent to the divorce. Nothing now remained but the official declaration by Campeggio of the sentence, which Henry expected with impatience, and, equally with Wolsey, was fully persuaded would leave him free to marry again. How could he be otherwise than grateful to a minister who had extricated him so ably from the greatest difficulty of his life, and transferred from him to the Spiritual Head of Christendom all responsibility in so arduous an affair? It was on a point of law that his conscience was troubled, and the law had decided in his favour. It was a Pope who had dispensed with the objections to his marriage with Katharine, and a Pope now declared that such dispensation was informal. What greater respect could any man show for the supreme authority he had hitherto so efficiently maintained by his actions and his writings, and of which he was anxious to appear as the champion in the face of the world? But in this timely submission to the arbitrament of the Church he had been exclusively governed by Wolsey. His own impatience, and the advice of evil counsellors, had at first suggested a more direct and violent course, as we have seen. And though no king ever loved more to have his own way than Henry, no king was ever more reluctant than he to transgress the letter of the law, more resolute in punishing those who did, or more inexorable than he in exacting the forfeiture. By the advice and good management of his minister he had been enabled to reconcile the law with his own inclinations. By the same advice he had been saved from the scandal that must have ensued had he treated Katharine with violence, and, regardless of public censure, enthroned Anne Boleyn in her place. More than half the world was persuaded even then that the King's cause was the cause of justice and of Scripture; and almost half the world is persuaded that it was so now. Could ability less than Wolsey's have brought about such a result? Could invention less than his have persuaded mankind to believe that, of the two, the King was the injured and the suffering party?—that he was moved exclusively by patriotic motives, by regard for

his people, by conscientious convictions; and Katharine, by bigotry and selfishness, in not abdicating her claims, and retiring at his bidding to a nunnery?

Yet the good understanding between the King and his minister was rudely shaken by an unexpected event, that must have reminded Wolsey of the instability of greatness. On the death of the Abbess of Wilton, in the time of the sweating sickness, John Carey, the brother of Mary Boleyn's husband, was anxious to secure the vacant appointment for his sister, Elinor, one of the nuns. Her promotion was warmly espoused by Anne; by the King, as might be expected; and Wolsey, to whom the nuns had committed the election, had promised to befriend her.[1] But it was found upon examination that Elinor Carey had been guilty of gross incontinence. When the fact was made known to Wolsey by his commissary, Dr. Bell, it was reported to the King; and in a letter written by the latter to Anne Boleyn, showing how clear and unclouded was his judgment wherever his own passions were not immediately concerned, he tells her, "I would not for all the world clog your conscience nor mine to make her ruler of a house which is of so ungodly demeanor; nor, I trust, you would not that, neither for brother (Carey) nor sister, I should so distain mine honor or conscience. And, as touching the prioress (Isabella Jordan), or dame Elinor's eldest sister, though there is not any evident case proved against them, and that the Prioress is so old, that of many years she could not be as she was named;[2] yet, notwithstanding, *to do you pleasure*, I have done that neither of them shall have it; but . . . some other good and well disposed woman."[3] It appears that the King's wish in this respect had been communicated to Wolsey; but, either discrediting the scandal affecting the Prioress, probably set on foot by Elinor's party, or from some misapprehension of the King's intentions, the Cardinal conferred the appointment on Isabella Jordan, and sent his nomination to the King for confirmation.[4]

[1] "Mr. Carre begs you to be gracious to his sister, a nun in Wilton Abbey, to be prioress there, according to your promise." Hennege to Wolsey, June 23: IV. p. 1931.

[2] Ill reported of.

[3] IV. p. 1960.

[4] It seems that Wolsey was entirely guided in this matter by the interest of the house. Dr. Benet, writing to him on the death of the Abbess, April 24 (IV. p. 1853), tells him that most of the convent favoured the Prioress, "sister to the abbess of Sion, who is ancient, wise, and discreet." He warns him, at the same time, that great solicitation would be made at Court for dame Elinor Carey. Benet's report is confirmed by a subsequent letter from Wilton, and by another from dame Isabella herself. IV. p. 1978.

So flagrant a disregard of his master's wishes, especially after his promise to Anne Boleyn, roused the King's indignation. "I have signified to the King's highness," writes Dr. Bell, "concerning the election of the new abbess of Wilton, wherewith his said Highness was somewhat moved, remembering his advertisement by my former letters to your Grace, that in no wise he would the Prioress should have it . . . especially that upon this expectation his said Highness hath both reported and promised to divers friends of dame Elinor Carey that the Prioress should not have it." He adds, that although the King, upon the report of her misconduct, had relinquished his request for her promotion, and referred all to Wolsey's disposition, "so that some other able, virtuous, and religious woman were there provided, yet his full mind was, and expectation, that in no wise the Prioress should have had it, whereby divers [1] will find themself aggrieved. And surely for my duty and true heart toward your Grace, I would rather than part of my small substance you had elected some other." [2]

Justly alarmed by these indications of the King's displeasure, Wolsey had recourse to various excuses. This drew from the King a remonstrance not less honourable to himself than to the Cardinal. It is of so much importance towards forming a just estimate of the King's character, it explains so clearly the secret of that influence which in his better moments he exercised over those around him, that I shall make no excuse for submitting the main portions of it without abridgment to the reader.

"The great affection and love I bear you causeth me, using the doctrine of my Master, saying, *Quem dil'go castigo*, thus plainly as now ensueth, to break to you my mind, ensuring you that neither sinister report, affection to my own pleasure, interesse parts, nor mediation of any other body, beareth place in this case. Wherefore, whatsoever I do say, I pray think it spoken of no displeasure, but of him that would you as much good, both of body and soul, as you would yourself.

"Methink it is not the right train of a trusty loving friend and servant, when the matter is put by the master's consent into his arbitre and judgment,[3] (specially in a matter wherein his master hath both royalty and interest,) to elect and choose a person which was by him defended (forbidden). And yet another thing, which much displeaseth me more,—that is, to cloak your offence made by ignorance of my pleasure, saying that you expressly knew not my determinate mind in that behalf. Alas! my Lord, what can be more evident or plainer than these words, specially to a wise man, *his Grace careth not who, but referreth it all to you, so that none of those who either be or have been at any time noted or spotted*

[1] Of the Boleyn party.
[2] State Papers, i. 313, abridged. See also Hennege's letter, ibid., 315.
[3] As in this appointment.

with incontinence (like as by report the Prioress hath been in her youth) *have it.* And also in another place of the letter,[1] which saith, *and, therefore, his Highness thinketh her not meet for that purpose.* Thirdly, in another place of the said letter, by these words: *and though his Grace speaketh it not so openly, yet meseemeth his pleasure is, that in no wise the Prioress have it, nor yet dame Elinor's eldest sister, for many considerations, the which your Grace both can and will best consider.*

"Ah! my Lord, it is a double offence, both to do ill and color it too; but with men that have wit it cannot be accepted so. Wherefore, good my Lord, use no more that way with me, for there is no man living that more hateth it.

"These things being thus committed, either I must have reserved them *in pectore*, whereby more displeasure might happen to breed; or else thus roundly and plainly to declare them to you; because that I do think that *cum amico et familiari sincere semper est agendum*, and especially the master to his best beloved servant and friend; for in so doing the one shall be more circumspect in his doing, the other shall declare and show the lothness that is in him to have any occasion to be displeased with him.

"And as touching the redress of religion (*i.e.* of the nuns), if it be observed and continued, undoubtedly it is a gracious act; notwithstanding, if all reports be true, *ab imbecillis imbecilla expectantur.* Howbeit, Mr. Bell hath informed me that her[2] age, personage, and manner *præ se fert gravitatem.* I pray God it be so indeed, seeing that she is preferred to that room. I understand, furthermore, (which is greatly to my comfort,) that you have ordered yourself to God-ward, as religiously and virtuously as any prelate or father of Christ's church can do; where, in so doing and persevering, there can nothing more be acceptable to God, more honor to yourself, nor more desired of your friends, amongst the which I reckon not myself the least."

He then proceeds with singular delicacy to inform Wolsey of the sinister reports circulated respecting the building of his college at Oxford: "because I dare be bolder with you than a great many that mumble it abroad." He remarks that the sums of money contributed by various religious houses had been given to the college only with a corrupt view of obtaining by Wolsey's legatine authority immunities that ought not to have been allowed. Who put these notions into the King's head, it is impossible to say. There appears to have been no just grounds for such a suspicion; but repeated complaints against the officers employed by Wolsey in the suppression of the smaller religious houses, and the erection of his great college at Oxford, were industriously circulated by his enemies, not without effect. The King's displeasure was increased by the fact, that on the late occasion of the Amicable Grant the monastic communities had been among the number of its most formidable and successful opponents. Their conduct on that occasion was never forgotten. "These same religious houses," he remarks with some bitterness, "would not grant

[1] This letter has not been found. [2] Isabella Jordan, the new abbess.

to their sovereign, in his necessity, not by a great deal, so much as they have to you for building of your college.[1] These things bear shrewd appearance; *for, except they were accustomed to have some benefit for it*, they and no other that ever I heard of have used to show that kindness; *tam enim est aliena ab eis ipsa humanitas.*" He then urges Wolsey to make effectual scrutiny into the conduct of those to whom he had intrusted this "meddling with religious houses."[2] Impressions so unfavourable to the monastic orders, connected with a sense in Henry's mind of personal ingratitude towards himself, augured no good for their future welfare. But the hour of vengeance was not yet come. So long as Wolsey lived, it was not even anticipated. He concludes, "I pray you, my Lord, think not that it is upon any displeasure that I write this unto you. For surely it is for my discharge afore God, being in the room that I am in; and, secondly, for the great zeal I bear unto you, not undeserved of (on) your behalf. Wherefore, I pray you, take it so; and I assure you, your fault acknowledged, there shall remain in me no spark of displeasure; trusting hereafter you shall recompense that with a thing much more acceptable to me.[3] And thus fare you well, advertising you that (thanked be God) both I and all my folk be, and have been ever since we came to Ampthill, which was on Saturday last (11th July), in marvellous good health and cleanness of air. Written with the hand of him that is and shall be your loving sovereign, lord, and friend, Henry R."[4]

[1] It is time, I think, that Christ Church should cease from ascribing its foundation to the munificence of Henry VIII. It is a libel on his memory.

[2] He returns to this subject in a second letter, apparently in answer to a reply from Wolsey that the assistance offered to his college was not so great as the King imagined, or procured by illegal indulgences. "As touching the help of religious houses for your college," says the King, "I would it were more, if so be it were offered (*i.e.* spontaneously), but there is great murmuring at it throughout the realm, among the good and bad. They say the college is a cloak for all mischief. I perceive by your letter that you have received money of the exempts for having their old visitors. If your legacy (legatine authority) is a cloak (for such doings) *apud homines*, it is not *apud Deum*. I doubt not, therefore, you will desist." IV. p. 1970. It appears by a letter from Warham, who may have carried this intelligence to the King, that this remonstrance was not altogether destitute of reason. The Archbishop complains that in raising the loan he had no power over religious men. "They must," he says, "be left to your Grace (Wolsey), and unless they contribute to the loan according to the value of their benefices, the clergy will complain. Had the religious houses not been exempted, but appeared before me, the loan derived from my diocese would be much greater." IV. p. 2010.

[3] Divorcing the King from Katharine.

[4] Fiddes, App. p. 174.

It is strange that sentiments so generous, manly, and noble should have emanated from the same pen as the letters to Anne Boleyn. Stranger still is it, that, side by side with convictions so admirable and so king-like, of what was just, candid, and sincere, there should be found the most ignoble deceit, oppression, and falsehood, wherever Katharine was concerned. Must we, then, think that the fountain sends forth at the same place sweet water and bitter? That, in mockery of our small notions of heroes and hero-worship, such is the frailty and inconsistency of human nature; such its defiance of all human rules and calculations?

> "Chaos of thought and passion, all confused,
> Still by itself abused or disabused!"

To none certainly were the poet's words more applicable than to Henry VIII. He was no saint, no hero; yet not without a manly sense of what was saintly and heroic, as his letter shows; and utterly free from the sickly religious sentiment and introspective Puritanism of later times!

Anticipating the effects of his letter, the King read it in the first instance to Hennege and to Russell, telling them that "he had dealt" with Wolsey "as an entire friend and master should do to another." Hennege, aware how heavily the blow would fall, notwithstanding all attempts to soften its severity, kindly advised the Cardinal to "take great comfort," and not weigh this matter too heavily, but consider "the kind intent of his Highness." The whole correspondence has not been preserved; but the consternation betrayed by all Wolsey's friends is a clear indication of the peril into which he had fallen, and the profoundest distress into which they felt he would be plunged by this manifestation of the King's displeasure. They were not mistaken. It descended with crushing effect upon him, already more than usually disheartened by the sweating sickness, and overburthened by public business, of which he bore the accumulated and increasing load alone, in the absence of his officers.[1] The first letter which Wolsey wrote in his own exculpation is, unfortunately, missing. The purport of it may be gathered from the King's

[1] Gardiner, his most able secretary, was still abroad. The King very inconsiderately detained Tuke to arrange his will; and by the distance he kept from the metropolis, when conveyance was neither speedy nor easy, doubled the labours of his great minister. He had also now ceased to hold the same personal communication with the Cardinal as before. This was a growing danger to Wolsey.

reply. He excused his appointment of Isabella Jordan on the plea of illness and pressure of business. He urged further, that as the appointment was not valid without the King's confirmation—and that was still withheld—it was only conditional, and might be revoked. The King accepted the apology; he professed his satisfaction at finding that his warnings had been so lovingly taken. To avoid all complaints for the future, he begged Wolsey to receive no more contributions from the religious houses for the building of his college, and in so doing they might sing together, "*Te laudant angeli atque archangeli; Te laudat omnis spiritus.* Thus I end this rude yet loving letter, assuring you that at this hour there remains no spark of displeasure towards you in my heart."[1]

The King's letter elicited from Wolsey the following characteristic reply:—

"Sire,—Your gracious loving letters, whereby I do perceive that no spark of displeasure remaineth in your noble heart towards me, hath, on my truth, so letificate and recomforted me, being so replenished with heaviness and sorrow, *ut videar ex morte ad vitam restitutus*; for the which your gracious goodness I do not only accompt myself most bounden to serve, pray, render and give most humble thanks to the same, but also for the great zeal that your Majesty hath to the purity and cleanness of my poor conscience, coveting and desiring that nothing should be by me committed or done, by the color of my intended college or otherwise, that should not stand with God's pleasure and good conscience, or that thereby any just occasion might be given to any person to speak or judge ill of my doings. And albeit, as is contained in mine other letters, I have knowledged to have received of divers mine old lovers and friends, and other exempt religious persons, right loving and favorable aids towards the edifying of my said college; yet your Majesty may be well assured that the same extendeth not to such a sum as some men doth untruly bruit and report; or that any part thereof, to my knowledge, thought, or judgment, hath been corruptly or contrary to the law taken or given, as I shall more particularly declare to your Highness at my next access and repair to the same. . . . Nevertheless, ensuing your Grace's wholesome counsel and most charitable admonition, to the intent that none occasion of ill speech, untrue report or judgment, should hereafter arise or insurge, I promise to your Majesty that from henceforth, though I should be compelled to sell that I have and to live very straitly and barely, I, ne none other by my consent or knowledge, though the same be never so clearly, frankly, or friendly offered towards the building of the said college, or to any other mine use, shall take anything of any religious person or persons, being exempt or not exempt; so that thereby I trust, nor by any other thing hereafter unlawfully taken, your poor Cardinal's conscience shall not be spotted, encumbered, or entangled; purposing, with God's help and your gracious favor, so to order the rest of my poor life that it shall appear to your Highness that I love and dread God, and also your Majesty, for whose long continuance and health, both in body and soul, according to my most bounden duty, I shall daily pray, as your Grace's most humble chaplain,

"T. CARDINALIS EBOR."[2]

[1] IV. p. 1970.

[2] State Papers, i. 317.

Such profound despondency and abasement at the King's displeasure for so small a fault, is as inexplicable to us of the present day, as the Cardinal's unbounded gratitude for the King's forgiveness. No parallel to it can be found, except in the unconditional religious obedience of other climes and other ages: "My lord the King is as an angel of God; do, therefore, what is good in thine eyes."[1] We afford something better than a smile for political idealists who prostrate themselves before a political abstraction—fascinating in proportion to its unreality; but for a statesman like Wolsey thus bowing down in utter abasement before the personal incarnation of royalty, we have nothing better than contempt; that is an act wholly incomprehensible to our generation, except upon the theory that he was a hypocrite or a time-server. He had but one idol in the world—for the supposition that he was actuated by no other motive than his own aggrandisement, is too shallow and untenable to be maintained any longer—and that idol was the King. To that idol and its aggrandisement he consecrated all his devotion; upon it he concentrated all his thoughts. It was no poetic dream as in the age that followed; no political theory evolved for political purposes. It is the more remarkable because ecclesiastics of a former age were not generally governed by such sentiments. By some process not sufficiently explained, by causes over which he had little control apparently, the King had been enthroned in the consciences of his subjects as kings had never been before. Disobedience or opposition to his will seemed scarcely less profane than it was disloyal. No transgression was more heinous, none was less excusable, in the eyes of Englishmen. The royal supremacy in the times of the first Tudors had already risen to a pitch that Papal supremacy never had attained. For Englishmen no alternative remained except unhesitating obedience or open rebellion.

But though the King had freely forgiven Wolsey's offence, the smart of his displeasure still rankled in Wolsey's breast. He could not fail to be reminded how easily the King might take offence, notwithstanding his long and arduous services. He must have pondered in the struggle that was now before him how hard it would be, with his increasing cares, and the entanglements of the divorce, to escape all chances of displeasing the King or his mistress. In a letter written to him

[1] 2 Sam. xix. 27.

some time after by Sir John Russell,[1] we find that he still continued sad and pensive. "You must comfort yourself," says this honest-hearted correspondent, "and be of good cheer, assuring your Grace that the King is well appeased and satisfied, as I well perceive when he speaks of you; and doubt you not but you shall have him as good to your Grace as ever he was in his life. He is a prince of so many good qualities, that he will remember the good services and pains you have taken for him, and the great familiarity between you. Sometimes the father and the son be in displeasure, and brother and brother, by ill reports, as may fortune has been now between your Grace and the King." He advises Wolsey to take an opportunity of seeking a personal interview with his Majesty, "which should be to the comfort of you both." But, unfortunately, the King's absence at Ampthill, and the prevalence of the sweating sickness, prevented Wolsey for a time from following this judicious advice.

Meanwhile, from his conversation with Du Bellay, we learn what was passing in the Cardinal's mind. We learn also how this act, trifling as it may seem, had shaken that sense of his security, which never, apparently, had been shaken until then. It seemed, like a sudden flash, to have revealed to Wolsey the extent of the animosity he had incurred, when he least imagined he had provoked it. The readiness with which the King lent his ear to the misrepresentations of Wolsey's enemies augured ill for his future peace and safety. Neither did he well know who those enemies were that had thus gained the King's hearing, or how their malice might be anticipated in time to come. "Mademoiselle Boulan," says Du Bellay, "has returned to Court. The intercepted letters that you (Montmorenci) sent me about this matter have disquieted them (the King and Wolsey). . . . I fancy that the King is so far committed to it (the divorce) that none but God can get him out of it. As to Wolsey, I do not believe he knows the state of matters, however much he pretends to do so. I have been told on good authority, though I do not give it as certain, that a little before this sweat, the King used most terrible language to him, because he seemed desirous to cool him, and showed him that the Pope would never consent to it. Sometimes in walking with me, while speaking of his affairs, and the course of his life up to that time, he has said to me, that if God permitted him to

[1] July 26: IV. 1987.

see the hatred of these two nations (France and England) extinguished, and firm amity established, as he hopes it will shortly be, with a reform of the laws and customs of the country, such as he would effect if peace were made, and the succession of the kingdom assured, especially if this marriage took place, and an heir male were born of it, he would at once retire, and serve God for the rest of his life; and that, without any doubt, on the first honorable occasion he could find, he would give up politics.

"I think, Monsieur, that he foresees that if this marriage take place he will have much to do to maintain his credit; and when he sees himself in despair of it, he will give out he retires voluntarily, having fortified himself with this excuse beforehand. In fact, for the last three months he has been building, and managing his bishoprics, and completing with all diligence the foundation of his college. My belief is that in promoting this divorce, he had hoped for an opportunity of falling back upon Madame Renée. However, I see that this divorce must take place, if circumstances do not prevent it." He proceeds to add, that he is persuaded Wolsey would do all he could for Francis; but "that which ruins all is that he knows his master to be the most avaricious man in the world, and the true way of being in credit with him is to tell him, *qu'il le remettait en laye*. He must, he says, persuade the King that whatever he does is for the King's profit, or he would lose his influence, and have no chance against the majority of the Council, who side with the Emperor." [1]

[1] This letter is undated. Le Grand refers it to Aug. 20. I am more inclined to place it in September. See IV. p. 2021.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MISSION OF CAMPEGGIO.

CAMPEGGIO'S arrival was anxiously expected. It had been most inexplicably delayed by real or diplomatic fits of the gout, perhaps by both.[1] He had been plundered, in the sack of Rome, of all he possessed, and compelled to redeem his life with a large sum of money.[2] For this and for other reasons he entertained no great kindness for the Imperialists. Besides his sufferings, his obligations to England, as Bishop of Salisbury, seemed to point him out as the fittest instrument for the King's present purpose; and Casale, Henry's agent with the Pope, was commanded to ask his Holiness that Campeggio might be sent to England with sufficient commission to determine the cause.[3] Apparently the Pope made no difficulty in giving his consent: whether Campeggio, who was then ill at Rome,[4] was as ready to accept it, is not quite so certain. At all events, though the commission was granted as early as April, it was not until June that the Legate thought of starting from Italy. This delay, and the uncertainty of his coming, were taken so displeasantly by the King and the Cardinal, as Foxe wrote to Gardiner in May, that the hope they had once entertained of the speedy termination of the cause was converted into despair.[5] The old plea of gout, the obligation of his duties at Rome, the difficulty of procuring horses and servants, seemed to their impatience "imagined excuses," devised by the Pope to procure delay. To remove all these, Wolsey requested the Cardinal to start at once with few attendants, as horses, mules, money, and all that he required would be amply provided for him in France; and he even

[1] I do not mean to insinuate that Campeggio did not suffer from fits of the gout, as Lord Chatham suffered. This is put beyond all doubt by the statement of Gardiner, who remarks that the only objection against sending Campeggio was the dread of the gout, *to which he is extremely subject*, and which leaves him very weak after its attacks. IV. p. 1822.

[2] IV. p. 1439.

[3] IV. p. 1655.

[4] IV. p. 1688.

[5] IV. p. 1887.

offered to cross the sea in order to conduct Campeggio to England.[1] He left Rome for Naples in June, intending to embark for Marseilles; was disappointed of his purpose; embarked at Corneto on the 25th of July,[2] arrived at Nice, and reached Lyons on Saturday the 22nd of August. "The Cardinal," says Clerk, the English ambassador at Paris, "leaves Lyons to-day (31st August) or to-morrow. I have borrowed for him of the Pope's Legate a fair well-trimmed and furnished mule, and four carriage mules; the which, with twenty horses of mine own, and ten horses of the Master of the Rolls (Taylor), I shall send forwards to-morrow towards Orleans."[3]

A fortnight elapsed before the Legate, incessantly tormented with the gout, arrived at Paris. A week before, Sir Francis Bryan had waited for him at Orleans, having been dispatched from England on the 24th of August, to bring him on his way with spears and horsemen to Calais.[4] He was to have been received at his entry into the capital by fifteen or sixteen bishops and archbishops, and "a right good company;" but, desirous of avoiding the crowd, and scarcely able to sit on horseback, he anticipated the preparations made in his honour. Francis received him at his entry into Paris with profound respect, standing bareheaded before him. He then led the Legate by the right hand "to a window, and held communication with him for two long hours." They discussed the King's matrimonial cause, now apparently for the first time divulged to the French king in all its details. "His Majesty inquired," writes Campeggio to Sanga, "how this matrimonial cause was progressing. I replied that I was one of the judges deputed, and that the sentence depended on the evidence; but it was impossible as yet to say what determination would be taken, except that there would be no lack of justice. I added, But what is your Majesty's opinion? He answered, that he was not learned, and in such cases he would adopt the opinion of any one who understood more about it than himself; though he regarded the King his brother as a wise and good man, and believed that when he knows that the Queen is his lawful wife, he will not attempt any such thing (as a divorce); but if she were not, it would be a great matter to persist in a sin which involved the salvation of his soul."[5]

[1] May 23: IV. p. 1886.
[2] IV. pp. 2005, 2029.
[3] IV. p. 2032.
[4] IV. p. 2024.
[5] IV. p. 2061.

Notwithstanding this show of courtesy, it is clear that Francis suspected the Legate of favouring the Emperor; still more when he announced his intention of returning by Spain. The Pope, distrusting the aid of France, and seeing the dilatoriness, not to say mismanagement, of the French forces in Italy, now leaned more than ever to Imperial protection; and Campeggio, as his representative, was supposed to share in the sentiments of his master. So Francis could not help communicating to Clerk the unwelcome intelligence that Campeggio had allowed it to transpire that the main purpose of his mission to England was to induce the King to change his intentions, and prevent, if possible, a separation from the Queen.[1] Such was undoubtedly the fact, as is clear from Sanga's letter to the Cardinal, conveying to him the Pope's instruction to use his utmost endeavour to reconcile the King and the Queen, and not proceed to sentence until he had received a new and express commission from Rome. Yet it is scarcely probable that so cautious a diplomatist would have so imprudently betrayed himself. The intelligence, however obtained, was conveyed to Wolsey. It was a prelude to the troubles that awaited him and must have warned him that he would not find in Campeggio so docile or compliant a coadjutor in pronouncing the King's divorce as he had expected. In fact, Campeggio assumed already an authority superior to his own, and, without consulting his colleague, had determined on the course that should be adopted. As he had taken his own time in pursuing his journey, regardless of the reiterated entreaties of Wolsey to hasten his arrival, it was equally clear that he would take his own way in managing the cause; and for this his superior knowledge of the practice of the Roman courts gave him considerable advantage. Thus Wolsey fell, from the first, into the position of an inferior judge or assessor; as the associate of Campeggio, rather than his superior; and by no energy or abilities of his own could he entirely retrieve his ground. Further, when Clerk, in obedience to his instructions, offered the Legate a sum of money to defray his expenses, Campeggio declined to accept any portion of his

[1] "The Pope would do anything to please the French King; *but as the Emperor is victorious, and has made overtures for peace*, the Pope must not give him any pretext for a fresh rupture, lest the Church should be utterly annihilated. As soon as you can do so without scandalising the French King, proceed on your journey to England, and then do your utmost to restore mutual affection between the King and Queen." Sanga to Campeggio, IV. p. 2047.

bounty, beyond the expenses of horses and mules necessary for the journey; and when it was urged that by such an absolute refusal the King would consider that Clerk had failed in his duty and the acceptance of five or six hundred crowns was pressed upon him, on the strength of a previous acquaintance, Campeggio persisted in his refusal, stating that he had sufficient to take him to England.[1] A spirit of independence so unusual, so contrary to what the King and his minister had expected, should have led them to anticipate difficulties, and suspect the apparent concessions of the Pope. But the King, at least, in the ardour of his passion, was blind to all such consequences. Already he had installed Anne Boleyn in royal state in her apartments at Greenwich; he had visited her, and treated her, as if she had been his wife. Already courtiers and nobles paid their respects to her as their mistress, and the apartments of Katharine were deserted. "The King goes and comes," says Du Bellay, "between this and Greenwich. I think he may make a journey to Hampton Court or Richmond, and the Queen likewise, and it is possible she may not return here (London) for a long time. Mademoiselle Boleyn has come here at last, and the King has lodged her in a very fine lodging, which he has furnished very near his own. Greater court is paid to her every day than has been for a long time paid to the Queen. I believe that they wish to accustom the people by degrees to endure her, in order that when the *grand coup* comes, it may not appear strange. Notwithstanding, the people always remain hardened against her, and I think they would do more than they do if they had more power; but strict order is everywhere kept daily, and a proclamation has been put out, among others, that only ten shop-masters shall remain in London of every nation; and this will remove at least more than fifteen thousand Flemings. A search has also been made for hackbuts and cross-bows, and wherever they have been found in the town they have been taken, and no other weapon now remains except the tongue. In the country also, a great and continual watch is kept up, in such a sort as there is no appearance that any great trouble would ensue, such as the enemy would desire; for the King has made his intentions [*fantasie*] known to the nobles so clearly, that they speak more soberly than they have done and you may understand he is much more irritated against the Emperor than his

[1] IV. p. 2054.

Council pretends, because he has threatened to turn him out of his kingdom by his own subjects." [1]

Hitherto the divorce had been driven on with comparative secrecy. At least it was confined to England, and was probably little known beyond the metropolis. By the coming of Campeggio across the Continent, with all the pomp and ceremonial attending on the movements of a Papal Nuncio, it was blazoned forth to all the world, and blown into every eye. Curiosity, dormant before, was stimulated by the Legate's deliberate progress through the great cities of France. The purport of his journey, and all its particulars, had become the general topic of conversation and inquiry. It was hardly possible to conceive of a graver scandal. For although the King and his immediate advisers might persuade themselves that they were exclusively employed in settling a disputed point of law which had troubled the King's conscience, ordinary lookers-on saw the case only in its broad and popular aspect. No amount of ingenious pleading could get rid of the fact, that Henry had lived with his Queen for twenty years, and had never expressed any scruple until she was past the meridian of her life, and Anne Boleyn had appeared upon the scene. She was the mother of his only daughter and successor; and, even had there been any irregularity in their union at the first, it was supposed to be removed by lapse of time. At all events, any irregularity deserved less to be regarded than the wrong inflicted by the husband on an innocent wife, and by the father on his child, by the present proceedings. How it was regarded in England, is clear from Du Bellay's letter. It

[1] Dec. 9: IV. p. 2177. Though Du Bellay's letter was written some weeks later than Campeggio's arrival in England, it is tolerably certain that Anne Boleyn's lodging in the Court must be referred to this period. The King writes to her in September of the arrival of the Legate in Paris, expects his coming on Monday; "and then I trust within a while after to enjoy that which I have so longed for, to God's pleasure and our both comfort." It is clear that she was at that time absent. The remaining portion of the letter leaves no doubt as to the nature of their intimacy. (p. 2057.) About the same time, or a little before, he was busy in preparing for her a lodging, and was desirous that her father should make his provisions with speed (*i.e.* for coming to Court). p. 2020. Next we hear of his employment in furnishing it. "The cause why this bearer tarrieth so long is the business that I have had to dress up ger (geer) for you, which I trust ere long to see you occupy, and then I trust to occupy yours." And the date of this letter is fixed by the concluding paragraph: "The unfeigned sickness of this well-wishing legate (Campeggio) doth somewhat retard his access to your presence." The words show clearly the court that was already paid to her by all who desired to stand well with the King, and are irreconcileable with the supposition of her then being at any great distance from London.

is admitted reluctantly by writers like Hall, who eagerly adopted without discrimination the official and permitted report. "On the coming of the Legate," says this Chronicler, "the common people, being ignorant of the truth, and in especial women, and other that favoured the Queen, talked largely, and said that the King would, for his own pleasure, have another wife, and had sent for this Legate, to be divorced from his Queen; with many foolish words. Insomuch that whosoever spoke against the marriage was of the common people abhorred and reproved."[1] Abroad, where speech was more free, the comments on the Legate's journey assumed a more sharp and decisive form. "It is said here that the cardinal Campeggio comes now into England for some particular business," writes Hacket, retailing to Wolsey the rumours in Flanders: "which business, if it come to the extent that it is thought, it were cause sufficient to cause the stones come out of the streets to cry vengeance upon us."[2] Influenced by the feelings of those around him, and desirous on his own account, as well as on account of the Pope who had sent him, to find some reasonable way out of the present dilemma, Campeggio prepared to cross over to England.

Still suffering severely from the gout, he left Paris on Friday the 18th of September, intending by easy stages to reach Calais in the course of a week. He had been "marvellously tormented" since his arrival in the French capital, and had uttered "many a bitter *Kyrie eleyson*" during the paroxysms of his importunate disease. He reached Montreuil

[1] Hall, p. 754.

[2] IV. p. 2051. It is worth observing that Tyndall, who, in common with Luther and Melancthon, spoke strongly against the divorce, meets the main reason on which Henry and his favourers defended it, by asserting that it would leave the succession more doubtful than ever. By excluding Mary's right to the crown, the succession would devolve on the King of Scotland; "and we may fortune to find one at home (glancing, no doubt, at the Duke of Richmond), which, because he is near at hand, would look to step in before him. . . . The King's grace, will ye say, shall have another wife, and she shall bear him a prince, and he shall break strife? Who hath promised him a prince? Moreover, if his new marriage be not well proved, and go forth with good authority, so shall we yet follow the Princess still, or, if she be sent away, some other." Pract. of Prelates, p. 333. "I did my diligence," he says, "a long season, to know what reasons our holy prelates should make for this divorcement; but I could not come by them. I searched what might be said for their part, but I could find no lawful cause of myself, by any Scripture that I ever read." p. 232. These and similar passages Foxe disingenuously omitted from his edition of Tyndall, without notice. They have been restored by Tyndall's late editor, Mr. Walter. It must be admitted that Tyndall's notions of marriage were quite as extraordinary as those of any Roman canonist. He would have felt no objection to marrying Mary Tudor to the Duke of Richmond.

on the 24th, "still carried in a litter," says Clerk, by whom he was attended, "his feet being not able to abide the sqwasse (pressure) of the stirrup, or his hands to hold the bridle." In consequence of the tempestuous weather he was detained at Calais until Tuesday the 29th; and arrived at Canterbury on the 1st of October. Here he was magnificently received by the clergy and civic authorities. The street, from the gate where he entered as far as the gates of the priory, was lined with the various orders of friars and other religious communities. At the cathedral door he was received under a canopy. "My lord of Canterbury, with the prior of Christ Church, the abbot of St. Augustine's, and a suffragan *in pontificalibus*, censed him, and so wan to the high altar."[1] Here he sung mass, and blessed the people. Four days more elapsed before he reached Dartford. On the 8th of October he made his entry into London. The sight-seers, who expected to be gratified by a magnificent ceremonial, were grievously disappointed; for a fresh attack of the gout, more severe than the former, wholly disabled him, and he could not endure the fatigue of a litter. "On Wednesday the 7th," he writes, "I reached the suburbs of London, and lodged at the house of the duke of Suffolk.[2] It was arranged that my entry should be publicly made the next day, and the cardinal of York was to take part in it. But I was so prostrated by the gout that I could not travel any further, either in a litter or on horseback. So I remained in the Duke's house all the next day; and in the morning the Cardinal conveyed me to the river, and I proceeded in a barge to the lodging assigned to me, namely, Bath House, without any noise or pomp. I have remained there all this present time (*i.e.* until the 17th of October), and am confined to my bed, my agony being greater than usual, owing to the journey. I do not know when I shall be sufficiently free from pain to be able to visit the King."[3]

The unhappy prelate, who had pursued his journey with great deliberation, tormented with bodily pain and mentally ill at ease, naturally promised himself some little respite from his troubles and fatigues. But any such respite ill suited the restless impatience of the Cardinal, not a little irritated by the dilatory movements of the Legate, and half incredulous as to the reality of his complaint. "The day following," continues Campeggio, "Wolsey came to see me. I had believed and

[1] IV. p. 2082.

[2] Suffolk Street, in the Strand?

[3] IV. p. 2099.

hoped that he would not discuss any business with me; but he entered immediately into the cause of my coming. He showed me that, in order to maintain an increasing authority of the Holy See, he had done his utmost to persuade the King to apply for a Legate, in order to remove the scruple which he had on his conscience, although many of the prelates in this kingdom had declared that such a course was unnecessary. . . . As the Cardinal and the King were both resolved to proceed with the dissolution of the marriage, I have presented the Pope's letter of credence, telling the former that on my departure from Rome the Pope believed that the King was not so resolved on this matter, but that Wolsey would be able to labour with me in persuading the King to take another course; and probably I should be able to persuade his Majesty to persevere in his marriage, without having recourse to a judicial sentence of separation. I detailed all the reasons which moved his Holiness to desire this result; but, though I urged the matter to the utmost of my power, I could not move him in the least. He alleged that if the King's desire was not complied with, fortified and justified as it was by the reasons, writings, and counsels of many learned men who feared God, total ruin would specially ensue of the kingdom, of himself, and of the Church's influence. As I am still confined to my bed his Lordship came three or four times to visit me. We have debated the question three or four hours together; but though in the Pope's name I have endeavoured to bring over the mind of his Majesty, and reconcile him to the Queen, I have had no more success in persuading the Cardinal than if I had spoken to a rock. His objections are founded on the invalidity of the marriage, the instability of the realm and the succession; and they are so wedded to this opinion that they not only solicit my compliance with them, but the expediting of this business with all possible despatch. Thus I find myself in great straits, with a heavy burden on my shoulders; nor do I see how judgment can be deferred, even for a brief space. They will endure no procrastination, alleging that the affairs of the kingdom are at a standstill, and that if the cause remains undetermined it will give rise to infinite and imminent perils."[1] In another letter on the same subject he adds:—"As soon as I am able to stand, we shall go to the King. At the first interview I shall do no more than hear what he has to say, and see how far his

[1] See IV. p. 2112.

mind coincides with the information I have received. On presenting the Pope's letter I will exhort him according to my instructions. This has been arranged by Wolsey and myself. Subsequently I will do my utmost to persuade the King to abandon all thoughts of the divorce, though I feel sure it will be in vain. I will do the same with the Queen, who, I doubt not, will show less repugnance. . . . The matter has come to such a pass that it can no longer be borne, and it is unnecessary to leave all the burthen upon me, because the cardinal of York and all the kingdom take so much interest in it that they will wait no longer. I beg you will obtain for me a determinate answer, either one way or the other, and let it be sent with diligence."[1] He continues:

"The King, being desirous to give an audience, removed to his palace here in London on the river (Blackfriars), not far distant from my lodging. Although I could neither ride nor walk, and could not sit without discomfort, I was compelled on the 22nd (Tuesday) to go for my first audience. I was warmly received and welcomed by his Majesty. The ambassadors and all the prelates and princes of the kingdom were assembled in a large hall. . . . My friend Florian made an appropriate speech, and was attentively heard. When he alluded to the calamities of Italy and Rome all were moved to tears.[2] Dr. Foxe made an eloquent reply. After this public ceremony the King drew us two Legates into another chamber, when I explained to him the Pope's good will, and presented his letter, which the King read. . . . Next day after dinner he visited me privately, and we remained together alone about four hours, discussing two things only. First, I exhorted him against attempting this matter; and to avoid scandals and satisfy his scruples, told him he might have a new dispensation. He heard all I had to say patiently, and made evidently a premeditated reply, instructed, I believe, by the cardinal of York, who had used the very same arguments. We discussed, in the second place, whether the dispensation of the Pope was *contra jus divinum;* if not, whether it was valid. His Majesty has so diligently studied the matter, that I believe in this case he knows more than any great theologian and jurist. He told me plainly he wanted nothing more than a declaration whether this marriage was valid or not,—he himself always assuming its invalidity; and I believe if an

[1] Campeggio to Salviati, October 17. IV. p. 2099, abridged.
[2] See also Ven. Cal., p. 176.

angel descended from Heaven, he would not be able to persuade his Majesty to the contrary.

"We then discussed a proposal for persuading the Queen to enter some religious house; at which he was highly pleased; and indeed, there are strong reasons for it, as he has ceased for two years from cohabiting with her, and will not return to her, whatever the result may be. In all other matters the King will concede whatever she demands, and will settle the succession on her daughter in the event of failure of male issue by another marriage. York and I were appointed to speak to her about this on the following day."[1]

They had already agreed to this course before their audience, when Campeggio, still firm to his engagement, endeavoured to shake the Cardinal's resolution, and represented the danger that would ensue from the anger of the Emperor. To this Wolsey demurred, observing that the affair would be conducted to the Queen's benefit and honour; nor was it likely that the Emperor would burthen himself with a great war in Katharine's behalf, as he had so quietly permitted two of his sisters to be expelled from their kingdoms.[2] Finding this argument unavailing, "I represented," says Campeggio, "that, according to the Pope's instructions, I was bound to make his Holiness acquainted with my opinion on this matter, and wait for his further instructions before I proceeded to judgment." At this remark Wolsey's suspicions were at once aroused. It confirmed all his misgivings. Turning with a scowl on his unhappy colleague, he exclaimed, *Si sic est, nolo negociari vobiscum sine potestate, neque sic agitur cum rege.* It was all Campeggio could do to pacify him by explaining away his unlucky admission. He tells his correspondent, Sanga, "that he does not see how it is possible to persevere in this course, as the Pope had desired him. They are so determined and engrossed by their own opinion that it is impossible to shake them. . . . In my last conversation with his Lordship he said, and repeated it many times in Latin, '*Most reverend Lord, beware lest, in like manner as the greater part of Germany, owing to the harshness and severity of a certain Cardinal, has become estranged from the Apostolic See and the Faith, it should be said that another Cardinal has given the same occasion to England with the same result.*' He often impresses upon me that, if this divorce be not granted, the

[1] IV. p. 2101.

[2] Alluding to the Queen of Hungary and the Queen of Denmark.

authority of the See Apostolic in this kingdom will be at an end; and he certainly proves himself very zealous for its preservation, for he has done and is still doing for it very great services, because all his grandeur is connected with it."[1] In this state of feeling the Legates proceeded to visit the Queen.

Up to this time, although Anne Boleyn had a separate establishment in the palace, to save her the unpleasantness of meeting the Queen,[2] Henry had diminished none of that outward respect which he exhibited to Katharine in public. "The Queen," says a keen observer, "makes such cheer (maintains her cheerfulness) as she has always done in her greatest triumphs; nor, to see them together, could any one have told there was anything the matter. To this hour they have the same bed and the same table."[3] The persecution to which Katharine was exposed was of a silent and mysterious kind. Counsel was allowed her, but they were in private browbeaten or tampered with. It was suggested to them what they should advise her, if she would not "incur the hatred of his Holiness, and of all Christian people;" what she should or should not insist on if she would avoid the censure of "setting forth her own sensual affection, and desiring what the law had justly condemned."[4] It is needless to say that these suggestions simply regarded what was convenient to the King's cause; that the most ingenious precautions were taken to convince Charles and other continental sovereigns that no wrong was intended her; that she acquiesced in these proceedings, and desired the judgment of the Legate. Effectual means were adopted for preventing her communications with Rome and the Emperor. More arbitrary still, the King had exacted an oath from her that she would write nothing except according to his dictation.

"Taking leave of his Majesty," continues Campeggio,[5] "the Cardinal and I repaired to the Queen, with whom we conversed alone, about two hours. After our greetings, I gave her the Pope's letter, which she received and read with good cheer. She then inquired what I had to say to her. I began

[1] IV. p. 2113.

[2] IV. p. 2207.

[3] Du Bellay, IV. p. 2096.

[4] See the two extraordinary documents, IV. pp. 2033, 2092.

[5] Though Campeggio's account is somewhat confused, it seems certain that the Legates had two interviews at least with the Queen; one on Saturday, Oct. 24, the other on Tuesday, the 27th, when she was attended by her advisers. See IV. pp. 2101, 2111, 2112. As Campeggio sends the two letters at different dates to Sanga, he can scarcely have confused one account with the other.

by telling her that as the Pope could not refuse justice to any one who demanded it, he had sent the cardinal of York and myself to examine the state of the question between her Highness and the King; but as the matter was very important and full of difficulty, his Holiness, in consideration of his paternal office, and of the love which he bore her, counselled her, confiding much in her prudence, that, rather than press it to trial, she should of herself take some other course, which would give general satisfaction, and greatly benefit herself. I said no more, in order to discover what she would demand. The cardinal of York followed to the same effect, as far as I could understand, for he spoke chiefly in English."

Her Majesty replied, "that she knew the sincerity of her own conscience, and was resolved to die in the Faith, and in obedience to God and His Holy Church; that she wished to unburthen her conscience to our lord (the Pope); and for the present she would give no other reply, as she intended to demand counsellors of the King, her lord and consort, and then she would hear and answer us. She added, that she had heard we were to induce her to enter some religion. I did not deny it, and strove to persuade her that it rested with her, by doing this, to satisfy God, her own conscience, and the glory and honor of her name. I said that by doing this she would preserve her dignities and temporal goods, and secure the succession of her daughter; that she would lose nothing, for she had lost *persona del re* already, and would not recover it. She should therefore rather yield to his displeasure than submit her cause to the hazard of a sentence—considering, if judgment went against her, how great would be her grief and trouble, and how much the ruin of her reputation. Her dowry would be forfeited, and great would be the scandal and enmity that would ensue. On the other hand, if she complied, she would retain her dower, the guardianship of the Princess, her rank, and whatever else she chose to demand; and would neither offend God nor her conscience. I enforced these arguments by the example of a queen of France who did the same, and is still honored by God and that kingdom. The same arguments were urged by the cardinal of York, who begged her to ponder them well, and hoped she would resolve for the best. So we left her, assuring us that she would make known to our lord (the Pope) the sincerity of her conscience. To this I replied, that I had been sent by the Pope to hear whatever she chose to explain to me, and I would faithfully report to him

my opinion; and by his reply she would learn that I had done my duty sincerely. She concluded the conference by saying she was a lone woman and a stranger, without friend or adviser, and intended to ask the King for counsellors, when she would give us audience."[1]

A few days after he wrote to Salviati, in whom the Pope placed implicit confidence, his impressions of this interview, and of the Queen's intentions. "I do not despair," he says, "of success in persuading the Queen to enter some religion, though I see it is difficult, and more than doubtful. I wish it were possible to gain over the Emperor to this course, and induce him to write, or, better still, send some personage to persuade her. Imagine my condition, when, besides indisposition of body, I suffer from such infinite agitation of mind. As she is nearly fifty, and would lose nothing whatever, and as so much good would ensue, I cannot see why it should be impossible to persuade her to adopt this course. As the bishop of Rochester (Fisher) is in her favor, and I believe she will choose him as one of her counsellors, with the King's consent, I had a long interview with him on the 25th (Sunday), and exhorted him to adopt this course, for many reasons. When he left me he seemed to be satisfied with what I had urged. God grant that the best counsels may prevail!"[2]

At the time of writing these lines, the unfortunate Legate had for the last twenty days been suffering from an acute attack of gout in the knee, and was unable to use it without great agony. Buried in books of canon law, interrupted by swarms of divines and doctors who crowded into his presence with their proofs and authorities, pestered with ceaseless importunities from all sides, receiving impossible instructions from Rome—for the Pope still craved for delay, and would by no means allow him to go beyond his commission—he was allowed no repose of body or mind. Every one was too much engrossed with his own affairs to give even a minute's consideration to the sufferings and necessities of the unfortunate Legate, and drove on their plans and their purposes, as if life and death depended on the result. "I had written thus far yesterday," says Campeggio, ruefully, "when this morning at break of day the cardinal of York came to visit me, whilst I was still in bed not a little tormented by the gout. He gave me to understand that the King had spoken with the Queen, who had demanded of him foreign counsellors, and the King

[1] IV. p. 2101. [2] IV. p. 2108.

had granted her the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Bath, and London, the Queen's confessor, and others. As he will not consent to her having a Spaniard, he is contented that she shall have a proctor, and another advocate from Flanders, and a Spaniard named Vives. He then told me that the Queen had asked permission of the King to confess to me. Accordingly at nine o'clock she came privately, and was with me for a long space. Though she told me all under the seal of confession, she gave me liberty, indeed she besought me, to write to the Pope certain resolutions, taking an oath of secrecy from my secretaries, adding that she would make known her intentions in proper time and place.

"Her discourse ranged from her first arrival in England to the present time. First, she affirmed on her conscience that from her marriage with prince Arthur, on the 14th of November, until his death on the 2nd of April, she had not slept in the same bed with him more than seven nights, *et che da lui resto intacta et incorrupta come vene dal ventro di sua madre*. Secondly, after I had exhorted her at great length to remove all these difficulties, and to content herself with making a profession of chastity, setting before her all the reasons which could be urged on that head, she assured me she would never comply; that she intended to live and die in the estate of matrimony, to which God had called her; that she should always remain of that opinion, and would never change it. She repeated this many times so determinately and deliberately that I am convinced she will act as she says. She insists that everything shall be decided judicially, and if sentence should go against her she will then be as free as the King's highness; saying that neither the whole kingdom on the one hand, nor any great punishment on the other, though she should be torn limb from limb, should induce her to alter this resolution; and if, after death, she could return to life, she would prefer to die over again, rather than change it. She prayed me, in the third place, to prevail upon his Majesty to remove this fantasy from his Holiness, and to regard her as his consort, and assure the King she would use her influence with the Emperor to conclude a universal peace. As I had not failed to say all I could to persuade her, and she remained firm, nothing more occurred, and she left me. I assure you that from all her conversation I have always thought her to be a prudent lady, and now more than ever. But as she can, without much prejudice to herself, avoid such great perils and

difficulties, her obstinacy in refusing this sound advice does not much please me." [1]

On Tuesday the 27th of October, the two Cardinals, according to arrangement, had another interview with Katharine, whom they found surrounded by her councillors, the chief of whom was the celebrated friar, Dr. Standish, the Bishop of St. Asaph. She received the Legates with her usual dignity, complaining, but without the slightest manifestation of anger, that they had come to question her on a matter of such high concernment, without due notice, or allowing her time enough to take counsel. Campeggio then reiterated the arguments he had used before; spoke at great length, and was followed by Wolsey, who knelt before her, supplicating her long and earnestly to follow this advice, to her honour and benefit. She replied, she would do nothing to the condemnation of her soul or the violation of God's laws, and when she had taken counsel with her advisers, would let them have her final answer. "We shall see," says Campeggio, "what they will advise her, and what counsel she will adopt, though as yet it does not seem likely she will bend one way or the other." [2]

This dilatoriness and apparent want of resolution on the part of his colleague was by no means agreeable to Wolsey. Campeggio seemed far more bent on knitting together again the disrupted tie by which the King was still held than in proceeding with the divorce. He was ignorant of the fact that Campeggio's instructions extended no further. "I am ashamed," writes Sanga to Campeggio, "of repeating the same thing so many times, especially as you were well informed of the Pope's mind at your departure; but every day stronger reasons are discovered which compel the Pope to remind you that you are to act cautiously, and use your utmost skill and address in diverting the King from his present intention, and restoring to him his former love to the Queen. Should you find this impossible, you are not to pronounce any sentence whatever without a new and express commission from this place (Rome) . . . You will not be surprised at my repeating that you are not to proceed to sentence under any pretext without an express commission; but you are to protract the matter as long as you can, if, haply, God shall put into the King's heart some holy thought, so that he may not desire from his Holiness a thing which cannot be granted without injustice, peril,

[1] Campeggio to Salviati, Oct. 26, IV. p. 2108. See also Appendix to this volume.

[2] IV. p. 2111.

and scandal."[1] It is due to the Legate to say that he adhered to these instructions implicitly, taking every opportunity allowed by the law's delay, and the interminable processes of the ecclesiastical courts, to stave off the inevitable hour. The growing rumour of the Emperor's descent into Italy, the success of the Imperial arms, the incapacity displayed by the French generals, or their unwillingness at least to push the war with energy, showed plainly enough that the Emperor was the real monarch of Italy. To offend him by conceding the King's demand would kindle "an inextinguishable conflagration in Christendom," and the Church would perish in the ruins. The sack of Rome, with its lasting memories of pillage, terror, and bloodshed, could not endure repetition. This, Campeggio, who had himself been a sufferer, knew. But his obvious reluctance to proceed to trial did not escape the vigilant eye of Wolsey, now more alert and pressing than ever from anticipation of the failure of his schemes, and the certainty of impending ruin. He desired Casale, then at Rome, to tell the Pope that, notwithstanding all professions of candour and kindness shown to Campeggio, the Legate had taken a course entirely at variance with his instructions; was attempting to dissuade the King from his purpose, and would take no step in the cause he was sent to determine, until he had reported his own impressions to the Pope. "What is more," said Wolsey, "although I am his colleague he will not entrust me with his commission, so that the King, who had heretofore assured his Privy Council that the Pope would not fail to do what he could in his cause, now finds himself deceived, and can get no information about the commission; whilst those who asserted that nothing but pretexts or delay would be invented, are found to be correct in their judgment. The King feels his honor touched by this, especially considering what a benefactor he has been to the Church. I cannot reflect upon it, and close my eyes, for I see ruin, infamy, and subversion of the whole dignity and honor of the See Apostolic, if this course be persisted in. You see in what dangerous times we live. If the Pope will consider the gravity of this cause, and how much the safety of this nation depends upon it, he will perceive that the course he now pursues will drive the King to adopt those remedies which will be injurious to the Pope, and are frequently instilled into the King's mind. Without the Pope's compliance I cannot bear up against the

[1] IV. p. 2055.

storm; and as often as I reflect on the conduct of his Holiness, I cannot but fear lest the common enemy of souls, seeing the King's determination, inspire the Pope with his present fears and reluctance, which will alienate all faith and devotion from the See Apostolic. The sparks of that opposition here which have been extinguished with such care and assiduity, will blaze forth again, to the utmost danger of all in this nation and out of it. It is useless for Campeggio to think of restoring the marriage. If he did, it would lead to worse consequences. Let him, therefore, proceed to sentence. Prostrate at the feet of his Holiness, I must urgently beg of him to set aside all delays." [1]

Then he instructs the ambassador to obtain for Wolsey and Campeggio jointly a suitable commission, containing an express command to proceed at once to sentence. In conclusion, he says he will spare no labour to induce the Queen to enter a nunnery, although he is by no means sanguine of the result. If she can be induced to comply, he desires authority for the King to marry again, without prejudice to the offspring of either marriage. She is very charitable, he adds, and could do more good in this way than the other. Strange to say, either the whole, or more probably a part, of this letter was submitted to Campeggio, who, at Wolsey's desire, seconded this request.

If Wolsey ever entertained the thought that Katharine would relent, his anticipations were not doomed to be realized. She remained firm to her resolution. In this course she was apparently supported by her advisers, especially by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. The King had so far acceded to her request as to permit her to select such advocates from the episcopal members of the Council as she preferred. Of these Warham, Clerk, Fisher, West, and Standish were the most eminent. To these were added an advocate from Flanders, and one Spaniard, the eminent scholar Ludovico Vives. Disappointed in his hopes, the Cardinal did not relax his energies. He talked over the subject with Du Bellay, whom he professed to regard as a great theologian; begged of him to write to the Queen Regent of France, and take an opportunity himself of impressing upon Campeggio the advisableness and justice of the divorce, as the Legate set a high value upon Du Bellay's opinions. Nor was the King less energetic on his part. To remove the unpopular impressions which prevailed among the

[1] IV. p. 2120.

commonalty, on Sunday, the 8th of November, he summoned to his palace at Bridewell the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London. He enlarged on the bad turns done him by the Emperor, both in the present and in the past; and, on the other hand, upon the great friendship shown him by the King of France. He told them "that the scruple of his conscience, which he had felt a long time, had been terribly augmented ever since a bishop of France, a great personage and learned man," meaning De Tarbes, "then being ambassador here, had spoken of it to his Council in terribly expressive terms. Wherefore he was desirous, the better to assure the succession of his kingdom, the peace and tranquillity of his subjects, to understand what was right and reasonable, and whatever was reasonable he would implicitly adopt. But if, notwithstanding, he found any one, whoever he was, who spoke in other terms than he ought to do of his Prince, he would let him know that he was his master." "I think," says Du Bellay, "he used these terms, 'that there was never a head so dignified but that he would make it fly.'"[1]

Meantime a fresh device for cancelling the marriage occupied the fertile brain of the Cardinal. The legality of the marriage did not depend merely on the bull for a dispensation granted by Julius II. As if in anticipation that its validity might be called in question, Ferdinand the Catholic had contrived to obtain a brief fully confirming all the clauses of the *said* bull. By some means an intimation of the existence of a document so important to her cause had been conveyed to the ears of Katharine by the Spanish ambassador;

[1] IV. p. 2145. Hall, who says he was present upon the occasion, gives a rather different version of this speech. He omits all mention of the Bishop of Tarbes, as well as the threats recorded by Du Bellay. Probably, in compliance with the practice of those times, he has recast the speech in his own style. One passage in it is too memorable to be overlooked. He makes the King say, that if the Queen were adjudged by the law of God as his lawful wife, "there was never thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that besides her noble parentage, of the which she is descended, she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness; yea, and of all good qualities appertaining to nobility she is without comparison, as I this twenty years almost have had the true experiment, or that if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women." Hall, p. 754. These expressions are not only grossly extravagant, but so completely at variance with the King's language respecting Katharine on other occasions, that either we must believe they were dressed up in Hall's fashion, or condemn the King of the vilest insincerity. Du Bellay gives no intimation of them. It is probable that Cavendish, by a slip of the memory, transferred them to a subsequent occasion (p. 218).

and she proposed to produce it in evidence. It was a fatal blow to the King's proceedings. But where was it to be found? Were there any presumptions that, after all, it was a forgery? If the Pope could be induced to pronounce it invalid, or regard it as suspicious—if there were *primâ facie* evidence of a forgery—might he not be induced to pronounce it a forgery? Whether there was an authentic copy of the brief in England cannot be decided. It was for the interest of the King that it should not be found, if there was. But whether there was or was not, unfortunately for the designs of the King and of Wolsey, the instrument itself was deposited in the archives of Spain. Ingenuity was now busy in finding means for obtaining the original. The improbability of success in such an attempt—for Charles was kept well informed of all that was passing—would have baffled less sanguine and less fertile inventions; but Wolsey was not accustomed to suffer disappointment, much less to despond. Katharine herself was to be made the instrument for accomplishing his wishes. To command her to send for the original would alarm her suspicions, and ensure defeat. Therefore her advocates were to be tampered with, and, under pretence of consulting her interests, they were to urge upon her the necessity of procuring it. It might have been hoped that a proposition so infamous to all concerned would never have been carried into effect, or, if submitted to the Queen's counsellors, would have been, for the honour of all Englishmen, unceremoniously rejected. Unfortunately such was not the case. Worse than all, if the King himself was not the author of the deceit, he became the willing instrument in deceiving his consort. But before I proceed further I will submit the substance of it to my readers.[1] It is entitled—

"*Advice to be given to the Queen's grace by her counsel.*

"Forasmuch as your Grace now late did show unto us of your counsel the copy of a bull and a brief concerning your marriage . . . which, after his Grace and his counsel had seen and considered, forasmuch as after due search made in his treasury no like brief can be founden, but the bull only, they do think the said brief to be but forged and counterfeited; which would appear on the production of the original. When the process shall begin, the copy will not help you. As the King, therefore, cannot and ought not to be satisfied with the said copy, you must endeavour, for his satisfaction, the advancement of your cause, and as ye tender the continuance of love between you, to obtain the original, now in the Emperor's custody. This may be easily done, if you write to the Emperor that

[1] The document is in Wriothesley's hand, who was at this time either under-secretary to Tuke or to Cromwell, that is, in the service either of the King or Wolsey.

the King your husband has conceived a great scruple concerning your marriage; and though he consulted many great learned men, he could not be satisfied, and therefore referred the matter to the Pope, who has sent a commission to two legates for that purpose;—that your counsel has shown you that the original of the brief must be produced; therefore, you desire his Majesty, as he tenders your wealth, and continuance of the marriage, for the love of God and the advancement of justice, and as he will be loth to see you divorced, and your child injured, to condescend to your request. You shall ask him to send it hither to England, by forwarding it to Bayonne. The lacking thereof might be the extreme ruin of your affairs, and no little danger to the inheritance of your child. The better to induce him to condescend to this request, and to send the original, you can tell him that he may take a transumpt, which would equally serve his purpose, but not yours, as it is a common instrument belonging to the King and yourself. You shall further say you have promised to exhibit the original here within three months, failing which, sentence will probably be given against you. If you do not succeed in this it will be much to your hindrance; 'for if we ourself were judges in this matter, and should lawfully find that where ye might ye did not do your diligence for the attaining of the said original, surely we would proceed further in that matter as the law would require, tarrying nothing therefor, as if never any such brief had been spoken of.' It is desirable also that you should write to the Emperor's ambassador, from whom you had the copy, to support your application.

"If the Emperor utterly refuses, then the Queen must protest that as it is her own, she will sue unto the Pope for compulsories, and adopt other remedies, as shall be thought convenient; but she hopes she will not be driven to use such extremities. And to the intent that the King and his Council shall not think that she intends any frivole delay, it will be expedient that she declare in the presence of a notary that she intends not to use any delay, but will recover it with all diligence *bonâ fide*, and when it is sent it shall be exhibited."

That she acted, or rather was intimidated into acting, on this deceitful advice, is well known. "When I was about to close these letters," says Du Bellay, writing to Montmorenci, on the 20th of December, "I was sent for by the King, and told that the Queen had produced a copy of some brief ampliative of the bull for the dispensation of the marriage (*i.e.* with Henry), of the same date as the bull; but as it had not been considered authentic by the Cardinals, she intends sending to the Emperor to demand the original, and the King had granted her leave to despatch a Spaniard in post, and he begged of me to obtain for the messenger a safe conduct through France, and prompt transit. . . . The said King expects (*espere*) that this brief will be found to be a forgery, on many presumptions which he entertains; but, however it may be, it must be seen before he proceeds any further in the cause, and therefore great diligence must be used. He has spoken to me at great length of the said matter, and I can assure you he needs no advocate, he understands it so well." [1]

[1] IV. p. 2203.

Although Katharine was well aware how much her cause depended on the safe custody of the brief, and that if it were once given up to her husband, who in this cause was also her opponent, she could never hope to regain possession of it, she wrote to Charles, asking for its delivery, almost in the very terms of the document suggested by her counsellors. She sent her chaplain, Thomas Abell, to receive it, begging her nephew by all means to deliver the original, and to rest satisfied with retaining a copy.[1] But Abell, in transmitting this request, wrote by the same post to the Emperor, that the Queen desired he should in no wise part with the brief, notwithstanding the earnest request contained in her letter, "*as she had been compelled under oath to write in that manner.*" She begged the Emperor to use every effort to have her cause remitted to Rome, as she could expect no justice in England. If the Pope should reply that the Queen herself had made no such demand, the ambassador was to explain that "*she neither says, nor writes, nor signs anything but what the King commands her; and to this she is compelled by solemn oath.*" She begs also that some good canonist may be appointed as ambassador to England, for the advocates sent by Margaret from Flanders in her behalf had been denied a hearing, and had been ordered to return.

This painful statement is confirmed by Inigo de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. "The King and the Council attach so much importance to the brief in the Emperor's possession, that they are trying by every means to get it into their hands. The King has made the Queen swear that she will do all she can to procure it, for which purpose she has been made to write a letter and protestation quite against her will. However, she has sent a messenger, named Juan de Montoya, instructed by word of mouth to inform the Emperor of the whole matter. It was dangerous to give him a cipher, lest it should have awakened suspicion in France. He suggests that an authentic copy of the brief should be made in the presence of the English ambassadors, "for the confusion of those who take Henry's part."[2]

[1] From Hampton Court, Jan. 9: IV. p. 2265. The letter is preserved at Simancas.

[2] IV. p. 2274. Mendoza has explained this in a subsequent letter: "The Queen," he says, "had *two* dispensations from pope Julius. Of the first and principal the King has here an authentic copy, as the Emperor also has; but of the second they have none in England, and they will use every effort to get it from the Emperor; but his Majesty will, of course, take great care not to give it up, as in it consists the whole of the Queen's right." p. 2297.

To this point the King and the Cardinal now directed their efforts. In the latter end of November, Sir Francis Bryan and Vannes were sent to Rome to withdraw the Pope, in the first place, from his amity with the Emperor; and, in the second place, to discover, if possible, the real grounds for Campeggio's inertness. The mode adopted for effecting the former of these objects is not calculated to convey any high idea of the genius of those by whom it was contrived, or of the judgment of him who was to be influenced by it. A prophecy was circulated at the time that a Pope should rise up, "named Angelo, who should go barefoot, and do many things superfluous to rehearse." The Emperor's prime representative in Italy was a cordelier, of this name. Henry's agents were, therefore, to impress upon the Pope that the Emperor, under pretext of being friendly with his Holiness, had sent this Angelo, "who goes barefoot, as other Observants do," with great power into Italy, intending to take advantage of this prophecy, advance him under some false pretext to the Papacy, take possession of the Church, and establish his "See Imperial" at Rome.[1] Unduly as these prophecies were regarded, even by men of sober judgment, in the sixteenth century, and often made subservient to political purposes, it is hardly to be imagined that in this case more was intended than a design to amuse the Pope, and give the ambassadors an opportunity of discovering his real sentiments. It served the purpose of showing him how much the King tendered his welfare; how devoted he was to the Pope's interest; for, in conjunction with Francis, he now offered Clement a body guard for his protection. Such delicate attentions could scarcely fail of eliciting from his Holiness some expression of gratitude, and give the ambassadors an opportunity of contrasting the unselfish devotion of Henry to his person, with the unscrupulous ambition and greed of the Emperor. But whilst they were openly pursuing this policy at Rome, they were secretly instructed, "by great and high policy, secresy, and circumspection, to investigate the truth of the great and apparent craft and delusion that seems to have been used in disappointing the direct and true course of truth in the decision of the matter of divorce by process and judgment in England." Further, they are informed that the Queen had exhibited an authentic copy of a brief, of which she affirmed the original was in the Emperor's possession, obtained from

[1] IV. p. 2156.

Pope Julius, and removing all the disabilities found in the dispensation granted by the same Pope, now in the King's hands; "the like of which had not been heard of or seen, at any time, either in king Henry VIIth's days in the court of Rome, in England, in Spain, or elsewhere till now of late." The improbability that such a brief should ever have been granted out of the Apostolic Chancery, and never heard of until now, created, they were told, manifest suspicion of forgery. They were, therefore, to search the registers, securing the services of some trusty agent for this purpose, "either by ready money, or continual entertainment," to study the handwritings and seals, note every discrepancy, and send whatever information they could obtain in an authenticated form to England.

"Meanwhile," continues the despatch, which is carefully signed by the King at the beginning and the end, "the ambassadors must secretly retain the best advocates they can find in Rome, by secret rewards and convention, and must learn from them, whether, if the Queen can be induced to enter into lax religion (retire into a nunnery without taking the vows), the Pope may, by his plenary power, dispense with the King, and allow him to proceed to a second marriage, with legitimation of the children. And although it is a thing that the Pope perhaps cannot do, in accordance with the divine and human laws already written,[1] using his ordinary power, whether he may do it of his mere and absolute power, as a thing in which he may dispense above the law. . . . Similarly as the Queen will probably make great difficulty in entering religion, or taking the vow of chastity, means of high policy must be used to induce her thereunto. And as perhaps she will resolve not to do so unless the King will do the like, the ambassadors must find out from their counsel if, to ensure so great a benefit to the King's succession and realm, and to the quiet of his conscience, he takes such a vow, *whether the Pope will dispense with him for the said promise or vow, discharging him clearly of the same, and thereupon allow him to proceed to a second marriage with legitimation of the children.*

"Furthermore, to provide for everything, as well *propter conceptum odium*, as for the danger that may ensue by con-

[1] It is extraordinary how the King's scruples of conscience coincided with his inclinations. He is troubled in mind exceedingly at his marriage with his brother's widow, as contrary to the Divine law, with which no Pope could dispense, and yet he made no scruple of applying for a similar exercise of the Pope's dispensing power when it suited his purposes.

tinuing in the Queen's chamber, whose body his Grace, for marvellous great and secret respects, is utterly resolved and determined never to use, if they find that the Pope will not dispense with the King's proceeding to a second marriage while the Queen is alive in religion, but that she must still be reputed as his wife, they shall inquire whether the Pope will dispense with the King to have two wives, making the children of the second marriage legitimate, as well as those of the first; whereof some great reasons and precedents appear, especially in the Old Testament. The ambassadors, being thus secretly informed of what the Pope may do, will be more ready at the coming of the secretary (Knight) and Benet to carry out their instructions."[1]

So intense was the King's impatience, that, within a few days after, he despatched Knight and Benet to the aid of their colleagues in Rome, thus augmenting their number to five. Knight, Benet, and Taylor were first to visit Francis, exhibit a copy of the brief, and make it appear they had no other business at Rome, except to procure the original, not allowing it to transpire that the King would be sorry if his suspicions of forgery should prove unfounded. On reaching Rome they were to inquire what their fellows had done in discovering its falsity. If this was clear they were to repair to the Pope, and deliver him the King's and the Legate's letters. But as it was not fit for the King to appear as a party in this matter, after informing the Pope that the Queen had sent a copy of the brief to Campeggio, they were instructed to tell him "that the King having his mind fixed on the certainty of eternal life, hath in this cause put before his eyes the light and shining brightness of truth, as the best foundation for the tranquillity of his conscience, knowing, as the Apostle says, that there is no good foundation except that which Christ has laid; and that the King, finding his conscience touched by plain suspicion of falsity in the brief, has recourse to the only fountain of remedy on earth—the Pope himself." They are then to urge, that, considering how many persons are implicated in this forgery, it would be well for his Holiness to put an end to the scandal; for it rests with him alone to decide on its truth or its falsehood. Technical objections are

[1] IV. pp. 2157 and 2161. Startling as this proposal may appear to modern readers, such violation of the marriage law was quite familiar to the Protestants of Germany; and Cranmer, in a letter to his relative Osiander, taxes them with encouraging these lax practices, and Bucer for defending them.

detailed as to its style and its date, from all of which it would be reasonable to conclude that the brief was surreptitious. These grounds, they are to urge, are sufficient for the Pope "to write peremptorily to the Emperor to send him the brief within three months," with a view of transmitting it to England. They are further instructed to obtain from his Holiness a commission for the Legates for pronouncing the brief to be a forgery. But if the Pope declines to take either course, they are to present letters from the two Legates, desiring the avocation of the cause to Rome, first obtaining a written promise from the Pope that he will give sentence in the King's favour. If none of these demands prove successful, they are to fall back upon the former proposal for enabling the King to contract a second marriage, if the Queen will enter "lax religion." As a further inducement to the Pope to grant a commission for that purpose, they are to assure him that in any event the King is resolved to proceed to a second marriage, and will not be disappointed in his hopes.[1]

It might have been supposed that the King would have been contented to rest here, and as he had done all that he could to prejudice the course of justice against his unhappy Queen, he would have been satisfied with these advantages. He had employed his authority with her as a husband, and his power as a sovereign, to prevent her from asserting her

[1] IV. p. 2159. These instructions were apparently followed and supported by a letter from the Legates to the Pope, which the reader will find at p. 2162. In a similar tone to that of the instructions given above, they deprecate all discussion as to the validity of the brief, upon the pretext that it would endanger the estimation of the Holy See, and compromise their own dignity. They urge, therefore, that the Pope should hear the cause himself. If this cannot be done, "the Pope," they say, "can still try the mind of the Queen, and by letters and messages urge her to enter religion. They consider many things of this kind for the good of the kingdom and of the King, who patiently waits for the Pope's assistance, and is overwhelmed with great anxiety." They urge strongly the necessity of the divorce, and affirm that those who report that the King is impelled to the course he has taken out of hatred to the Queen, and desire of another wife, are much mistaken. "As neither disagreeable manners nor despair of future offspring could impel the King's mind to hatred, no one would think him so weak that for the pleasures of sense he would wish to break a connection in which he has spent his life from his youth!" The letter ends with a threat that if some speedy and adequate remedy be not provided, the King and the kingdom will throw off their allegiance to the Holy See. The whole document is conceived in so one-sided a spirit, is so transparently false in some of its statements, and so much at variance with the sentiments expressed by Campeggio, that it is difficult to believe he could have signed it, at least in its present form. The draft is in Vannes' hand; but whether it was fair copied, and then signed by Campeggio, and presented to the Pope, it is not easy to say. It must have staggered the Pope if it had been so.

rights, or appealing to any other tribunal—a privilege allowed, in all cases of this kind, to the meanest of his subjects. He had dismissed her Flemish and Spanish advocates, as they were less influenced by threats or rewards than her English advisers. Dissimulation and violence had been employed unscrupulously to bring her into compliance with his wishes. Not satisfied with using his influence with the Queen's advisers in order to weaken her defence and prejudice her cause, he now had recourse to her judges, and employed the Legates to cajole or frighten her into submission. Considering how weak, how lonely, how friendless she was; how closely and narrowly watched; what efforts were made on all sides to prejudice her cause, language is not strong enough to stigmatize such ungenerosity and duplicity as they deserve. If the Reformation had produced no other benefit than that of removing bishops from the baneful influence of courts, the Church would have had great reason to be thankful. The King's supremacy was established already. Its greatest abettor was not Cranmer or Cromwell, but the Cardinal himself.

In the draft of an address intended for the use of her advocates, or the Legates themselves, the speakers are instructed to apologize to Katharine for their unusual intrusion. They are directed to tell her that since they last waited upon her they have heard that the King and his Council have been advertised that certain ill-disposed persons intended to conspire against the King and the Legate (Wolsey), "which is thought to be done for her sake, or by her occasion, by such as be favourers of the Emperor."[1] They think it their duty, therefore, to call her attention to these acts; for if any such attempt should be made it would be imputed to her, even if she were innocent, and would lead to her utter ruin. "The King," they said, "takes this very earnestly, and doubts the more because she does not show such love to him, neither in nor yet out of bed, as a woman ought to show to her husband; . . . in public she does not behave suitably; for though the King is in great pensiveness[2] on this account, she is not so, but shows many signs and tokens to the contrary. She exhorts the ladies and gentlemen of his court to dance and to pastime, though it would be better for her to exhort them to pray that God would set some good end in this matter. She manifests no pensiveness in her countenance, nor in her

[1] A mere fiction.

[2] What sort of pensiveness may be seen by his letters about this time to Anne Boleyn.

apparel nor behaviour. She shows herself too much to the people, rejoicing greatly in their exclamations and ill obloquy, and by beckoning with her head and smiling, which she had not been accustomed to do in times past, rather encouraging them in their so doing, than rebuking them, as she ought to have done. Further, she ought to have informed the King of the brief, which she pretends to have had for a long time, and not to have kept it close, for the exhibition thereof might have given much ease."

And now comes what may be considered as the gist of this indecent reprimand, for which these false or exaggerated charges were in a great measure devised. Anne Boleyn at this time, after some absence at Hever, had returned to Court. She had been installed with no little magnificence in her apartments at Greenwich. The King had grown weary of his wife's society; weary of that formal decency Wolsey had recommended. He had treated the Queen for some time with cruel coldness and indifference, wished to break off all connection with her, and accustom his subjects to regard Anne as his lawful wife, though he scarcely ventured to bring her nearer the metropolis than Greenwich. The terms on which he now proposed to live with his mistress can scarcely be doubted. The language of his letters leaves but one interpretation probable; and his unrestricted access to her apartments, *sine arbitris*, more than once hinted at in his letters, points to but one conclusion.[1] To break this resolution to Katharine, to find some sort of justification for estranging himself utterly from her society for the future, he had recourse to the following device, attributing to Katharine and her malevolence the necessity of his determination, which he leaves others to make known to her, and defend upon false suggestions.

"Considering all this," the speakers are to continue, "the King cannot persuade himself that she loves him as she ought, but that she rather hates him; and, therefore, his Council think that it is not safe for the King to be conversant with her, either at bed or at board, specially after the beginning of the process. They think that if the King has such fear he may lawfully withdraw from her company; and for like suspicion he will not suffer the Princess to come into

[1] See Du Bellay's letter, IV. p. 2177, and his letter of June following: "Je me doubte fort *que depuis quelque temps* ce Roy ait approché bien pres de Mademoiselle Anne, pour ce ne vous esbahissez si l'on voudroit expedition: car si le ventre croist, tout sera gasté." p. 2508.

her company—(the unkindest cut of all!)—which should be a very grievous thing to the Queen, as the Princess should at her age be near her mother for her better education."[1]

The speakers[2] are further instructed, as before, to urge Katharine to enter religion. If she still makes a difficulty, they are to say "that perhaps she thinks, if she did so, the King would marry another; but she need not fear this, for the King could not by law take another wife during her life, nor could the Pope dispense with him to do so." Yet he was at that moment treating with the Pope for such a dispensation. They are to advise her to go boldly to the King, and, with humble submission and prayer that he will be good to her, offer to enter religion, or do any other thing for the ease of his conscience and the security of his succession, so it be not contrary to the laws of God and the Church. This submission will stir the King to have compassion on her; and he will be content, if she enter religion, that she should leave it if sentence be given in her favour. But if she is not conformable he will be much more angry with her than before.[3]

[1] Probably this outrage on truth and decency was prompted as much by the King's fear of offending his subjects as by any other motive. The divorce was extremely unpopular, except with the immediate friends of Anne Boleyn; and as the King dared not openly withdraw from Katharine's company, he persuaded either the Legates or her advocates to recommend in this indirect manner a separation, of which he shunned the responsibility. All authorities concur in showing that outwardly he treated Katharine with undiminished respect, whilst privately his conduct towards her was marked with the most heartless tyranny. "The King," says Hall, "notwithstanding that his mind was unquiet, yet he kept a good countenance towards the Queen, with as much love, honour and gentleness as could be showed to such a Princess; but he abstained from her bed till the truth was tried, according as his ghostly counsel had advised him; which was to him no little pain; for surely he loved her as well as any prince might love his wife, and she him again, and therefore it was great pity that their marriage was not good." p. 756. It is not easy to find fitting language to stigmatize such gross misrepresentations of the truth. But neither Hall nor Foxe are to be trusted in this matter. Hall admits, "that the lay people of England, which knew not the law of God (!), sore murmured at the matter; and much the more because there was a gentlewoman in the Court, called Anne Bulleyne, daughter to Sir Thomas Bulleyne, viscount Rocheforde, whom the King much favoured, in all honesty, and surely none otherwise, as all the world well knew after. For this cause the Queen's ladies, gentlewomen, and servants basely spake, and said that she so enticed the King, and brought him in such amours, that only for her sake he would be divorced." p. 759.

[2] It is difficult to decide whether these instructions were given to the Legates or to the Queen's councillors, especially as they *must* have come into the hands of Clerk, Bishop of Bath, who was one of her advisers. He has noted, in his own hand, at the foot of the paper, certain queries, evidently intended to obtain information from the Queen, not touched upon in these instructions. These queries are so much in favour of the King's wishes, that it looks very much as if he also, under guise of advising, was attempting to entrap her.

[3] IV. p. 2163.

It is pleasant to turn from this tissue of falsehood, cruelty, and deceit, to the account given by the great scholar Vives of his communications with Katharine at this time. It appears that he was compelled by the King, who was now grown wholly unscrupulous, to reveal the subject of his conversations with the Queen; and he justly complains of the outrage to which he, who was one of her council and a subject of the Emperor, had thus been exposed; "not," he says, "that it could injure any one to relate it, even if it were published at the church doors." He had intended to return to Spain in May, but, at the King's request, remained until Michaelmas, and during the winter, at Katharine's desire, gave the princess Mary lessons in Latin. "The Queen," he continues, "afflicted about this controversy as to her marriage, and thinking Vives well read in morals and consolation, began to open to him, as her countryman who spake the same language, her great distress that the man whom she loved more than herself should be so alienated from her, that he should think of marrying another; and her grief was the greater in proportion as she loved him." Vives replied, that it was an argument that she was dear to God; for it was thus He exercised his own, to the increase of their virtue. "Can any one blame me," he asks, "for attempting to console her?" As their talk went on, they proceeded to discuss the cause more warmly. The Queen then desired him to ask the Imperial ambassador (Mendoza) to write to the Emperor to do what was just with the Pope, that she might not be condemned unheard. "Who," Vives asks, "will not praise her moderation? When others would have moved Heaven and earth, she merely desires her sister's son not to suffer her to be condemned without a hearing."[1] This was the head and front of her offending. What less could she have done, remembering that not merely her own but her daughter's rights were imperilled in the issue.

We turn to him who still for a brief interval occupied the central position of Christendom, and, like the centre on which a great machinery revolves, had to endure the stress, with no benefit to himself, of opposite and contending forces. *Servus servorum Dei*, in more senses than one, it was to the Pope that discontented sovereigns looked for the redress of all their grievances, real or supposed, especially of such as they had no mind themselves to redress. The general servant of all who

[1] IV. p. 2166.

demanded his services, never was servant more ungratefully treated, or expected to fulfil more irreconcileable and incompatible tasks. Protestant historians paint the spiritual ruler of Christendom, like Jupiter of old, wielding immortal and inexhaustible thunders, ruling over submissive and ignorant subjects, who imagined his displeasure was death and eternal exclusion from the kingdom of Heaven. They conceive of a pope as fulminating interdicts against rebellious nations, and scattering superstitious terrors through the fainting hearts of people, who fell prostrate at the feet of the incensed successor of St. Peter. History knows of no such popes; of no such kings or people who obeyed them, further than it suited their own interests; of no such races in whom regard for a spiritual authority rose supreme over their own arbitrary wills and selfish inclinations. It knows of no time when popes or people ceased to be men, or varied very considerably from the type of mankind in general. Such, at all events, was not the case with Clement VII., now, unfortunately for himself and his own ease, the central figure against whom the three great sovereigns of Europe were collecting their menaces, and whom they were worrying to death with incessant importunities. He was by nature a quiet, easy-going Pontiff, who would no more have thought of fulminating anathemas, or binding obstinate and refractory monarchs to his behests, than he would have yoked lions and tigers to his chariot. Not he, forsooth! Timid, irresolute, and inoffensive, all he required was to be left unmolested to carry out his own little pet schemes for improving the patrimony of the Church without interruption. For Katharine and her wrongs, if the truth were known, he cared but little, and would have cordially wished them both at the bottom of the sea, but for breach of Christian charity. If Henry could only have been contented to settle his own scruples in his own kingdom, and not insisted upon dragging the Pope into the dispute, Clement would have been content.[1] Hitherto in

[1] Sanga, the Pope's confidant, writes a very characteristic letter to Campeggio, who complained of the difficulty of holding out against the pressing and unintermittent solicitations of the King and Wolsey. "You tell me that you cannot long sustain this burthen alone; but as an ample reply will be sent you as soon as the Cavalier Casale arrives at Rome, hold out, for the love of God, and do not suffer yourself to be drawn a step further. The Pope is aware of the good will of the cardinal of York, and knows how he persuaded the King to ask for a legate, *although the English prelates affirmed it was unnecessary*. Would to God the Cardinal had allowed the matter to take its course; for if the King had decided for himself, rightly or wrongly, without reference to the Pope, the Pope would have escaped all blame. He would be highly pleased if the

his political schemes he had experienced nothing but loss, dissatisfaction, and danger. He had found all the grand promises of Wolsey, Francis, and the Venetians, worth nothing in the hour of peril: worst of all, when their aid was most wanted, they had left him in the lurch, and suffered him to bear the burthen alone. *Servus servorum Dei!* That indeed was a more easy and agreeable privilege on parchment than exemplified in reality, at least with such results as these; and Clement had determined henceforth to trust none but the strongest; and the strongest at this time was the Emperor. He was not the first, he will not be the last, to whom might and right seemed identical. It was the main object of his policy at this conjuncture to recover Cervia and Ravenna from the hands of the Venetians; and as their restoration was to be the price of his favour, he let it be known significantly enough, that he expected his wish should be respected. But Venice was the ally of France and of England; and without offending the Venetians Wolsey could not gratify the Pope. Still he did his best to urge the demand; he made a show at least of assenting to the Pope's wishes; and so long as Clement had any expectation in that quarter he turned no unfavourable ear to the King's cause. Even when that hope was extinguished he had not ceased to alarm the Imperialists by seeming to favour the King's cause, to make them more pliable to his project. "Rely on it," said he, "though the Venetians retain what belongs to me, I shall get the cities back. Either I shall ruin myself utterly, or I shall ruin them."[1] This, then, was his dearest object: not Imperial favours, not divorce or no divorce, not stemming the tide of Lutheranism or resisting the Turks; but the alpha and the omega of his political creed was the recovery of Cervia and Ravenna. As this hope was more or less distant, as he had greater or less expectations of seeing it realized, he trimmed his complacency to the King or the Emperor.

Disgusted with the dilatory proceedings of Campeggio, and his evident reluctance to proceed with the divorce, Wolsey had

Queen could be induced to enter religion; for though this course would be portentous and unusual, he could more readily entertain it, as by it only one person would be injured." IV. p. 2210.

[1] Ven. Cal., p. 161. See Wolsey's curious conversation on this subject with Du Bellay. The indifference of Francis to the King's request, in urging the surrender of these cities by the Venetians, caused the Cardinal the greatest anxiety, even bringing tears to his eyes when he spoke of it; for he knew well that without them the Pope, whatever he might pretend, would do nothing. See IV. p. 2105.

written to Sir Gregory Casale, the English resident at Rome. He complained that the Legate would not show his commission, or obey the King's commands. Sir Gregory was not at Rome when the letter arrived, and his brother John acted in his place. On representing Wolsey's complaints to the Pope, "his Holiness laid his hand upon my arm," says John Casale, "with expressions of anger, forbidding me to proceed. He complained that he was deceived by those in whom he had trusted; that he had granted the commission only to be shown to the King and be burnt forthwith, and this upon the most urgent entreaties, to prevent manifest ruin, whereas Wolsey now wished to make it public. 'I see,' said he, 'how much evil is likely to follow, and I would gladly recall what has been done, even to the loss of one of my fingers.' 'But,' replied the ambassador, 'it was applied for in order that it might be shown to a few, whose secresy could be depended on. What has induced your Holiness to change your sentiments?' 'At this,' says Casale, 'he grew more angry and more excited, saying the bull would be the ruin of him, and that he would make no further concessions.' 'But,' said I, 'consider what ruin and what heresy will be occasioned in England by alienating the King's mind. If the concession has been an evil, it is only a less evil to avoid a greater.' Then, falling on my knees before him, I begged of him to have some consideration for the King, to reflect on the peril of losing his friendship, and the danger we should incur who had always been his faithful servants.

"Hereupon, tossing his arms about, he exclaimed in the greatest agitation, 'I do consider the ruin which now hangs over me. I repent of what I have done. If heresies arise, is it my fault? My conscience acquits me. None of you have reason to complain. I have performed my promise, and the King and the Cardinal have never asked anything in my power which I have not granted with the utmost promptness. But I will not do violence to my conscience. Let them, if they like, send the Legate back again, and then do as they please, provided they do not make me responsible for their injustice.' 'Well,' said I, 'is your Holiness unwilling that proceedings shall be taken under this commission?' 'No,' said he. 'But,' I rejoined, 'Campeggio opposes your wish, and dissuades the divorce.' 'Well,' said the Pope, 'I ordered him to do so; but he is to execute his commission.' 'Then we are at one, Holy Father,' said I; 'and if so, what harm

can there be in showing the decretal, under an oath, to some few of the Privy Council?' He shook his head, and said, 'I know what they intend, but I have not yet read Campeggio's letters out of England. Come again to-morrow.'"

On his second interview with the Pope, Casale found him still firm in refusing to let the bull be shown to any one, saying that Campeggio ought to have burnt it, if he had followed his instructions. On submitting Wolsey's complaint that Campeggio refused to proceed to sentence until he had communicated with his Holiness, the Pope replied, "that he would proceed whenever it was required, but he was instructed to send word to Rome when the process commenced." "On my assuring him," says Casale, "that he had granted a commission, according to Wolsey's statement, and had consented that it should be shown to certain of the King's counsellors, he became very angry, and said, 'I will show you the Cardinal's letters, and they and my word are as much to be trusted as the letters you now produce.' Reverting, after a short interval, to the same subject, he forbade me to proceed; and no efforts on my part, or of my brother Sir Gregory, have succeeded in shaking his resolution."[1]

This letter was evidently written before any discussion had arisen respecting the brief. Till the genuineness of that document had been determined, no further steps could be taken in the process; for the brief of Julius II., unexpectedly produced by the Queen in her own defence, removed all the objections on which Henry had relied for procuring a divorce. It was even more ample than the bull itself obtained by Henry VII., when, in a fit of parsimony, he resolved to marry the widow of Arthur to his second son, rather than return her dowry. As if in anticipation of these attempts to invalidate the marriage, Ferdinand, unknown to his English ally, had obtained this document from Rome. He resolved to make assurance doubly

[1] IV. p. 2186. From a letter written by Bryan and Vannes to Wolsey on December 28, we learn the real causes of the Pope's determination. "He cares nothing for threats," they say, "and sends this person (Campani) to excuse his refusal. Gregory also sends his brother Vincent to show the King the real reason which influenced the Pope; his fear of the Emperor, who, he thinks, will soon be master of Italy, which certain prophecies also foretell. The archbishop of Capua (Imperialist) is at Rome, and does all that he can to hinder the matter. He told the cardinal of Mantua he had advised the Pope not to meddle, lest he should destroy himself and the whole Church. The cardinal of Mayence warned him that if this divorce took place, all Germany and the Lutheran sect would attack him. Salviati told Sir Gregory that the Pope was afraid of a General Council, if he offended the Emperor." pp. 2211, 2262.

sure, and correct any possible error or flaw in the bull that might give occasion to ingenious canonists to question its efficiency. How, then, could Clement be invoked to declare a marriage illegal, which his predecessor had legalized with such premeditative stringency? So long as the brief remained in the Emperor's hands, what was to prevent him from exhibiting it in the Papal Court, so as to quash at once the proceedings of the Legates? In this emergency two courses remained: either it must be obtained from the Emperor to prevent it from being exhibited in the Queen's favour, or its force be invalidated by imputations of forgery. It could not be found in the registers at Rome: so, at least, the English alleged. It was not in England, where they equally assumed it ought to have been. It must be of the same date as the bull, and they equally assumed the improbability of both being issued on the same day. But their strongest argument against its genuineness consisted in the fact that it was not dated according to ordinary usage; for in such instruments the year was computed from Christmas Day; and, if this assumption was correct, Julius was not then Pope.

It will be admitted that these were feeble and flimsy presumptions, which might at once be dispelled by the production and inspection of the document itself. If, therefore, Henry could obtain it from Spain, and prevent its production, or delay it until after the Pope had been persuaded to pronounce it a forgery, *ex cathedra*, the King's purpose would be secured. To this object he now directed all his efforts, intimidating Katharine, as we have seen, through means of her own advocates, personally compelling her under an oath to write to the Emperor, and demand it, as of herself, as if her life and her marriage depended on its production.[1] But as the Emperor's influence was now rapidly increasing in Italy, and his Holiness, from dearly-bought experience, was in extreme dread of another Imperialist attack on his capital, it was not to be expected that he would take such an extraordinary step as the King and the Cardinal required. "Never," says a correspondent of the time, "was the Pope more afraid of the Imperialists than now, as many of them who were present at the sack of Rome are still there, in great triumph and reputation; whilst the Emperor's ambassador, the archbishop of Capua, and others of the Cæsarians, susurr (whisper) daily in the Pope's ears, sometimes advising and sometimes

[1] IV. pp. 2265, 2297.

threatening the Pope for granting the commission," to Campeggio and Wolsey.

To obviate this difficulty Wolsey offered to provide the Pope with a "presidy" (a body guard), to be raised at the joint expense of the Kings of France and England, as a defence of his person. The device was a little too transparent; but Wolsey never seems to have been aware, or was never willing to believe, that more was known of the King's intentions than he was willing should be known. Whilst the Pope and the Emperor, and even the French King, were perfectly cognizant of all that was going on, the King and the Cardinal imagined that their proceedings were enveloped in secrecy. They had, as they thought, completely isolated Katharine from all correspondence with the external world. They had so carefully surrounded her with spies, that she could not even write a letter without being detected. They had prevented, as they thought, all remonstrance on her part; and had even given out, without dread of contradiction, that she coincided in her husband's proceedings, and believed he was solely influenced by the purest and most religious intentions. There were to be found people in England, at least a few, who affected implicitly to believe all this; and there are some who are credulous enough to believe it still. Out of England, where liberty of speech was greater, and discussion unrestricted, it was otherwise. When Wolsey proposed this new device for protecting and managing the Pope, he was told by Knight that the French would easily detect the artifice; that this pretence of furthering the interests of Francis, and obstructing the Emperor's influence in Italy, would be regarded by them as a device for obtaining his own ends at the expense of the French King.[1] What those ends were the Cardinal did not scruple to inform the ambassador:—by taking this presidy the Pope would be brought to have "as much fear and respect towards the King's highness as he now hath towards the Emperor, and consequently be the gladder to grant and condescend unto the King's desire."[2] Such a device does not show on the Cardinal's part any profound estimation of Clement's intellect or political sagacity; but he was not to be so easily imposed upon.

The truth is, that the Cardinal, now caught like a bull in the toils, was making desperate plunges to escape from the difficulties he must have foreseen, clearer than any man, were

[1] IV. p. 2262. [2] IV. p. 2278.

gathering round him, and foreboding his ruin. It was he, as Clement acknowledged, who, contrary to the advice of other nobles and prelates in England, had been mainly instrumental in obtaining a Legate from the Pope to try the cause. He had done this, in the first instance, trusting to his own power and ability of bending both papal representatives and the Pope himself to his wishes. In the second, he doubtless imagined that, by adopting this course, he was maintaining the authority of the Papacy in England; as it would certainly have been maintained, if Clement had authorized the divorce instead of opposing it. Two months and more had passed since Campeggio's arrival in England, and nothing had been done. What was the exact nature of his commission no one knew, and Wolsey had endeavoured to discover in vain. The Legate had contented himself with attempting to dissuade Henry from his intention, but as yet he had shown no inclination to proceed to trial, nor could any one tell whether he would proceed, or when. The King and his mistress were growing angry and impatient. In their certainty of obtaining the divorce they had anticipated marriage, unless Du Bellay is guilty of a calumny. With that more than royal ingratitude which characterized Henry's treatment of his servants, when they were no longer successful in ministering to his desires, the King now vented his reproaches on the Cardinal for the failure of his schemes, forgetful within how short a period before he had warmly applauded them. "The King has told me," says Mendoza, "that he has begun to lay the blame upon the Cardinal, who, he says, has not fulfilled his promises in the matter. All that he has done hitherto has been to desire the King and the Pope to frighten the Queen, so that she should of her own accord enter religion. Nevertheless, he has secretly intimated to Campeggio that, if she refuse, no further use shall be made of the commission."[1] The lady was not a whit behind her future husband in manifesting her exasperation against the minister to whom, a few months before, she had expressed eternal gratitude. "Wolsey," says Du Bellay, "is in great difficulty, for matters have gone so far that if the divorce do not take effect the King will lay the blame of it on him. . . . Cheyney, whom you know, had offended the Legate some days past, and for that reason was put out of Court. The lady has put him in again, in spite of the Cardinal, not without using rude words to Wolsey. The

[1] IV. p. 2274.

duke of Norfolk and his party already begin to talk high, but they have a shrewder one to deal with than themselves."[1] A few weeks later Mendoza writes: "The lady who is the cause of all this disorder, finding her marriage delayed that she thought herself so secure of, greatly suspects that the Cardinal puts impediments in her way, from a belief that if she were Queen his power would decline. In this suspicion she is joined by her father, and the two dukes, Suffolk and Norfolk, who have combined to overthrow him. As yet they have made no impression on the King, except that he does not show the Cardinal in court so fair a countenance as he did, and it is said he has had some bitter words with him."[2] Even the underlings of the party began to open their mouths, and, with the malignity of mean and ignoble natures, to show their contempt for the man, the dust of whose feet they would have licked up a few days before. His servants began to fall from him, and look out for preferment elsewhere. "Who would kneel before the Cardinal," Norris was heard to say, "for an office of 2*d.* a day?"[3]

The ground was sinking beneath his feet; but he was betrayed in a quarter he certainly never anticipated, and had perhaps little reason to suspect. Of all the ambassadors in England Du Bellay had the greatest influence with him; and to Du Bellay, more than once, he had expressed his anxiety to maintain the most amicable relations with Francis. To promote the French alliance he had exposed himself to general unpopularity at home; he had opposed his colleagues in the Council; he had refused the most flattering and splendid offers made by the Emperor. Francis and the Queen mother had repeatedly professed the warmest gratitude for his services, affected to consider him as the saviour of their country, consulted him in all things, and apparently kept no secrets from him. "I think Wolsey would not be pleased," says Du Bellay to Montmorenci, "if I did not tell you of his causing farces to be played here in French with grand display, saying at the conclusion that he wished nothing should be here that was not French in word and deed."[4] He had put great trust in Francis, and in his repeated asseverations of defying and invading the Emperor. It was in the hope of being readily supported by the French King that he had proposed this new "presidy" for the Pope. But Francis, like the rest of the

[1] IV. p. 2296. Feb. 4.
[2] IV. p. 2317.
[3] IV. p. 2206.
[4] January 1: IV. p. 2255.

world, was lighter than vanity and deficient on the weights. An impostor, though a royal one, he had already—or his mother, and that was the same—with all his professions of hostility to the Emperor, been employed in making covert arrangements for a treaty with Charles. "I have been secretly informed by two men of credence," writes Hacket, "that the French king and the Regent have a secret conveyance (communication) with my lady (Margaret) and Hoghestrat to make peace with the Emperor, unknown to the King or Wolsey. My lady (Margaret) said last night that Madame de Pinnay (Espinay), who came lately from France, was told by the French king to show verbally to my Lady that the French king is willing to come to an agreement with the Emperor, and that if the Emperor and he were at agreement they would cause the King (Henry) to leave some fantasy that he has afore him. Told my Lady that it was indiscretely spoken for a noble prince. She answered, 'Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, you may do all that you like to oblige the French, but when you have done all you will find they are not to be trusted.'"[1]

Wolsey at first treated this unwelcome intelligence with apparent disregard; for Hacket, in no esteem for sagacity, was only an agent in the court of Margaret of Savoy, and was liable to be imposed upon. On repetition of the news with further particulars, he sent for Du Bellay, communicated what he had heard, and on his putting a fair and false face on the matter professed to be contented with his explanation. "In short, Monsieur, as good fortune would have it," writes Du Bellay to Montmorenci, "I satisfied the Legate on this head completely. Not to trouble you with a long story, he showed by his words that this affair was thoroughly justified, and he would undertake to tell his master, on pain of his head, that it was a malicious invention of the enemy."[2] Unless this lively Frenchman was trusting too much to his imagination, the easiness with which Wolsey neglected this affair was by no means consistent with his general character. Francis, as might be expected, found ample reasons for declining to furnish a presidy for the Pope.[3]

[1] IV. p. 2283. [2] IV. p. 2307. [3] See IV. p. 2398.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CAUSE BEFORE THE LEGATES.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the Cardinal's urgency, and the despatch of Gardiner on the heels of his colleagues, he was condemned to bitter and unexpected disappointment. Before Gardiner could reach his destination, the Pope fell ill of a fever.[1] The disease continued with various relapses until the end of March; reports flew about in all directions of the Pope's death, creating all the disturbance and excitement consequent on such an expected event. In this state of things, to obtain from the Pope any decision on the forgery of the brief, or on other points entrusted to the English ambassadors, was out of the question. The attention of all men was exclusively turned in one direction—the immediate death of the Pope, and the nomination of his successor. The three sovereigns of Europe prepared for the struggle with an earnestness worthy of the occasion; for at no time in the Papacy had more important results depended on the personal character and inclinations of the occupant of St. Peter's chair. If he was an Imperialist, as in all probability he would be, all hope would be lost of the King's divorce, and its mismanagement would by the King be visited in fire and fury on the Cardinal. If, on the other hand, a cardinal were elected favourable to England, the opposite result might be confidently expected. The conduct of Francis was regulated, as ever, by his hopes of extracting the greatest advantage for himself out of the difficulties of others. He professed to Wolsey the utmost desire to serve him in securing for him the Papal tiara. His assistance in reality began and ended with his professions.

The news reached this country in the beginning of February; the King, or Wolsey in his name, hastened to give the requisite instructions to Gardiner and his associates, then on their way to Rome.[2] They are informed of the danger

[1] January 11, 1529.

[2] These instructions are signed by the King at the beginning and end.

that must ensue to the See Apostolic unless some resistance be offered to the inordinate ambition of the Emperor, who studies to suppress the Church for his own exaltation. "Of the remedy which the King had expected from the Head of the Church, he will be deprived, if the future Pope be not a person of whom he is perfectly assured. All cardinals considered, none can be found possessing the necessary qualifications required, except Wolsey himself, who is well known to have as fervent zeal as any for the tranquillity of Christendom, the restoration of the authority and rights of the Church and the See Apostolic, the weal and exaltation of the kings of England and France and their allies, and also for the perfection of the King's cause. . . . The King, therefore, desires them to use every means to advance Wolsey's election, as upon it depends the making or marring of the King's cause."[1] After informing them that Francis had spontaneously offered to use his influence in Wolsey's behalf, he sends them a list of the Cardinals likely to take part in the election, with an indication of their supposed votes. Thirty-nine Cardinals were expected to be present; twenty were thought to be friendly; six only required to be gained. If the Cardinals assembled, with the fear of God and the Holy Ghost before them, consider what is best for the Church, they will agree upon Wolsey; "but as human fragility suffers not all things to be weighed in just balances, the ambassadors are to make promises of spiritual promotions, offices, dignities, rewards of money, and other things, to show them what he will give up if he enters into this dangerous storm and troublous tempest for the relief of the Church; all of which benefices shall be given to the King's friends, besides other large rewards." To obviate any apprehension that in the event of his election he might wish to reside at Avignon, or "any other place away from Rome," they are to give assurance that he will resign all his dignities, and have "no convenient habitation" out of it. Precautions are to be taken that the French cardinals join with them in a protestation against any election by Imperialists alone. If necessary, they are to leave the conclave, and proceed with the election elsewhere.[2]

Much virtuous and cheap indignation has been lavished on Wolsey's overweaning ambition in thus seeking the Papacy. It would be more to the purpose, if it were possible, to decide

[1] IV. p. 2321.
[2] Ibid. See also Wolsey's letter to Gardiner, p. 2323.

exactly what were his motives for seeking it; and how far, in so doing, he was acting in his own behalf, or was desirous of bringing to a speedy and successful termination the cause in which he was unhappily entangled. There might be, there probably were, other reasons than those of vulgar ambition by which he was prompted on this occasion. It is, however, idle to speculate upon them. Happily, before the ambassadors could reach Rome, or put any devices in practice for his successor, the existing occupant of the papal chair recovered from his tedious illness. About the 19th of March he gave formal audience to the English ambassadors, possibly with no other intention than of getting rid of their importunities, and convincing them that he had neither the strength nor inclination to attend to business.[1]

Long before,[2] Sir Gregory Casale had warned the Cardinal against entertaining any expectations from Rome. "I do not know," he says in a letter to his brother Vincent, then in England, "what to hope of Dr. Stephens' (Gardiner's) mission or how far the Pope ought to pronounce the breve produced by the Queen a forgery. I think his Holiness will do nothing; and you may tell Wolsey so, in the event of his desiring my opinion. I hear you have told him that if the Pope's fears were removed, he would do everything for the King, *licita et illicita*. But if you remember rightly, I told you the Pope would do all that *could be done;* but there are many things the Pope says he *cannot do* . . . and so he will say of this brief, that he cannot decide against a brief emanating from Pope Julius, in the event of its being brought from Spain, without examination. But suppose he would, they cannot remove the fears of the Pope by a guard of 2,000 foot. . . . If you remember, one of my reasons for sending you to England was to tell the King and Wolsey that they should make some other arrangement, because, if the Pope's fears were entirely removed, he will never do what we want him (declare the brief to be a forgery)."[3] The reports from the English ambassadors were all in the same strain. The Pope, they said, would do nothing for the King, for "though it might well be in his *Pater Noster*, it was nothing in his Creed."[4]

Neither the King nor Wolsey would admit the unwelcome

[1] IV. p. 2369.
[2] February 16.
[3] IV. p. 2333.
[4] That is, though he might desire to do it, he could not act contrary to his belief and conviction. IV. p. 2370.

intelligence. The ambassadors must have been deceived; they must have allowed themselves to be unreasonably discouraged, and therefore must make up for their lukewarmness by greater urgency. The King's Council had examined the copy of the brief produced from Spain, and found in it divers notable defaults. The Pope or any other person would easily see that "all was craft, color, and falsity." "This constant recurrence to a thing forged, feigned, and untrue, was a proof that the whole matter of matrimony was void and of none effect." As the Pope's health is uncertain, the greater is the necessity, while God gives him time, to put an end to this just cause, lest, wilfully suffering a thing of such high importance to remain unreformed, "in the doing whereof Almighty God worketh so openly, he should incur God's displeasure, and die without reforming it."[1]

As the hopes of success grew fainter, the more urgent grew the King and his minister, the more reluctant were they to face the unpalatable truth. Henry wonders at their despair. He can see nothing but towardness in the disposition of the Pope. Common fame must have led them to think the contrary. Campeggio is of far other sort than reported, and has not such affection for the Emperor as was suspected. They must return to their duties, and use all diligence in urging the King's cause, pretermitting no time in the diligent handling and execution of their charge.[2] Wolsey is still more importunate, with not less reason. Not a single step had yet been gained in securing the King's great object. The marriage remained undissolved; Katharine was still Queen. With all the efforts that could be made to shake her resolution by selfish and deceitful advisers, with all the threats and more than threats of the King's displeasure, with the most splendid promises of honour and emoluments for herself and her daughter, she still persistently refused to enter a convent. Treated in public by her husband with ceremonious courtesy, she was condemned to see a rival taking her place and usurping her honours in her own household. Surrounded by spies who watched every motion, a victim of the hatred and jealousy of her husband—too suspicious to set her free, lest she should become the head of a party against him; too alienated to treat her merely with kindness or respect—she was condemned to a miserable life; yet bore it all without

[1] March 14: IV. p. 2364.
[2] Henry to Gardiner, April 6: IV. p. 2386.

complaining, without openly showing she was sensible of her wrongs. Yet depart from her rights and those of her daughter, she would not. So all schemes to that effect had failed,—failed still more when Vannes wrote to the King that his project was useless; for if the Queen entered religion, the Pope, according to the opinion of the learned at Rome, could not grant a dispensation to the King to marry again.[1] The Boleyns, furious at their disappointment, scrupled not to attribute the ill success of these measures to Wolsey. They insinuated that his fear of being supplanted by Anne Boleyn's influence was the real cause of failure. Nor is it improbable that such a thought may have crossed the Cardinal's mind, when he saw how readily she had transferred her gratitude from himself to Gardiner, who now stood high in her favour, and by her influence with the King, as well as by his own talents, was rising into dangerous competition with the Cardinal for the King's favour. Their suspicion of Wolsey's sincerity was unfounded. He had urged the case with all the energy and earnestness of a drowning man. He tells the ambassadors that they have dissembled their want of activity by alleging the successes of the Imperialists and the Pope's sickness; that they have reasonable and necessary grounds for communicating the principal parts of their charge to the Pope, *etiam in ipso articulo mortis;* for if the Pope mends, no respect or cause can reasonably be alleged to prevent his accomplishing the King's desire; and if he is in danger of his life, so much the worse would it be for his conscience to let one hour pass, or one minute, in determining the case. If the Pope is in danger of his life, which Wolsey evidently imagined was only a diplomatic evasion, what, he exclaims, could be more meritorious towards God, or more honourable towards the world, than to bequeath peace and quiet to the flock committed to his care? Alas for rhetoric and humanity! All this eloquence, sentiment, and importunity was thrown away. On the 21st of April Clement wrote a short letter to Henry VIII., regretting that in consequence of his illness he could not give audience to the English ambassadors, nor declare the brief a forgery until he had heard both sides.[2]

It is not easy to see at what other conclusion the Pope could have arrived consistently with the least respect to himself or his high position. Even a man of much less firmness and self-respect than Clement would have hesitated before he

[1] IV. p. 2356. [2] IV. p. 2414.

committed himself to such an extraordinary step as to pronounce a brief of his predecessor to be forged, on an *ex parte* statement, when he had not yet seen the original. It did not indicate much insight into human character on the part of Henry and the Cardinal to imagine that Clement, on the strength of a few civil phrases, or out of some supposed gratitude to the English monarch, to whom his obligations were of the slenderest kind, would depart from the ordinary course of justice; still more when such departure was virtually opposed by his own Cardinals, and was sure to expose him to the anger and importunities of the Imperialists. He offered, indeed, to send to Spain for the original. But this the ambassadors declined. They wanted an immediate decision, and were not very modest in pressing their demands. Gardiner, the most able, fierce, and intrepid among them, before whose stormy and rapid invectives the Pope in his weakness and vacillation quailed and writhed in agony, saw clearly that no inducements would shake him out of his neutrality. He would not personally interpose in the matter. The Pope, he tells Henry, is a man who never resolves on anything unless compelled by some violent affection. . . . He is in great perplexity, and seems willing to gratify the King if he could, but when it comes to the point he does nothing. "Wherefore, if my Lord Campeggio will set apart all other respects, and frankly promise your Highness to give sentence for you, then must be your Highness' remedy short and expedite; nor then shall want wit by any other means to meet with such delays as this false counterfeit breve hath caused. For with these men here your Highness shall by no suit profit. . . . Wherefore, doing what I can yet to get the best, although we be fully answered therein, I shall do what I can to get the commission (to Wolsey and Campeggio) amplified." The brief, he adds, is the *sacra anchora* of the cause, but if he were in England he thinks he could urge objections against it that would not be without effect *apud judicem propitium*.[1]

Bryan wrote with more bluntness, as his disappointment was greater. Anne Boleyn was his cousin; he had espoused her cause warmly, and at the commencement of his negociations had written to her in sanguine expectation of success. He had been sent by Henry rather to watch the case, and inform the King of the proceedings of his associates, than to render any effectual aid. For this he was not well fitted by

[1] IV. p. 2415.

abilities or education. Like Suffolk he had gained the King's favour, and became a participator in his secrets and his pleasures, by other arts than those of the moralist and philosopher. "I assure your Grace that Master Stevyns (Gardiner), Master Gregory (Casale), Master Peter (Vannes), and I, have done and caused to be done, by all our friends now (at Rome), touching your Grace's causes, as myche as we think possible is to be done; and as your Grace shall more plainly see by your former letter (by our former letter) written to my lord Cardinal, concerning the answer of the Pope, whereby ye shall parsayve that plainly he will do nothing for your Grace. . . . There is not one of us but that hath essayed him by fair means and foul, but nothing will serve. And whosoever hath made your Grace believe that he would do for you in this cause, hath not, as I think, done your Grace the best service.[1] Always your Grace hath done for him in deeds —Bryan reiterates the jargon of the Court—"and he hath recompensed you with fair words and fair writings, of which last I think your Grace shall lack none; but as for deeds I never believe to see. . . . Sir, I trust never to die but that the Pope and Popes shall have, as they have had, need of your Grace, and that I trust your Grace will quiet them, and be no more fed with their flattering words. Sir, I write a letter to my cousin Anne, but I dare not write to her the truth of this, because I do not know whether your Grace will be contented that she should know it so shortly (abruptly) or no; but I have said to her in my letter that I am sure your Grace will make her privy to all our aims.[2]

Tedious as this part of the narrative may appear—tedious as were the events themselves to those who were engaged in them—it cannot be dispensed with, if the reader desires to understand the course of the divorce, and guard himself against the misapprehensions of ancient and of modern historians. Campeggio had remained inactive in England ever since his arrival. Seven months and more had elapsed, and the trial had not yet commenced. Its commencement seemed as doubtful, if not as distant, as ever. But the delay is not to be attributed to the Papal Legate or the Papal Court. It arose wholly from the King himself. Shortly after Campeggio's arrival, to the surprise and disappointment of the King and his advisers, Katharine had exhibited a copy of the brief granted by Julius II., overruling the objections on which the

[1] A hit at Wolsey or Campeggio. [2] State Papers, vii. 166.

King had relied for substantiating the invalidity of his marriage. If it were produced here or at Rome, it was impossible that the Pope or the Papal Legates could refuse to entertain it. Equally impossible was it for them to treat it as a forgery whilst the original was in existence. To prove it a forgery was impossible so long as the document remained in the hands of the Emperor. If the Legates demurred to the production of an authenticated copy, an appeal was open to the Queen. She could allege that the original would be produced before the Pope; for the Emperor had already announced his intentions of delivering it to the Pope by no other hands than his own.[1] From this dilemma the King saw no escape, except to compel Katharine to write in the most earnest terms to Charles to send her the original;—of which it is easy to see, she would not long have retained possession. That failing, every device was employed to prevail upon the Pope to declare it a forgery, and thus render useless any subsequent attempt at its production by the Emperor. But the Pope, as we have seen, declined pronouncing an opinion until the original was before him. The original delivered by the Emperor's hands, with a host at his back, was not to be unceremoniously treated, even if the Pope's inclination to oblige the King had been much stronger than it was. Thus months were wasted over this preliminary difficulty, and as the Pope refused to remove it, nothing remained but to prepare for trial.

Wolsey, in anticipation of this necessity, had given instructions, as we have seen, to Gardiner to get the commission to Campeggio and himself so far amplified that the powers entrusted to them on this occasion should want nothing of the Pope's ordinary and absolute jurisdiction. He desired authority to overrule all disputes, to compel princes and others to produce whatever documents might be required, "so that they should have no cause to send to the Pope again."[2] In his mission Gardiner partially succeeded, but not entirely to Wolsey's satisfaction. The commission, as procured by him, was returned with the Cardinal's additions and annotations; but how "to get it devised anew, and regranted with additions," without fresh solicitation and exciting suspicions in the Pope's mind, was the difficulty. To this end Gardiner was directed to tell the Pope that the copy he had received "was so much defaced and injured by wet and carriage," that

[1] IV. p. 2408. [2] IV. p. 2388.

it had been detained upon its journey, and the messenger was likely to be blamed unless another could be obtained in its place. To save trouble, he was instructed to tell the Pope that he is prepared to write it out afresh according to the best of his remembrance, taking the precaution to insert "other as pregnant, fat, and available words." [1]

But whilst the Cardinal was pursuing this object with his usual energy, the Emperor, who had now resolved to espouse the cause of Katharine, with no less ardour, was employing all his interest at Rome to get rid of the commission. He had already applied to the Pope to remove the cause from England.[2] His minister Mai had ably seconded the Emperor's request, but the same obstacle which the English had found in their way was equally a bar to their antagonists. In his illness the Pope would listen to neither party. The ambassadors of both nations came face to face in April. They were well matched, and victory might have long remained undecided if Charles had delayed his expedition into Italy. Whatever might have been the inclination of the Emperor to interpose in favour of his aunt, he laboured under one disadvantage. He had received no authority to act in her behalf. Hitherto, Katharine had been so jealously guarded that she had been unable to communicate her intentions to any one; but now, by the assistance of Mendoza, she had contrived to lodge with the Bishop of Burgos a protest against all proceedings in England. Her protest was duly laid before the Pope, but did not at once produce the effect that might have been anticipated, for he was still inclined to believe that it would have been better for Katharine to have entered a nunnery. Finally, after considerable discussion he consented to admit the protestation, and promised to revoke the cause.[3]

It was impossible that this resolution on the part of the Pope should not reach the ears of Henry's agents. "The English ambassador," says Mai, writing to Charles V., "pressed the Pope hard to declare the brief a forgery." We may accept his assertion, without hesitation, that, driven to desperation, and hopeless of obtaining any further concessions from his Holiness, the English ambassadors assailed the head of the Church with terms anything but courteous. "Master Stevens," says Bryan to Henry VIII., "so answered for your Grace that he made the Pope ashamed of his own deeds, who

[1] IV. p. 2443.

[2] In Feb. See IV. pp. 2320, 2332.

[3] IV. p. 2392.

would have excused the cause as best he could." [1] In the less guarded language of the Spaniard, the English held an interview with the Pope, from which they came away hot, impetuous, and exasperated. Every day saw them further from success, and every day less easy in their relations with the Pope, who had now from various causes resolved to turn a deaf ear to the King's entreaties.

As soon as this determination became known in England, the King and the Cardinal resolved to push on the trial without further delay. Trusting to overcome all difficulties by a vigorous prosecution of the suit, they hoped to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion before the Pope, whose vacillation was well known, could find an opportunity for interfering. The policy adopted by Wolsey was now altered. The Ambassadors were no longer to press the Pope to send into Spain for the brief, but to use their efforts and oppose all importunity on the part of the Imperialists for revoking the commission, and avoid every occasion of irritating the Pope or rousing his suspicions.[2] It is clear from Campeggio's correspondence that neither the King nor Wolsey believed that the Pope had any serious intention of insisting on the revocation. They had flattered themselves that he was still favourable to the King, and had only been driven to this course through dread of the Imperialists. They had, therefore, persuaded themselves that if the cause were decided in England he would be loth to take any step obnoxious to the King and injurious to his own influence.[3] As he had already expressed a wish "that he would for the wealth of Christendom the Queen were in her grave; saying also that he thought, like as the Emperor has destroyed the temporalities of the Church, so shall she be the cause of the destruction of the spiritualities," it did not seem probable that one who entertained such opinions would willingly expose himself to all the trouble and the odium he was certain to incur by direct opposition to the King's wishes. If those who were more immediately interested in her defence were so slow in interposing in her behalf, why should he who was less concerned than others sacrifice his repose and his interest for the sake of one whom all had abandoned?

It was towards the end of May, and not at the beginning of the year, as Hall asserts,[4] at least according to our modern

[1] IV. p. 2441.
[2] IV. p. 2465.
[3] IV. p. 2470.
[4] Hall means in the beginning of the *regnal* year, 21 Hen. VIII., which is not far wrong.—Ed.

computation, that a court was erected in the Great Hall of Blackfriars, London, "as a solemn place for the two legates to sit in, with two chairs covered with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same and a dormant table railed before, covered with carpets and tapestry."[1] On the right side of the court a cloth of estate was placed, with a chair and cushions for the King, and on the opposite side a similar chair for the Queen. Within the circuit of the court, and immediately in front of the judges, sat the Archbishop and the rest of the bishops. The counsel for the King consisted of Dr. Sampson and Dr. Bell: for the Queen, of Clerk, Bishop of Bath; Standish, Bishop of Saint Asaph; and Dr. Ridley, a severe critic of Tyndall's New Testament. The Legates appeared with their usual insignia of "crosses, pillars, and axes, and all ceremonies belonging to their degree, on the 31st May;" and after they had taken their seats, Wolsey sitting on the right side, the commission from the Pope was presented by the Bishop of Lincoln to the two cardinals. After it had been accepted and read, the same Bishop was appointed, in conjunction with the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to summon the King and the Queen to appear before the Legates on June the 18th, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning.[2] The King, after visiting Lord Rochford, returned with a small company of ladies and gentlemen to Greenwich, where Anne Boleyn was residing;[3] the Queen, to her lodging in London, probably at Baynard's Castle.

During this interval of suspense, the Queen, wholly ignorant of the Emperor's intentions, and the effect of her protest on the Court of Rome, paid a visit to Campeggio, still

[1] "They have firmly resolved," says Campeggio to Salviati, "that the cause shall be proceeded with. On the last day of May, we performed the first act, which was to cause the bull of the commission to be presented to us, to accept the charge laid upon us by the Pope, to appoint notaries and messengers. The citation was peremptorily decreed for Friday the 18th instant. The King and the Queen have been cited by the bishops of Lincoln and Bath, the messengers appointed and sworn for this purpose. It appears that their learned men are of opinion that we are bound by our office to proceed to execute the first portion of the bull, and you may be sure they will use all diligence to secure a speedy conclusion. I understand, though I do not know for certain, that they are consulting the theologians of the University of Paris about the case." IV. p. 2493. Campeggio's suspicion was correct. Wolsey had been already in correspondence with Du Bellay for that purpose.

[2] IV. p. 2483.

[3] It is on this occasion, and in reference to this event, that Du Bellay writes: "I much fear for some time past this King 'ait approché bien près de Mademoiselle Anne;' therefore you need not be astonished if they wish to expedite the divorce, 'car si le ventre croist tout sera gasté.'" IV. p. 2509.

confined to his bed with the gout, "very anxious and perplexed about her affairs." She informed the Legate that the advocates appointed to conduct her cause had not yet arrived from Flanders, as the Emperor doubted of their security in England; that, in consequence, she was left without advisers; and though certain Englishmen had been appointed her counsellors by the King, it was easy to believe that they would rather consult the King's pleasure than regard what was most conducive to her interests.[1] She concluded by requesting Campeggio's aid and counsel.

Nothing could show more completely the straits to which she was reduced. Hitherto she had received no consolation from the Legate, who was apparently engrossed with the single thought of settling a troublesome suit with as little inconvenience to himself as possible, and rescuing the Pope from the importunity of both parties, who allowed him no repose. Possibly he might pity the Queen, seeing the violence and injustice to which she was exposed, but these weaker emotions were overpowered by the stronger feeling of self-interest. He had suffered greatly in the sack of Rome. For the improvement of his fortune, and his promotion to a richer bishopric, he was dependent on the King's favour. In Wolsey also he had a watchful and importunate colleague, whose anxiety to bring the cause to a rapid and successful termination was sharpened by the sense of his own personal danger and the terrible anger of the King. He was beginning already to lose his influence; and his enemies, like hot and unwearied hounds, were gaining rapidly upon him. "Campeggio is half-conquered," writes Du Bellay, shortly after, expressing the opinion held by himself and others.[2] Yet to whom could she go? She had not a single friend or adviser in the world. She was ignorant whether the Emperor, the only relative upon whom she could rely, had exerted himself on her behalf, or made any effort to espouse her cause at the Court of Rome.

The reply of the Legate was cold and discouraging in the extreme. He merely exhorted her to keep a good heart, to rely upon the justice of the King, and on the conscience and learning of those prelates who had been assigned to her as counsellors, assuring her that nothing would be done by her judges inconsistent with equity and reason. She then inquired

[1] Fisher was not of the Queen's counsel, as stated by some historians; and Gardiner had not yet returned from Rome.

[2] IV. p. 2544.

of Campeggio, what steps had been taken in her behalf at Rome, and whether the cause was revoked. To these questions he replied, that as the Pope had already appointed two Legates to decide the cause, it was not likely he would revoke the commission, without due care and consideration. Unwilling, perhaps unable, to give her any information or comfort upon the point which she most desired, he exhorted her to pray to God to enlighten her understanding. In order that she might take some sound course in this great difficulty—meaning, in other words, that she should enter some religious house—she must consider well her state, the times, the tendency of things, and commit to God the greater part of her troubles. That appears to have been the only device that the Legate could imagine for extricating the Pope and himself out of their present perplexity; and though he had urged it frequently, and as frequently without success, the despondency and solitude of the Queen appeared to offer too favourable an opportunity not to insist upon it once more. On this point, however, she remained immovable. No threats, no flattery, no advice, by open enemies or false friends, no sense of her own weakness or abandonment, could shake her resolution for a moment. In this determination there might be something perhaps of the inflexibility attributable to her Spanish blood, more perhaps of the devotee, not a little of the pride of the Queen and the woman. If not absolutely soured by harshness and ill-treatment, she could not, humanly speaking, remain indifferent to the conduct of her husband, and see herself openly scorned, and the succession of her daughter set aside, in favour of a waiting gentlewoman, not long since her own attendant. To have reigned supreme for twenty years, and now to descend from her high position into neglect and obscurity, to see a hated rival enthroned in her place, and not betray some sense of the indignity, was more than could be expected of any woman, even of one so devout and obedient as Katharine. The ground, besides, upon which the King rested the divorce, was of a nature that affected her own personal modesty and honour, one to which she could not have been a party without some sacrifice of delicacy. "Although she is very religious," says Campeggio, "and extremely patient, she will not accede in the least to these hints of taking the vows. She regards this fact as her greatest consolation, and as the firm foundation of her righteousness and honour, that she entered into the marriage state with the

present King as *virgo immaculata*. This she solemnly swears, has made the same declaration formerly, still adheres to it, and by this adherence has even raised some scruples in the King's mind. On her departure, she went to her lodging here in London."

So ended the conference. She left the Legate without giving him the least intimation of her future intentions. His language had not been encouraging; and from his conduct on this and upon other occasions, she probably inferred that he was more prejudiced against her than he was in reality. "I do not know what counsel she will take," he remarks, "under the circumstances. Some think she will object to the place, and some to the judges, some to both. Others think she will not appear, or she will allege the suspension of the cause, *pendentia litis*, or some other impediment. Within three days we shall know for certain. I will not fail with all my ingenuity to pursue whatever course will tend to maintain the honor of the Pope, and the judicial proceedings of the Holy See, although I may be greatly impeded in so doing, both in body and soul. In addition to my other troubles, I receive no remittances from Rome. Pray make prompt provision in order that I may not fall into dishonor by getting into debt, or having to beg in an undesirable quarter;" that is, borrow money from Henry VIII.

The doubts of Campeggio were soon set at rest. The citation to appear before the Legates had been served on the King and Queen on the 1st of June, in their private apartments at Windsor, by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, and Clerk, the Bishop of Bath. On the 18th of June the Court assembled. The two bishops appeared, produced the citations of the royal pair, duly endorsed and executed. The King, who was *not* present on this occasion, was represented by his proxies, Dr. Sampson, Dean of the Chapel Royal, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and Dr. John Bell, afterwards Bishop of Worcester. On that day the Queen appeared in person, and protested against the jurisdiction of the court. She desired that her protestation might be registered and returned to her. To this the Legates assented; and after appointing her to appear again upon Monday, the 21st of June, to hear their decision, the court adjourned. As it was required by the law that both parties should be present in person, and admit orally the validity of the proceedings, upon the penalty of being pronounced contumacious in their absence, both appeared on the

appointed Monday. It is to this occasion, and to no other, that we must refer the striking incident described by Shakespeare, and the no less impressive speeches put by the poet into the mouths of the two chief personages of the drama. They were derived by him from the reports preserved in the chronicles of the time, and their authenticity is, in the main, unquestionable.[1]

On the 21st the court assembled at the usual hour, between nine and ten in the morning. The Queen entered first, and was followed by the King, who was the first to seat himself under a canopy of cloth of gold on the right, the Queen being on the left, under a similar canopy, placed on a lower level.[2] Then the King, turning to the judges, addressed them in a brief speech, expressing his determination to live no longer in mortal sin, as he had done for the last twenty years. He should never feel easy, he said, in his conscience, until the legality of his marriage was decided, and therefore he required at their hands speedy justice. When the King had concluded, Wolsey rose to address the court. He began by observing that although he had received infinite benefits from his Majesty, and was consequently suspected of partiality, yet as this case had been committed to himself and Campeggio by the Pope, he would give judgment according to the best of his poor ability. He was unworthy, he added, to sit as judge in such a cause, but would, nevertheless, omit nothing that the justice of the case required.[3] The Queen then rose, "and because she could not come directly to the King for the distance which severed them, she took pains to go about unto the King; and kneeling down at his feet in the sight of all the court and the assembly," proceeded to address his Majesty in broken English. Twice he attempted to raise her, and twice falling on her knees she besought him to have pity upon her as a poor woman and a stranger born out of his dominions. For these twenty years, she said, she had been his true and obedient wife, and did not deserve to be thus repudiated and put to open shame. She begged him to consider her honour,

[1] IV. p. 2520. Burnet, in the last volume of his Hist. Ref., correcting into an error what he had rightly stated before, and confounding the proceedings of the 18th of June with those of the 21st, denies that the King appeared personally before the Legates, and stigmatizes the speeches made for the King and Queen as "all plain falsities," *more suo*. p. 46. The error is the more remarkable, for in his Records he had printed a letter from the King, in which it is stated, that "both he and the Queen appeared in person." See IV. p. 2527.

[2] Ven. Cal., p. 219.

[3] Ibid.

her daughter's, and his own, the reputation of her nation and her relatives, who would be equally concerned with herself in her disgrace. And since he had expressed his desire that their marriage should be declared valid, and had acknowledged his great love for her—phrases the King was very fond of repeating in public—she had appealed to Rome, where it was only reasonable that the cause should be decided without partiality or suspicion.[1] To Rome only would she make her answer.[2]

"With that," says Cavendish, "she rose up, making a low courtesy to the King, and so departed from thence. Many supposed that she would have resorted again to her former place; but she took her way straight out of the house, leaning, as she was wont always to do, upon the arm of her General Receiver, called Master Griffith.[3] The King being advertised of her departure commanded the crier to call her again, who called her by the name of 'Katharine, queen of England, come into court.' 'With that,' quoth Master Griffith, 'Madam, ye be called again.' 'On, Sir,' quoth she, 'it maketh no matter, for it is no indifferent court for me; therefore I will not tarry.' And thus she departed out of that court, without any further answer at that time, or at any other, nor would never appear at any other court after."[4]

Affecting as it was, the judges overruled her appeal, and upon her failing to reappear, after being thrice summoned, they pronounced her *contumacious*. Then they summoned both parties to appear again on Friday (June 25th). "I think the Queen," says Du Bellay, "will take no notice of it.

[1] See IV. pp. 2525, 2527. Ven. Cal., p. 219. Compare Cavendish, p. 213. Hall (p. 757) gives only the King's speech, and that partially.

[2] In a letter brought by Mr. Stevenson from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, written in cipher by Campeggio to Salviati, this pitiable scene is more briefly described. She had lodged her appeal on a previous court day, protesting against its proceedings, and urging the suspension of the cause. On June 21, the judges overruled her objections; upon which she interposed "a most ample appeal and supplication to the Pope, and retired; but not before she had kneeled in the sight of all the court, though the King twice raised her up, demanding his Majesty's licence that for her honor and conscience, and that of the house of Spain, he would give her liberty to write and send messengers to Rome." See the Appendix to this volume.

[3] This is the "honest chronicler" of Shakespeare. His proper name was Griffin Richardes, and his account as receiver-general to the Queen will be found in IV. p. 2731. The money given in alms by the Queen is very remarkable. From the same account it appears that the sums paid by Katharine in this suit amounted in the year 1528 to 514*l.*, and in the year 1529 to 704*l.*;—in all 1,218*l.*; that is, about 14,000*l.* of modern money. The King's expenses must have in all been at least tenfold larger.

[4] Cavendish, p. 217.

The judges can then proceed against her for contumacy, which I do not think they will do. Her statement that the cause is already at Rome refers to some *signatura*, of which she wishes to make use, and which the Pope probably winked at. I do not think it a matter of importance. The pleadings were in open court, before whom the King did not spare to justify his intentions. If the matter was to be decided by the women, the King would lose the battle; for they did not fail to encourage the Queen at her entrance and departure by their cries, telling her to care for nothing, with similar expressions. She recommended herself to their good prayers, with other Spanish tricks."[1]

Both on this occasion, and in similar judicial proceedings, the King interposed his personal authority in a way that would now be considered as unjustifiable and informal;—if anything could be considered informal in a court based on a complete violation of all the principles of the Constitution. For a sovereign to be cited to plead before his own subjects was so outrageous an incongruity, happily only once repeated in a time of national degradation and confusion, that all Englishmen were shocked at so gross a profanation of the dignity of the Crown. Nothing could open men's eyes more effectually to the incompatibility of the spiritual jurisdiction as claimed and exercised by the Pope, with the authority and independence of the national sovereign. No single act was more effective in hastening on the consummation of the next few years, or perhaps did more to reconcile men's minds to Henry's assumption of supremacy. "It was the strangest and newest sight and device," says Cavendish, an adherent of the earlier Faith, "that ever was read or heard in any history or chronicle in any region, that a king and a queen should be convented and constrained by process compellatory to appear in any court as common persons, within their own realm or dominion, to abide the judgment and decrees of their own subjects, having the royal diadem and prerogative thereof."[2] And as he thought, so thought others.

Considering the irregularity of the whole proceedings, it may be true, as Cavendish reports, though needing the confirmation of contemporaneous authorities,[3] that after Katharine's departure the King took occasion to launch out in praises of the Queen:—"She is, my Lords, as true, as

[1] Du Bellay was a Frenchman and an enemy. IV. p. 2526.

[2] Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 210.

[3] Yet see Hall, p. 757.

obedient, and as conformable a wife, as I could in my phantasy wish or desire. She hath all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of base estate. Surely she is also a noble woman born, if nothing were in her, but only her conditions will well declare the same." It may be that he had not entirely cast off his better and nobler feelings; that he could not avoid feeling some qualms of pity and compassion. Arbitrary as he was, he was of a royal nature, sensible to the stirrings of royalty in others. Nor could he fail to see that his proceedings were unpopular, and that his connection with Anne Boleyn was regarded by his subjects as disgraceful to himself. But these gleams of a better nature, which occasionally broke out, were every day becoming more fitful and more feeble. The spell cast over him was irresistible.

The court was strangely moved by the incident. It could scarcely be otherwise. The lurking spirit of compassion for the Queen spread like an infection. "Sire," said the Cardinal, "I most humbly beseech your Highness to declare now, before all this audience, whether I have been the chief inventor and first mover of this matter with your Majesty; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein?" "My lord Cardinal," quoth the King, "I can well excuse you herein. Marry," quoth he, "ye have rather been against me in attempting or setting forth thereof." Then he entered into a long story of the origin of his scruples, which may be accepted for what it was worth. Certainly it was not the truth, but what the King wished should pass for true, and would best justify his conduct to his subjects.

On Friday (June 25th) the court met again. "This morning," says Campeggio, writing on the same day, "I caused myself to be carried to the place where we sit in judgment (Blackfriars), as we had to take the King's oath to-day respecting the propositions and articles. We found him there in an adjoining chamber."[1] The next court was appointed for the 28th of June. Such speedy and repeated sittings were much opposed to the ease and inclinations of Campeggio. He complained that if the trial was to be conducted at such a rapid rate it would be impossible for the judges, in many instances, to decide according to the evidence, except after the King's and Wolsey's fashion.[2] On the 28th the monotony of the sittings was diversified by a striking and

[1] IV. p. 2530. [2] IV. p. 2531.

unexpected incident. "Yesterday," says Campeggio, "the fifth audience was given; that is, on the 28th of June. While the proceedings were going on as usual, owing to the Queen's contumacy, the bishop of Rochester [Fisher] made his appearance, and said in an appropriate speech, that in a former audience he had heard the King's Majesty discuss the cause, and testify before all men that his only desire was to have justice done, and to relieve himself of the scruple which he had on his conscience, inviting both the judges and everybody else to throw light on the investigation of the cause, because he found his mind much troubled and perplexed. At the time of this offer and command of the King, he had forborne to come forward and manifest what he had discovered in this matter after two years of diligent study; but now, to avoid the damnation of his soul, and to show himself not unfaithful to the King, or neglectful of the duty which he owed to the truth, in a cause of such importance, he presented himself before their reverend Lordships to assert and demonstrate with cogent reasons that this marriage of the King and Queen could not be dissolved by any power, divine or human. He declared that in maintenance of this opinion he was willing to lay down his life; adding that as John the Baptist, in olden times, regarded it as impossible to die more gloriously than in a cause of matrimony, and it was not so holy then as it has now become, by the shedding of Christ's blood, he could not encourage himself more ardently, more effectually, or face any extreme peril with greater confidence than by taking the Baptist for his own example. He used many other suitable words, and at the end presented them with a book which he had written on the subject."[1]

Fisher was followed by Standish, the Bishop of St. Asaph, who adopted the same line of argument, but with less fervour, strength, and eloquence. A doctor, called the Dean of the Arches,[2] followed on the same side, deriving his authorities mainly from the canon law, but which did not appear to Campeggio very conclusive. Wolsey replied, expressing surprise at this unexpected attack upon the Legates, as he called it. They sat there, he observed, to hear all that could be said in connection with the cause, and to administer justice in whatever way divine wisdom should inspire them to do. The

[1] IV. pp. 2538, 2539.

[2] Not Ridley, as Mr. Brewer surmised when this passage was first published. His name has been revealed by the further progress of the Calendar as Peter Ligham.—ED.

sitting was terminated by a fresh citation of the Queen, who, upon failing to appear, was again pronounced contumacious.[1]

"This affair of Rochester," says Campeggio, "was unexpected and unforeseen, and has consequently excited everybody's amazement. What he will do we shall see when the day comes. You [Salviati], who know what sort of a man he is, may imagine what is likely to happen."

The strangeness of the incident, the boldness of the Bishop, so unlike the conduct of his brethren, produced a profound effect. He had rarely appeared in public, and was known only as a secluded student who had mainly devoted himself to a life of learning and austerity in his palace at Rochester. Till now no one had ventured to oppose the King's wishes openly, or utter a word of remonstrance, in England, against his divorce. The noise of such an unusual act of intrepidity spread rapidly through every court of Europe. "The bishop of Rochester," writes Du Bellay to Francis I., "who is accounted one of the best and most holy divines in England, especially for his opposition to the Lutheran heresies, appeared with the Queen's other counsellors before the Legates, not indeed as her proctor, but only to remonstrate with the judges, offering to prove the goodness of her cause by a little book which he had made jointly with her councillors. This he presented, enlarging upon the Queen's cause with many wise words. A rather modest answer was made by the judges, that it was not his business to pronounce so decidedly in the matter, as the cause had not been committed to him."[2]

Fisher might, perhaps, have laid himself open to this rebuke by taking the words of the King in too literal a sense, and offering unpalatable advice; but, considering the informality of the proceedings generally, he scarcely deserved it. On the part of the King his remonstrance was received with a torrent of indignation. He could not descend to a personal altercation with the Bishop before the Legates, but he drew up a bitter reply, in the form of a speech, in which he attacked the character and conduct of Fisher with unsparing violence and acrimony.

That reply, of which a copy was sent to Fisher by his royal antagonist, is still preserved in the Record Office, with Fisher's remarks. The arrogance of its tone, the bitter sarcasms levelled at the motives and attainments of the

[1] A citation was served upon her, June the 26th, in her dining-room at Greenwich. IV. p. 2531.

[2] IV. p. 2543.

Bishop, the resentment ill-concealed at his untimely protest, show how profound was the King's displeasure. The Latin vocabulary is ransacked for its choicest epithets of vituperation, and the whole style of the reply rather resembles the invective of an irritated and angry controversialist than the calm rebuke and dignified bearing of Majesty. After vindicating his proceedings in the divorce, which had been conducted, he asserts, throughout in deference to the opinions of the Church, the King complains that he had reason to have expected from Fisher the best assistance in this design, rather than find in him a jealous calumniator of his pious intentions, an enemy of his merits, and envious of his praise. "It is true," he proceeds, "that men sometimes fail, even the wisest, in their projects; but I never thought, Judges, to see the bishop of Rochester taking upon himself the task of accusing me before your tribunal—an accusation more befitting the malice of a disaffected subject, and the unruly passions of a seditious mob, than the character and station of a bishop. I had certainly explained this to Rochester some months ago" (Fisher in the margin, "*nearly a year ago*"), "and not once only, that these scruples of mine respecting my marriage had not been studiously raked up or causelessly invented. Until the present time Rochester[1] approved of them, and

[1] It is probably in reference to this discussion that Cavendish (p. 221) puts into the King's mouth, on occasion of the Queen's withdrawing from the Court, the following remarks, which there is no reason to suppose were uttered at the date that he assigns to them. Giving an account how his scruples had arisen, Cavendish makes the King turn to the Bishop of Lincoln, and say, 'I moved first this matter in confession to you, my Lord of Lincoln, my ghostly father. And forasmuch as then yourself were in some doubt to give me counsel, you moved me to ask further counsel of all you, my Lords; wherein I moved you first, my lord of Canterbury, axing your license, forasmuch as you were our Metropolitan, to put this matter in question; and so I did of all you, my Lords, to the which you have all granted in writing under all your seals, the which I have here to be shewed. That is true, if it please your Highness, quoth the bishop of Canterbury; I doubt not but that all my brethren here present will affirm the same. No, Sir, not I, quoth the bishop of Rochester, ye have not my consent thereto. No; ha' the! quoth the King. Look here upon this; is this not your hand and seal?—and showed him the instrument with seals. No, forsooth, Sire, quoth the bishop of Rochester; it is not my hand nor seal. To that, quoth the King to my lord of Canterbury, Sir, how say ye? Is it not his hand and seal? Yes, Sir, quoth my lord of Canterbury. That is not so, quoth the bishop of Rochester, for indeed you were in hand with me to have both my hand and seal, as other of my Lords had already done; but then I said to you that I would never consent to no such act, for it were much against my conscience, nor my hand and seal should never be seen at any such instrument, God willing; with much more matter touching the communication between us. You say truth, quoth the bishop of Canterbury: Such words ye said unto me; but at the last ye were fully persuaded that I should for you subscribe your name,

thought them so grave and so momentous that, without consulting the Pope respecting them, he did not think I could recover my tranquillity of mind." (Fisher in the margin, "*I did not say so; but the Cardinal would have been glad if I had said so.*") "When the Pope, moved by the judgment of his Cardinals and others, considered that the reasons urged were sufficient, and the doubts were such as were worthy the consideration of the ablest judges—when he left the whole decision of the cause to your religious determination, and sent you Campeggio here at great expence, for no other purpose than to decide this cause, what, are we to suppose, could have instigated Rochester, or by what spirit, let me ask you, could he have been inspired, to press forward thus imprudently, and thus unseasonably declare *his* opinion after keeping silent for many months" (Fisher, "*I was obliged to this by the protestation of the King and the Cardinal*"),[1] "and not until now declare his mind in this full consistory. Had he been consistent he would not have attributed to mere logical subtleties and rhetorical refinements those scruples of my conscience, which he once admitted I had rightly entertained. If, after a study of many years, he had clearly discovered what was just, true, and lawful in this most weighty cause, he should have admonished me privately again and again, and not have publicly denounced with such boldness and self-assertion the burthensome reproaches of my conscience. It was the duty which a faithful and pious prelate owed to his Prince to defend my innocence from the slanders of evil tongues; and when he saw that my conscience was oppressed and tempest-tossed, he was bound by all means to come to my relief. It was his duty as a religious and obedient prelate to acquiesce in the sentence of his Holiness, who had sent judges here, admitting the necessity of the case, rather

and put to a seal myself, and ye would allow the same. All which words and matter, quoth the bishop of Rochester, under your correction, my Lord, and supportation of this noble audience, there is nothing more untrue. Well, well, quoth the King, it shall make no matter. We will not stand with you in argument therein, for you are but one man."

It is worth observing that there is an instrument, signed and sealed by the Bishops, and among the rest by the Bishop of Rochester, stating that the King had consulted them on the divorce, and that they considered that he had great reasons for his scruples. This, however, is dated 1st of July, that is, three days after the speech made by Fisher in the consistory. Either, therefore, Cavendish, trusting to his memory, has confounded an occurrence that took place at two different dates, or has fallen into some confusion. The anecdote is too characteristic of the King to be a mere invention. IV. p. 2562.

[1] See pp. 196, 197, *ante*.

than thus publicly accuse the Pope of levity, as if the cause which he had remitted here for decision was so clear, easy, and obvious that it was folly to call it in question." (Fisher, "*It is not obvious to all, but only to those who are compelled to study it.*") "Finally, it was the duty of a prudent and modest man, when he saw that the cause was conducted according to the amplest extent of your jurisdiction, to have left your judgment unfettered, and not have prejudiced the cause by prescribing to you a new formula of judgment, upon his own unsupported authority.

"But, Judges, in this Bishop we look for these requirements in vain. Two most pernicious councillors have taken possession of him, and agitate all his thoughts—unbridled arrogance and overweening temerity." (Fisher, "*Arrogance, temerity.*") "How else can we account for his assertion that by solid and invincible arguments he will immediately place the naked truth of this cause, without disguise, before the eyes of all men, and defend it even to the flames?" (Fisher, "*I said nothing of that*") "adding that he had better reasons for resisting the dissolution of this marriage than John the Baptist had formerly in the case of Herod. Monstrous assertion, devoid of all modesty and sobriety![1] As if, forsooth, Rochester was the only wise man in the world." (Fisher, "*There are many others.*") "As if he alone understood and had mastered the truth of this cause! Why talk of fire and flames, and his readiness to submit to them, when he must be fully convinced of my clemency and anxiety to defend and not oppress the truth? What is the meaning of that comparison of his, in which he endeavours to assimulate his own cause to that of John the Baptist, unless he held the opinion that I was acting like Herod, or attempting some outrage like that of Herod? I, Judges, never approved of the impiety of Herod, certainly not that which the Gospel condemns in him, wherein we learn by the words of the Baptist that he had taken his brother's sister to wife." ("*Non intelligo,*" writes Fisher.) "Whatever Fisher may think of me, I have never been guilty of such cruelty. Let him say if ever I have passed a severe sentence (*statuerimus*) upon those who did not seem favourable to this divorce, and did not rather show them the highest favour in proportion to their deserts. But, lest

[1] *Fisher*: "What more have I said than did the Cardinal, who affirmed he would be burned or torn limb from limb sooner than act contrary to justice." See Wolsey's language, p. 342, *ante*.

perhaps, this should blind your eyes, Judges, and delay your sentence, whilst he with great bravery affirms that of all men he has now discovered the truth, and dragged it out of darkness, it shall be my part to examine carefully this vainglorious and more than Thrasonical magniloquence of his, and show how little solidity there is in it. And if I can clearly show that what he considers a most undoubted and invincible truth is nothing more than a shadow or image of the truth, what other opinion can you entertain of him, Judges, than that, swollen by pride and malevolence, he has given utterance to these more than temerarious words, with a view of seeking reputation in the opinion and mouths of the ignorant, and that he wishes to arm and excite them, maddened by his persuasions, against those who venture to differ from Rochester? But let truth conquer and prevail in your judgment, and falsehood be rejected; for though it may produce sudden and vehement impulses in the ignorant multitude, yet after a little time, when the cause is fully examined before you who administer the law, such effects will immediately wither away."

After this introduction the King proceeds to a long examination of the Bishop's assertion that no power inferior to God can in any degree dissolve the King's marriage, and the axiom postulated by the Bishop that there was no impediment to the marriage which could not be removed by the Pope's authority.

From the specimen here given the reader will be able to form a judgment of the tone and temper of the speech. The King poured out the full vials of his Yorkist blood against the unfortunate Bishop, who had incurred his displeasure by unburthening his conscience; such an act, in the opinion of Henry VIII., being exclusively a royal privilege, in which bishops and subjects had no right to indulge. The imprisoned fury of the civil wars was struggling in his veins. But in Henry VIII. respect for the law was never wanting in the most furious onsets of his passion. He held his crown solely by the law as rightful and legitimate sovereign, and he could not, therefore, afford to set his subjects an example of breaking the law, which might be followed by others to his prejudice. It may further be remarked that as these discussions about the divorce turned men's attention to the study of the canon law, this tendency of the Tudors to exalt and respect the laws of the land encouraged the study of the statute law, and thus brought the two codes into more distinct rivalry.

These observations will explain the reasons why a king, who is commonly supposed to have struck first and reasoned afterwards, should have satisfied himself with expressing his resentment at Fisher's unreasonable interposition rather by hard words than hard blows. Something also was due to the fact, which transpires from the King's own admission, that though he professed to despise the opinion of the thoughtless and vulgar mob, whom he accuses Fisher of exciting to rebellion, he desired to stand well with them, as with the rest of his subjects. Like all the Tudors, the last thing he cared to face was unpopularity. It is undeniable that the cause of Katharine commanded the sympathies of the people, and Fisher's speech in her defence was too agreeable, as the King admitted, to the popular humour, to be passed over in contempt or visited with punishment. The Bishop escaped for the time, but his conduct on this occasion was never forgotten.

Until this stage of the proceedings Campeggio had appeared to be influenced entirely in the King's favour. It appeared to be his sole object, in the first instance, to induce the Queen to enter a religious house, and, as his advice had been rejected, he seemed never afterwards to exert himself in her behalf. Whether this conduct is to be attributed to his displeasure at finding her intractable, or his fears of incurring the charge of partiality, is not known. The conclusion of the suit was daily expected, and most men had no doubt of the result. "Unless the Pope quickly recall the commission," says Du Bellay,[1] "you may expect the thing will be done within a month, if nothing else occur, and perhaps sooner."[2] Now, however, the Legate began to feel some alarm at the rapid progress of the cause, and, perhaps, to pluck up courage at the opposition offered by Fisher. "They are proceeding," he writes to Salviati,[3] "with inconceivable anxiety in the King's cause, and expect to come to the end of it within twenty days. Since the Queen presented her appeal she has appeared no more; consequently they have a wide field for action, entirely clear, so they may do whatever they like, and conduct the trial with all those arts which can influence the result in their favour." A fortnight after, he writes again, "By my letter of the 21st ultimo, I informed you in what state this cause then stood, and how it was proceeding with much celerity and more urgency. We have since progressed in the same manner, with great strides till this day

[1] June 30: IV. p. 2544. [2] June 29: IV. p. 2539.

(13th July)—always faster than a trot—so that some expect a sentence within ten days; and although we have many things to do—writings, allegations, and processes to see and examine—yet such is their speed and diligence, that nothing is sufficient to procure us a moment's breathing time. It is impossible for me not to declare my opinion, and what seems to me most convenient, but it is of little avail. I will not fail in my duty and office, nor rashly nor willingly give cause of offence to any one. When I pronounce sentence I will keep God before my eyes, and the honor of the Holy See." [1]

From this time Campeggio hung back; and his unwillingness to proceed became more apparent. The unwelcome change was not unnoticed by the Cardinal, who, for motives to which I shall presently refer, had the strongest reasons for desiring the speedy termination of the suit. Besides the displeasure of the King and his mistress, who were every day growing more impatient and more suspicious of his sincerity, he had long foreseen that they were now prepared to visit upon his head all their disappointments. "On Monday" (19th July), Du Bellay informs his correspondent, "matters were almost as the King wishes, and the Judges were deliberating about giving sentence the Monday following. Now things are altered, and those who desired a divorce are extremely troubled, finding Campeggio not so favourable as they expected. I think he is inclined to remit the matter to the Pope. He must have expected to have his share in the cake by doing what is acceptable to the Emperor, especially when the latter arrives in Italy, where it is thought he will soon be. At all events the matter is in such a state that no one can tell how it stands." [2]

The court had met on the 5th, 9th, 12th, 16th, and 19th of July, but was chiefly employed in receiving affidavits and hearing evidence relative to the marriage of Katharine and Prince Arthur.[3] Roving commissions had been sent out to

[1] IV. p. 2581. See also the letters in Appendix to this volume.

[2] IV. p. 2585.

[3] These affidavits are chiefly valuable as showing the personages that were about the court of Henry VII., and their age at the dates of their depositions. Thus, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was present at the marriage, was, in 1529, 59 years of age. Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, was 52; Sir Henry Guildford, 49; Sir David Owen, the King's cupbearer, 70; Sir John Hussey, afterwards concerned in the Lincolnshire rebellion, 63. West, Bishop of Ely, was 68; Thomas Lord Darcy, 60; William Lord Mountjoy, 52. Lord Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, was 52. Agnes, the widow of Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk, the victor of Flodden, then living at Thetford, 52. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, 79 in 1527. Fox states that he baptized Henry VIII.

collect information. The most minute particulars connected with the marriage, which modesty would have allowed to remain in oblivion, were freely raked up, bandied about and discussed in open court. Similar sittings were held on the 21st and 22nd of July, when the court was prorogued by Campeggio until the 1st of October. Meanwhile the Emperor had been using all his influence to induce Clement to stop all proceedings, revoke the commission, and have the cause relegated to Rome. Great efforts were made by the Imperialists for this purpose. The rapidity with which the suit had of late proceeded, so contrary to his expectations, had greatly alarmed the Pope. The negociations were intrusted to Mai, the Emperor's agent at the court of Rome. He writes to the Emperor, that on the 19th of June he was with the Pope, urging him to revoke the cause, but nothing was done, in consequence of his illness. On the 9th of July, a fresh application was made, and put off on the same excuse. He repeated his visit on the 10th, producing a copy of a letter written from England, and dated the 21st of June, in which it was stated that the Queen's appeal had been rejected. On the 13th, notwithstanding the opposition made by the English ambassadors, a signatura was held, and the cause revoked, to Mai's unfeigned delight. "The cause," he continues, "is now safe, thank God, and all that has been done in England will now be annulled. Six duplicates of the acts will be transmitted,

in the church of the Observants at Greenwich, remembered Katharine's entry into London, and met her in St. George's Fields. He also states that a bull was obtained from the Pope, which was thought sufficient for the marriage, as removing all impediments. He does not remember that Henry either expressly consented to or dissented from it. Says further, that he had had many conferences with Henry VII. after the death of Prince Arthur, and that it was always his intention that Prince Henry should marry Katharine, but the solemnization was put off on account of disputes between the King and the King of Spain, touching the re-demanding of Katharine's dowry. The most interesting entry, however, is an extract from an old manuscript relative to the death of Prince Arthur. It is to the following effect:—"The year of our Lord God 1502, the 2nd of April, in the castle of Luddelow, deceased the prince Arthur, first-begotten son of our Sovereign Lord King Henry VIIth, the 17th year of his reign; immediately after whose decease Sir Richard Pole, his chamberlain, wrote and sent letters to the King's council, to Greenwich, where his Grace and the Queen lay, and certified them of the Prince's departing; which discreetly sent for the King's ghostly father, to whom they showed this heavy and sorrowful tidings, and desired him, in his best manner, to show it to the King's highness; which, in the morning, the Tuesday next following, somewhat before the time accustomed, knocked at the King's chamber door. And when the King understood that it was his confessor, he commanded to let him in; which confessor, after due salutation, began to say, 'Si bona de manu Dei suscepimus, mala autem quare non sustineamus?'—and so showed his Grace that his dearest son was departed to God." IV. p. 2587.

two to be set up in Flanders, one at Bruges and Dunkirk, the rest transmitted to the Queen, or to whomsoever it may be thought best." "The Pope," he adds, "has written to Campeggio, but he has behaved so badly in this matter that nothing could have been worse."[1]

To obviate, if possible, this result, Dr. Benet had been dispatched to Rome in the latter end of May. He was instructed to avoid irritating the Pope, and abandon all solicitation for a new commission. "As the King has been advertised that the Emperor will refuse to send the brief into England, and will transmit it to Rome, which may be a color for avocation of the cause,"[2] Benet is required not to touch on that topic, but devise the best means how the avocation may be prevented. On Benet's introduction to the Pope, in company with Casale and Vaux, his Holiness expressed his regret that the King's cause was hurried on in England. At this remark Benet and the rest expressed their well-feigned astonishment, affirming that nothing had been done, or would be done until all obstacles had been removed. They employed many arguments to quiet the Pope's suspicions, but with little effect. He had evidently received better information from Campeggio himself, or from his secretary, and was not to be deceived; in fact, at their next interview he produced a letter from the Legate stating that the commission was already exhibited, and that the King and Queen had been cited to appear on the 18th of June. The importunities of the Imperial ambassador and the preparations for the Emperor's journey into Italy, were sufficient of themselves to prevent the Pope from complying any further with the King's wishes. On the 5th of July, he had already informed Sylvester Darius of his intentions. He admitted that there was no prince so attached to the Holy See as Henry VIII., and none whom he desired more to please; but the demand made on behalf of the Queen of England was no more than justice, and the Emperor was daily sending him threatening letters in her favour. He must act, he said, as a common father, and an upright judge. All the lawyers insisted that the cause ought to be revoked, especially as the Queen's party was ready to affirm upon oath that justice could not be had in the King's dominions. To oblige the King, he had already made many excuses to the Emperor's ambassadors, and used every effort to obtain delay when they demanded the revocation; and still, if it were necessary, he would pre-

[1] IV. p. 2609. [2] IV. p. 2465.

tend illness, until it could be seen whether the cause could be arranged at the approaching conference at Cambray.[1]

When Benet insisted on Wolsey's fidelity to the Pope, and urged that if his Holiness complied with the demands of the Imperialists, and revoked the cause, it would lead to the ruin of the Cardinal, and the destruction of the Church of England, Clement replied, wiping the tears from his eyes, that no one foresaw the mischief more clearly than himself. He lamented the destruction of Christendom, still more that he had no means of finding a remedy; but he could not gratify the King at the sacrifice of his conscience, and the dishonour of the See Apostolic.[2] The Imperialists were pressing him for immediate action, urging the discredit that was done to the Emperor in the person of his aunt. They had exhibited a mandate from the Queen, demanding the avocation of the cause, and he could not refuse it. "Seeing," says Benet, "that we could obtain nothing from him, we consulted among ourselves how the avocation might be delayed until you (Wolsey) had concluded the cause in England. We can do no more."[3] The ambassadors sum up the state of the cause in a despatch of the same date, with the following remarks:—"The King's cause is now at this point. The Pope cannot refuse the request of the Imperialists, and all the auditors and referendaries tell him that he cannot in justice refuse the avocation; we can, therefore, do nothing but put it off as long as possible, and we will try to do so until we hear from England. The King must now decide whether it will be better to suspend the process, or proceed to sentence before the avocation."[4]

With this view, and out of desire to keep the Pope in ignorance of the proceedings in England, for he dreaded nothing so much as the vigorous prosecution of the cause, they resolved to detain Campeggio's letters. They advised the King, if the Legate complained, to invent some excuse, and assure Campeggio, "though it was not true," that they had no dread of an avocation; because, if he suspected it, he might delay judgment. Further, they urged the King to hasten on the cause; for though the Pope had formerly promised delay, yet on receipt of letters from the Queen and Lady Margaret, it would be impossible to deny Katharine's appeal any longer. His Holiness could do no more to gratify

[1] IV. p. 2569.

[2] Nor could any one, who reflects, have wished that he should.

[3] IV. p. 2565.

[4] IV. p. 2567.

the King, for he had received information from Flanders that the Queen had written to the Lady Margaret, expressing her reluctance to defend her cause, as she dreaded the scandal that would ensue, and the ruin of herself and of her daughter. Yet she would rather brave death than suffer so great an injury to her soul, and bring dishonour on herself. The Imperialists were growing daily more importunate for the avocation, exclaiming bitterly against the Pope for allowing the cause to be proceeded with in England, contrary to his promise, and protesting that if he refused their appeal they would seek a remedy elsewhere.[1]

Clement, not deficient in judgment, nor unwilling to do right, was little fitted to act as an arbiter between two such imperious factions. Timid and irresolute, "placed between the hammer and the anvil," to use his own expression, he was unwilling to offend either, and incurred the suspicion of both. In these perplexities his only resource was to bemoan his own hard fate, and "weeping he prayed for death." The ambassadors' letters arrived in England on the 22nd of July. Their advice coincided with Wolsey's wishes; but was no longer practicable: for as he wrote to them on the 27th of the same month, Campeggio had already prorogued the court; great discrepancy and contrariety of opinion existed between them; and the cause lingered without any prospect of a speedy conclusion. In a week the process would cease, and two months' vacation would ensue. Other counsels, therefore, as he told them, were necessary, and it was important for them to act as if the avocation had been granted already. "Campeggio," he said, "writes with me to urge the Pope, if it must be granted, to qualify the conditions of it; for if the King be cited to appear in person or by proxy, and his prerogative be interfered with, none of his subjects will tolerate the insult. If he were to appear in Italy it would be at the head of a formidable army. But if the avocation be merely intended to close my hands, and not prevent the King from seeking a remedy elsewhere, it may be allowed to pass. To cite the King to Rome, or threaten him with excommunication, is no more tolerable than to deprive him of his royal dignity. If, therefore, the Pope has consented to an avocation of the cause to Rome, it must be revoked. If it arrive here before such revocation, no mention shall be made of it, not even to the King himself."[2]

[1] IV. p. 2566.

[2] IV. p. 2591.

Until this period of his life Henry had encountered little opposition from any quarter. He had reigned for twenty years without experiencing any serious obstacles to his wishes. If he had for some time ceased to be, as once he was in the estimation of Katharine, the Cid, the paladin of the world, she never wavered in her submissiveness, or gave utterance in all her troubles to the least expression of disrespect. No reproaches escaped her lips. No noble, no prelate, until now, had ventured to remonstrate with him on his proceedings; one and all, if they could not justify the divorce, confessed that he had reason for his scruples, and admitted the righteousness of his motives. The fragments of a great nobility, humbled and terrified by the fate of Buckingham, trembled at his nod. Never had king reigned in England with a more absolute sway; never had any king's will been so regarded as the voice of God, and the unerring rule of duty. As for Henry himself, he had been taught to believe that his writings in defence of the Church had saved the Faith; and for this service, and his occasional acts of parsimonious liberality, he had expected unbounded gratitude from the Pope, and instantaneous compliance with his wishes. He thought he had only to express them, and they must be granted, however unreasonable, however much at variance with the ordinary principles of justice. On this theme he harps perpetually in the despatches sent to his ambassadors at Rome; and it was this conviction which, probably more than any other, had induced him to adopt Wolsey's suggestion, and apply to the Pope for a divorce, rather than have recourse to more pliable instruments at home. Now, obstructions and vexatious opposition to his wishes had sprung up where he least expected. Timid and overawed as she was, Katharine had contrived to lodge a protest against his proceedings at the court of Rome, and by this one act the fabric he had been raising with so much ingenuity, expense, and labour was levelled to the ground. Fisher, the most devout and self-denying of all his prelates, had freely denounced the King's arts and arguments in his own cause as sophistical and unjustifiable. The boldness of his attitude, so unlike that of the rest of his brethren, had produced a powerful effect; and his firm and daring rebuke lost none of its effect when compared with the timid compliance of Warham and the rest, or the manifest efforts of the Cardinal to oppress and intimidate the weaker party.

It was in this temper of mind that Henry sent for the Cardinal "at the breaking up one day of the court to come to him into Bridewell," as Cavendish relates. The audience lasted long, and when "my Lord came out and departed from the King, he took his barge at the Black Friars, and so went to his house at Westminster. The bishop of Carlisle, being with him in his barge, said unto him, wiping the sweat from his face, 'Sir,' quoth he, 'it is a very hot day.' 'Yea,' quoth my lord Cardinal, 'if ye had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it were very hot.' And as soon as he came home to Westminster, he went incontinent to his naked bed, where he had not lain fully the space of two hours but that my lord of Wiltshire (Sir Thomas Boleyn) came to speak with him of a message from the King." The Cardinal was commanded to repair immediately, in company with Campeggio, to the Queen at Bridewell, and persuade her to place the whole matter in the King's hands, without waiting for the decision of the Legate, which might end in her "slander and defamation!" After remonstrating with Sir Thomas, who was kneeling all this time at his bedside, for putting "such fantasies" into the King's head, Wolsey rose, took his barge, fetched Campeggio from Bath Place, where he was lodging much to the annoyance of Clerk, Bishop of Bath, and proceeded with him to Bridewell. When Katharine was advertised of their arrival, she "came out of her privy chamber with a skein of white thread about her neck," attended by her maids. The Legates desired that their audience should be private; and upon her requesting them to speak openly before her attendants, Wolsey commenced the conversation in Latin. "Nay, good my Lord," quoth she, "speak to me in English, I beseech you, although I understand Latin." "Forsooth, then," quoth my Lord, "Madam, if it please your Grace, we came both to know your mind, how ye be disposed to do in this matter between the King and you, and also to declare secretly our opinions and our counsel unto you, which we have intended of very zeal and obedience that we bear to your Grace." "My Lords, I thank you, then," quoth she, "of your good wills; but to make answer to your request I cannot so suddenly, for I was set among my maidens at work, thinking full little of any such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine to make answer to so noble wise men as ye be. I had need of good counsel in this case, which toucheth me so near. Alas, my Lords! I am a

poor woman, lacking both wit and understanding sufficiently to answer such approved wise men as ye be both, in so weighty a matter. I pray you to extend your good and indifferent minds in your authority unto me, for I am a simple woman, destitute and barren of friendship and counsel here in a foreign region; and as for your counsel, I will not refuse, but be glad to hear." With this she took Wolsey by the hand, and led him with the other Cardinal into her privy chamber, where they had long communication. "We in the other chamber," says Cavendish, "might sometimes hear the Queen speak very loud, but what it was we could not understand."[1]

The 23rd of July was assigned for concluding the cause.[2] On that day the King sate within a gallery near the door of the court, where he could both see and hear the judges. The proceedings were read in Latin; that done, the King's proctor demanded sentence. Then Campeggio stood up, and declared in a fluent Latin speech that it was the custom of the Roman court in Rome to suspend all legal proceedings from the end of July until the commencement of October; and consequently the court must stand adjourned for that period.[3] So far all authorities are agreed. But Cavendish asserts that the reason for Campeggio's refusal to proceed, as stated by himself, was his determination to give no sentence until he had consulted with the Pope. "I will, therefore," he added, "adjourn this court for this time, according to the order of the court in Rome, from whence this court and jurisdiction is derived."

[1] Cavendish, p. 225.

[2] It is probably to the 19th of July, when the judges were engaged in hearing evidence of the consummation of the marriage between Katharine and Arthur, that we must refer the passage of arms between Wolsey and Fisher, related by Cavendish; because Cavendish expressly says that it arose upon a dispute between the advocates, *de hac re*. When it was urged that the truth could not be known, Fisher exclaimed, "Yes, *ego nosco (nori) veritatem!*" "How know you the truth?" quoth my lord Cardinal. "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "*ego sum professor veritatis;* I know that God is truth itself; nor he never spake but truth, who saith, *Quos Deus conjunxit homo non separet*. And forasmuch as this marriage was made and joined by God to a good intent, I say that I know the truth." "So much doth all faithful men know," quoth my lord Cardina "as well as you. Yet this reason is not sufficient in this case; for the King's council doth allege divers presumptions to prove the marriage not good at the beginning; *ergo*, say they, it was not joined by God at the beginning, and therefore it is not lawful; for God ordaineth and joineth nothing without a just order." On Dr. Ridley urging, with some temper, that it was a shame and a dishonour that such presumptions should be alleged in open court, and that they were too detestable for decent ears, *Domine Doctor, magis reverenter*, exclaimed the Cardinal. "No, no, my Lord," was the reply, "an unreverent tale would be unreverently answered." Cavendish, p. 224.

[3] See Hall, 758; and Burnet, quoting the Records of the Court, iii. 48, fol. ed.

Both statements are easily reconciled. Campeggio had received distinct instructions from the Pope to follow the rules of the court at Rome, and forbear judgment until further orders. Hall adds, that on this, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, seeing the delay, "gave a great slap on the table" with his hand, and said, "By the mass! now I see that the old-said saw is true, that there was never legate nor cardinal that did good in England!" Cavendish adds, that Wolsey, seeing the furious gestures of the Duke, calmly replied, "Sir, of all men in this realm, ye have least cause to dispraise or be offended with cardinals; for if I, simple cardinal, had not been, you should have had at this present no head upon your shoulders, wherein you should have a tongue to make any such report in despite of us." He concluded his rebuke by advising the Duke to "frame his tongue" like a man of honour and wisdom—a bitter if even an unintentional sarcasm—and not speak so hostilely and reproachfully of his friends; "for ye know best what friendship ye have received at my hands, the which I yet never revealed to no person alive before now, neither to my glory, ne to your dishonor." The Duke made no reply, but "followed after the King, who was gone into Bridewell, at the beginning of the Duke's first words."[1]

The Cardinal had interposed on various occasions in the Duke's favour, not only when, taking advantage of his position as ambassador to the French King, he had clandestinely married Mary, the King's sister—an act not less treasonable than dishonourable, but again at a later date, when, at the beginning of the year 1524, he had disbanded his army without authority, and in direct opposition to the King's instructions. But the anger of Wolsey on this occasion was probably owing quite as much to another cause, as to the intemperate and insulting observations of the Duke. In the latter end of May, the King, already suspecting the sincerity of the Legates, had despatched Suffolk to the court of France. "I assure you," writes Du Bellay in reference to this mission,[2] "Wolsey is in the greatest pain he ever was in. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the others (the Boleyns), lead the King to believe that he has not done all that he might to advance the marriage (with Anne). Francis and Madame could not do him a greater favour than to let Suffolk and Fitzwilliam know how urgently he has pressed them to take the thing in hand." He writes again the same day, "I went yesterday to see the

[1] Cavendish, p. 233.

[2] May 22: IV. p. 2467.

Legate at Richmond. He spoke to me of the mission of Suffolk, and of his own great desire that the reply of Francis and Madame (Louise) should be in accordance with the assurance he has always given his master, especially about his marriage. . . . You know how to press this upon the King and Madame, and you know how much Wolsey has done for them in obtaining this peace with his master, for which he asks no other reward except that they should advance this affair of the marriage." How his anticipations were fulfilled may be gathered from the following letter, not written in his usual orthography, from Suffolk to his master.

"Please it your Highness, these shall be to advertise the same, that at such time as I saw most convenient to break unto the French king of the secret charge that your Grace gave me in commandment to disclose unto him, taking of him, before I disclosed the same, his promise that as he was a true prince, and upon his faith, he should never open the same to no creature living, I showed unto him that your Grace had given me in commandment to show unto him, how that your Grace was advertised from Bryan that he (Francis) should say unto the said Bryan, 'How do the King my brother's affairs concerning the divorce?' And the said Bryan should say, 'I trust well.' Upon the which he (Francis) should say, 'Well, there be some that the King my brother doth trust in that matter that would it should never take effect; but I shall send Piers le Vartie (Douarty) to the King my brother, who shall disclose unto him that I know therein;' which words he (Francis) saith are such like he said to Bryan; which words he spake upon such communication as he had with the cardinal Campegius; for when this said Cardinal was with him, he did as much as he could to feel what the said Cardinal intended in your matter." After detailing further talk upon this subject, Suffolk proceeds: "When I had of him as much as I could concerning the cardinal Campegius, I said that your Grace was much bounden unto him for the said advertisement; further saying unto him, that your Grace hath such affiance and trust in him, *that if he knew any other that in like case doth dissemble* with your Grace in this matter, *whatsoever he were*, he would open the same, and so most heartily your Grace desireth him to do; commanding me to show unto him, that your Grace hath promised him, by the faith of a king, that it shall never be disclosed to no creature by your Grace. Unto the which

he said he knew none other, for, if he did, he would not fail to advertise your Grace of him. *And when I saw I could get no more of him, I said, 'Sir, what say you by the Cardinal of England in this matter?'* Whereunto he said, 'I shall tell you. As for my lord Cardinal of England, when he was with me,[1] I assure you, as far as I could perceive in him, he would the divorce should go forth and take effect, for he loved not the Queen. But I will speak frankly unto you,—and as he that no less intendeth in his good mind and heart the advancement of the King's good purpose in this matter than he doth himself,—mine advice shall be to my good brother, that he shall have good regard (be watchful), and not put so much trust in no man, whereby he may be deceived, as nigh as he can. And the best remedy for the defence thereof is to look substantially upon his matters himself, as I hear say he doth,[2] which I am not a little glad of.' Further saying unto me that my lord Cardinal of England had a marvellous intelligence with the Pope, and in Rome, and also with the cardinal Campegius. Wherefore, seeing that he hath such intelligence with them which have not minded to advance your matter, he thinketh it shall be the more need for your Grace to have the better regard to your said affair." Suffolk concludes by saying that this was the utmost he could get from the French King, but he would try him again, and see "if he will say any further therein." If he carried out his promise, he did not commit the result to writing, but reserved his communication until he returned to England.[3]

On the baseness of this transaction, and the dishonour of all concerned in it, it is needless to insist. The calumny insinuated at the close of it by the French King is sufficiently disproved by the whole tenor of Wolsey's correspondence with Rome and with Campeggio. Of Wolsey's sincerity in prosecuting the divorce Francis could not pretend ignorance. But he was at this time doing his best to deceive "his good brother," the King of England, by violating his own engagements, and secretly negociating with the Emperor. It was his object to conceal these proceedings from Henry and his minister, until the matter, which ended in the peace of Cambray, should be so far settled that neither the King nor

[1] *i.e.* in 1527.

[2] Excellent advice from the idlest and most dissolute sovereign in Europe, who never looked after his own affairs, but trusted them implicitly to others!

[3] State Papers, vii. 182.

Wolsey could interfere to prevent it. The most effectual method to this end was to inspire the King with distrust, especially as the Cardinal had expressed a desire to the King to be present at the negociations, and defend the interests of England,—a desire which had only served to augment Henry's suspicions, as if it were a mere trick to get rid of the divorce.

But Francis, as usual, whenever he pledged his honour, proved false to his word. He divulged the conversation. It reached Du Bellay, and was by him communicated in a mutilated form to Wolsey. At the return of Suffolk, the Cardinal, wholly ignorant of Henry's part in the transaction, complained to the King that the Duke, in various conversations with the French King, had done him a disfavour (*deffavorisé*); and he referred to Du Bellay as his authority. The Duke made many protestations to the contrary; and, on meeting Du Bellay, informed him that he had held certain conversations with Francis about the Cardinal, but was sure that if the ambassador had heard of them, he would never have repeated them. Du Bellay, thus pressed, denied that he had betrayed them; "as in fact," he says, "I had not," and begged that the affair might go no further; offering, if Suffolk wished it, to repeat this denial in the presence of the Cardinal. On referring the matter to Wolsey, the Cardinal expressed his intention to the French ambassador of allowing the subject to pass over; "but he spoke so coldly," says Du Bellay, "that I am convinced he intends speaking of it before the King, and will then confront me with the Duke. If it come to this you may well guess what will be the issue."[1] Fortunately for Du Bellay the King was away at the time on his progress with Anne Boleyn, and before he returned Wolsey had fallen.

Historians have represented the King as a victim to chagrin at the untoward and unexpected result of the trial. "You may be sure," says Hall, "that he was not well content when he heard of this delay, but yet, like a wise prince, he took it patiently, trusting to have an end in October ensuing."[2] He goes on to say that the King did not abandon all hope or discover the dissimulation of the Legates until Campeggio, some months after, prepared to return. Like many other statements found in Hall, and implicitly adopted by others, this is a mere misapprehension of the facts. Long before October, before even the Legates had prorogued the court, the

[1] IV. p. 2621. [2] Hall's Chronicle, p. 758.

Pope had revoked the cause.[1] "We have left nothing undone," writes Benet on the 16th of July, "to restrain the Pope from advoking the cause; we have shown him the danger of so doing, insisting on the King's merits, the necessity of the cause, the scandals and the tumult which the advocation will produce, the ruin of the Church, the loss of England and France. His Holiness admitted that all we said was true. But these and other innumerable inducements were of no avail; and he even proposed to advoke the cause without waiting to hear from the King, saying he neither could nor would wait any longer, for he had heard from Campeggio that the cause was hurried on." Sentence or no sentence, the result was the same; for by this proceeding on the part of the Pope, the commission of the Legates was revoked, and all their proceedings invalidated. Directly the Queen's appeal was admitted the Legatine court became a nullity. But the avocation of the cause was followed by an inconvenience specially offensive to the King's feelings. On the same grounds on which he had submitted to a citation from a Legatine court nominated by the Pope, was he bound to submit to a citation from the court of Rome, where the Pope presided in person.[2] How intolerable this submission seemed to his subjects, how inconsistent with his royal dignity, has been stated already. But it may be questioned whether a citation from the court of Rome, with all the publicity attached to it, would not have been infinitely more distasteful. Whatever his subjects might have been inclined to tolerate in theory—however little they might trouble their heads with the question of the Papal supremacy, so long as it was confined to the *forum ecclesiasticum*, it was far otherwise when that supremacy assumed the direct and practical shape of summoning the national sovereign to appear before the Pope as an

[1] See the letters of Casale, July 15: IV. p. 2582. The formal notice of the avocation is dated July 19: see p. 2585. I may observe here that the words revocation, avocation, advocation, express different phases of the same process. Revocation implies the recalling of the powers granted to the two Legates; avocation, removal of the cause from their jurisdiction; and advocation, bringing it into the Papal court. Whenever it could be done without injury to the sense, I have preferred to use the word revocation as more familiar to English ears.

[2] The Legatine court of Campeggio and Wolsey was as extraneous in its jurisdiction as the Papal court at Rome, and merely its representative. Its sittings in England were merely for the King's convenience, and did not affect its independence of the King's authority. It was as contrary to the laws of England that the King should be cited to appear before it, as to appear at Rome. But in these matters Henry did not care for consistency.

inferior and a vassal. The proud spirit of the nation never brooked the least approach to this indignity, and never would. In its present temper of mind, and its general irritation against the divorce, it was least of all likely to do so now. It was viewed with equal alarm by the King and the Cardinal. Directions were sent to Henry's ambassadors to use all their efforts to suppress the avocation. The Legates are ordered to prevent it from coming into the Queen's hands, or persuade her to rest satisfied with her present success. "The King desires you (Wolsey)," writes Gardiner—now installed in the post of secretary, and high in Royal favour—"to instruct Campeggio how to persuade the Queen to be content to procure that no such thing (as the citation) be comprised in the said avocation, as may irritate the King's highness and his nobles, and tell him that a king in his own realm may not be violently ——"[1] using such reasons as Wolsey's wit will supply. "The King," adds Gardiner, "has this greatly to heart, and sent for me twice while writing."[2]

To secure this object more effectually the Cardinal was directed to take steps with Clerk, Bishop of Bath, one of the Queen's counsel,[3] to arrange this difficulty to the King's satisfaction. In his letter to Gardiner, Wolsey describes his own interview with the Bishop. He found Clerk as compliant as usual. He was quite of opinion that, now the judges' hands were tied up, the Queen should abandon all her proceedings at Rome; but since she trusted more to the counsel of strangers and Imperialists (as she had very good reason for doing) the Bishop, with the concurrence of her almoner and the Bishop of London (Tunstal), would endeavour *bonâ fide* to dissuade her from taking any further steps. When Wolsey proceeded still further to impress upon Clerk the danger that might ensue to the Queen and her Council if the King were cited, or any measures taken against him at Rome, the Bishop protested that if Katharine continued wilful he would cease to be one of her Council, "to die for it."[4] The success of this manœuvre answered the expectations of both. "I repaired unto the King's highness," says Gardiner, "and read unto the same your Grace's letters to me directed; the first part whereof, showing by what dexterity your Grace hath conduced

[1] Blank by mutilation.
[2] IV. p. 2600.
[3] Clerk's conduct throughout has a very suspicious appearance. More than once he appears to have betrayed his client.
[4] IV. p. 2623.

the Queen's counsel to be content with exhibition of the brief directed to your Grace, in lieu of the letters citatorial,[1] was most acceptable unto the King's highness." He trusts "that your Grace hath in all circumstances so proceeded as, if the Queen would hereafter resile and go back from that she seemeth now to be contented with, it should not be in her power so to do; but that this act done before your Grace and the cardinal Campegius may be prejudicial to her here, at Rome, or elsewhere, by the letting (hindering) and impeaching of further prosecution of any citation . . . to be impetrate by her or her proctors hereafter."[2]

At the closing of the court the King retired to Greenwich, there to digest his disappointments, and take counsel for further action with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Anne Boleyn, and her father, Lord Rochford. Gardiner, who had returned from Rome on the 22nd of June, was now installed as chief secretary;[3] and though, as we have seen, the King continued to make use of the Cardinal, and employed him in the most delicate and difficult negociations, he ceased to maintain any correspondence with him personally or by letter. The whole correspondence between them now passed through the hands of the new and popular secretary. So marked, indeed, and so obvious was the slight, that when Wolsey, who had brought this affair of the citation to a successful issue, begged for a personal interview, the King sent him a wretched excuse by Gardiner, declining the request as too painful for his nerves: "Whereas your Grace in the end of your letter writeth that ye have certain things to show unto the King's highness which your Grace thinketh not convenient to be committed to writing, I assure your Grace at the reading thereof his Highness seemed to me somewhat altered and moved . . . Whereupon his Highness, as in that desire of further knowledge troubled, *et frustra tamen conjiciens*, what it is your Grace, the ways being sure and without fear of interception, should, that notwithstanding, not think convenient to be put in writing; knowing also right well that your Grace is not wont to spare any labours or pains in writing . . . willed me, after the minute of these letters conceived by his Grace . . . to desire your Grace incontinently, by letters of your own hand, to signify unto the same, only *caput rei* which

[1] *i.e.* the citation to appear before the Pope.

[2] State Papers, i. 343.

[3] He was appointed secretary on the 28th of July.

your Grace meaneth." He is further commanded to do so in the briefest possible words, that "his Highness may in the mean time somewhat quiet his mind and cogitation." [1]

When this letter was written the King was at Woodstock. He had left Greenwich early in August, taking Anne Boleyn with him, and her immediate friends, after he had "commanded the Queen to be removed out of the court." [2] He had gone from Barnet to Tittenhanger, thence to Reading, and about the 25th of August to Woodstock, already sufficiently notorious as the amorous retreat of Henry II. and the fair Rosamond. Here he remained until the 12th of September, alleviating his griefs by hunting with Anne Boleyn and congenial amusements; leaving the affairs of state to his falling minister, whom he had disgraced already, but had not yet mustered sufficient resolution to discard. It was probably part of the design of Wolsey's enemies to keep the King at a distance from Wolsey, and wean him from any lingering attachment he might yet entertain for one whose chief fault it was to have served his master too faithfully. So far they had prevailed; but, besides their wish to ruin the Cardinal past all hope of recovery, they were never entirely free from apprehension lest he should regain his influence and take vengeance on his enemies. Habits of long intercourse are not easily broken; nor could the King be insensible, even in his anger, to the services of the Cardinal, or the greatness of his abilities, as compared with the brainless counsels of Suffolk, or the harsh and ungenial devices of Norfolk. In this policy they possessed two advantages. The conclusion of the treaty of Cambray, from which England had been shut out through the arts of Francis and his mother, had settled European politics on a secure basis, and left no room at present for further political combinations. So the field in which the genius of Wolsey was most fitted to display itself, and where his experience gave him a decided superiority over others, was closed against him. In domestic reforms he had never taken any decided interest. He was not a theologian. He looked upon the progress of the Reformation with far less alarm and dissatisfaction than did More or even Tunstal. If it attracted his notice it was only in its political aspect, or its bearings on

[1] State Papers, i. 344.

[2] "The King commanded the Queen to be removed out of the court, and sent to another place; and his Highness rode in his progress, with Mistress Anne Boleyn in his company all the grece (stag-hunting) season." Cavendish, p. 236.

his negociations with the Pope. One reform he had constantly at heart, and was undoubtedly more profoundly interested in it than all his contemporaries; but it was precisely of that nature in which neither King, nobles, nor churchmen shared his sympathies, nor desired nor missed his help. Had his life been spared he would have raised the university of Oxford, in the splendour of its endowments, in the magnificence of its libraries, in the reputation of its scholars, above all other universities in the world. The abbeys and monasteries dispersed through England he would have converted by degrees into places of education not inferior to the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. But though the King and his nobles were fully alive to the defects of the monastic institutions, and quite ready to join in the cry for converting their revenues to other purposes, this was not the reform intended by Henry or the Boleyns. So Wolsey's occupation was extinguished. In other words, there was no complication of foreign politics in which his genius or advice would be much regretted by his master.

For domestic improvements, Parliament, which was to be assembled in November, 1529, would take the necessary measures; and these were now mainly directed towards ecclesiastical reforms. For the rest, Gardiner was an able and expert secretary. He had contrived to ingratiate himself with the King, and was by no means unacceptable to Anne Boleyn or the Duke of Norfolk. Whether, indeed, he joined in their designs for supplanting his ancient master, and helped to estrange the King, is not so easily decided. So thought, however, Du Bellay, a keen observer: "Incidentally when I was with him (Wolsey) during two days, he spoke of the practices of this court (of England), not showing himself so vexed with them as I am sure he is . . . I have less hope than before of his influence, from conversations which I had with him; for I see he trusts in certain persons, whom he has himself raised (Tuke and Gardiner); and I am sure they have betrayed him. At this I am greatly shocked; for I could never have believed they would have been guilty of such villany; and the worst is, Wolsey does not perceive it."[1] But Wolsey was far too keensighted not to perceive that the King had transferred his confidence to Gardiner. The relations between himself and the new secretary are too distinctly marked in their correspondence to leave any room for doubt

[1] IV. p. 2653.

on that head; and the complimentary tone now adopted by him in his communications with Gardiner betrays the uneasy conviction that his creature had eclipsed him. Tuke, to whom he appears to have communicated his suspicions from the court, endeavoured to remove these impressions. Writing to Wolsey from the court, Tuke assures him that in all his communications with Gardiner he found him "such a one towards the Cardinal as he should be;" not "minded to meddle with many things, but to deal with one thing, such as he shall fortune to be appointed unto." At the same time, it is plain from Tuke's letter that Gardiner and Lord Rochford had now monopolized the King's confidence.[1]

The news of the Cardinal's disgrace—for it cannot be described by any milder term—was not confined to the narrow circle of Woodstock. It was known to Katharine. "The Queen has written to me," says Mendoza, in a letter to Charles,[2] "that she perceives all the King's anger at his ill success will be visited on Wolsey." "I have been," writes Rowland Philippes, vicar of Croydon, to Wolsey himself, "with the abbot of Wigmore and showed him your gracious mind, that he should have forty marks pension; which of late he would have taken gladly, but now, as he trusts to a great change, and especially the extinction of your authority, he refuses the offer."[3] Every one was beginning to shun the falling minister as they might have shunned a falling oak, expecting the last stroke of the axe, and counting the minutes that precede its ruin. It may be thought that it would have been more dignified if Wolsey had clung with less tenacity to office. But that is to judge of past times by the present. In these days a minister who is no longer acceptable to his sovereign, be that sovereign one man or many, consults his ease and his dignity by resigning. He sharpens his weapons, he bides his time—*sparsâ ad pugnam proludit arenâ*. He raises a mighty dust, and prepares for the future combat. Not so then: once fallen, a

[1] Aug. 29: IV. p. 2632. In a later letter, dated Sept. 3, Gardiner repudiates with some severity the suspicion of Wolsey that he was officiously meddling with the Cardinal's measures. "I trust," he says, "whatever your opinion may be of the interpretation of the treaty of Madrid (upon which Gardiner had expressed different sentiments from Wolsey), you will not judge otherwise of me, as I perceive by your Grace's letters ye do not, *quam ut boni viri officio functus videar contradicendo*, and done therein my duty to the King and you." Had Wolsey been in his glory, it is questionable whether Gardiner would have ventured on so disagreeable a duty. See p. 2645.

[2] July 30: IV. p. 2593.

[3] Aug. 31: IV. p. 2638.

favourite fell for ever; and once fallen, impeachment inevitably followed. There was not an office high or low, for which the holder, at the termination of it, did not require the King's pardon for unknown and involuntary offences. There was not one which could be resigned, without permission of the sovereign, for the same reason. The burthen imposed upon a minister, or voluntarily taken up by him, could not be laid down at his own caprice, his desire of ease, or his sense of indignity. Least of all was it possible for Wolsey; for though he had regulated his actions in compliance with the King's wishes, nothing but the King's pardon could save him from the consequences; and that was not to be expected in the present fierce and unrelenting humour of his master. Nothing but that pardon could protect him from an impeachment. Parliament was now at hand; and no Parliament could or would fail in calling him to account for real or imaginary offences of which he had been guilty during the last twenty years. He was a quarry at which the royal hunter had taken aim. Ingenious lawyers, unscrupulous partizans, time-serving courtiers, could twist and point overt and constructive treason out of actions done by the explicit command of the sovereign, of which the sovereign reaped the reward, and his minister paid the penalty. No other course was therefore open to the Cardinal, except to take his probation quietly and wait for his dismissal.

The Court was superseded; the Legates' commission revoked; and as nothing now remained in England for Campeggio to do, he prepared for his departure. On the 14th of September he started in company with Wolsey and the Imperial ambassador for Grafton in Northamptonshire, where the King was now staying with Anne Boleyn, on his return from Woodstock. The Legates reached Grafton, and presented themselves on Sunday morning, the 19th.[1] "The two prelates being come to the gates," says Cavendish, "alighted from their horses, supposing that they should have been received by the head-officers of the house, as they were wont to be; yet, forasmuch as Campeggio was but a stranger in effect, the said officers received them, and conveyed him to his lodging within the court, which was prepared for him only.[2] And after my

[1] IV. p. 2656. Cavendish, p. 237.

[2] Du Bellay gives another reason. "I think," he says, "they would like to treat him (Campeggio) at his departure rather more graciously than they had intended to do, hoping that there may be some changes at Rome, if the Emperor treat the Pope as

Lord had brought him thus to his lodging, he left him there, and departed, supposing to have gone directly likewise to his chamber, as he was accustomed to do. And by the way, as he was going, it was told him that he had no lodging appointed for him in the court. And being therewith astonied, Sir Henry Norris,[1] groom of the stole to the King, came unto him, and whether it was by the King's commandment or no, I know not, and most humbly offered him his chamber for the time, until another might be somewhere provided for him. 'For, Sir, I assure you,' quoth he, 'here is very little room in this house, scantly sufficient for the King. However, I beseech your Grace to accept mine for the season.' Whom my Lord thanked for his gentle offer, and went straight to his chamber, whereas my Lord shifted his riding apparel. Then was my Lord advertised by Master Norris that he should prepare himself to give attendance in the chamber of presence, against the King's coming thither, who was disposed there to talk with him and with the other Cardinal, who came into my Lord's chamber; and they together went into the said chamber of presence, where the Lords of the Council stood in a row, in order, along the chamber, my Lord putting off his cap to every of them most gently, and so did they no less to him; at which time the chamber was so furnished with noblemen and gentlemen, and other worthy (worshipful) persons, that only expected the meeting, and the countenance of the King and him, and what entertainment the King made him.

"Then immediately after came the King into the chamber; and standing there under the cloth of estate, my Lord kneeled down before him, who took my Lord by the hand, and so he did the other Cardinal. Then he took my Lord up by both arms, and caused him to stand up, whom the King, with as amiable a cheer as ever he did, called him aside, and led him by the hand to a great window, where he talked with him, and caused him to be covered.

"Then to behold the countenance of those who had made their wagers to the contrary, it would have made you to smile; and thus were they all deceived, as well worthy for their presumption. The King was in long and earnest communication with him, insomuch as I heard the King say, 'How can that

badly as they expect he will, so that Campeggio might still be of use to them, or at least not do them injury, as he would do, it he were ill-treated at his departure." September 18: IV. p. 2653.

[1] Cavendish is wrong in prefixing "sir" to his name. He was not a knight.—ED.

be? Is not this your own hand?' And plucked out from his bosom a letter or writing, and showed him the same.[1] And, as I perceived, it was answered so by my Lord, that the King had no more to say in that matter, but said to him "My Lord, go to your dinner, and all my Lords here will keep you company; and after dinner I will resort to you again, and then we will commune further with you in this matter.' And so departed the King, and dined that same day with Mistress Anne Boleyn, in her chamber, who kept there an estate more like a queen than a simple maid."

Cavendish then gives an account of the conversation at the table between the Duke of Norfolk and the Cardinal, in which the Duke could not forbear from insulting the fallen minister, and hinting at the intention of the King to banish the Cardinal to his diocese of York—as he afterwards did. From this time the Duke seems to have been the chief adviser of all the measures that were adopted against the Cardinal. An implacable and relentless enemy, he never ceased to persecute his ancient rival until his ruin was completed, and treachery had done its work.

In continuation of his narrative, Cavendish proceeds to report Anne Boleyn's behaviour at table, her conversation with the King, and her reproaches for his unexpected reception of the Cardinal. Though she had now forgotten her former extravagant protestations of gratitude to the Cardinal, and had become one of his bitterest enemies, her shallow and malicious talk suggests the notion that she was the weak and willing instrument of abler heads than her own. "'Sire,' quoth she to the King, 'is it not a marvellous thing to consider what debt and danger the Cardinal has brought you in with all your subjects?' 'How so, sweetheart?' quoth the King. 'Forsooth,' quoth she, 'There is not a man within all your realm worth five pounds, but he hath indebted you unto him' (meaning the late loan). 'Well, well,' quoth the King, 'as for that there is no blame in him, for I know that matter better than you or any other.' 'Nay, Sir,' quoth she, 'besides all that, what things hath he wrought within this realm to your great slander and dishonour. There is never a nobleman

[1] The use that Shakespeare makes of this incident is well known. But the turn that he gives it is improbable in itself, and is not sanctioned by any contemporary evidence. If Wolsey had committed so fatal a blunder, it could scarcely have been unknown to Cavendish, who was present, or have been unnoticed by him. What the letter or paper was to which the King referred is, and must remain, a mystery.

within this realm, if he had done but half so much as he hath done, but were well worthy to lose his head. If my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, my lord my father, or any other noble person within your realm, had done much less than he, they should have lost their heads ere this.' 'Why, then, I perceive,' quoth the King, 'you are not the Cardinal's friend.' 'Forsooth, Sir,' then quoth she, 'I have no cause, nor any other that loveth your Grace, if ye consider well his doings.' The waiters, then," says Cavendish, "took up the table, and the conversation ended."

After dinner the King again repaired to the chamber of presence, where the Lords were attending his coming. Taking Wolsey apart into a great window, they conversed very secretly together for a long time. This apparent restoration of confidence was a terrible blow to the Cardinal's enemies. Once more they had recourse to the influence of Anne Boleyn to detach the King from his minister. That night Wolsey proceeded to his lodging at "Master Empson's house, called Euston, three miles from Grafton, being commanded by the King to return early in the morning;" that is, on Monday, the 20th of September, "to the intent they might finish their talk."

According to the authority of one who was present on this occasion, Wolsey met the King again, and sat with him at the Council all the forenoon, and took leave of him in the afternoon, as the King was going out to hunt. On the other hand, the account preserved by Cavendish varies slightly from this statement.[1] He asserts that the King did not attend the council, but took his leave in the morning, observing, "he could not tarry." But so far Cavendish agrees with the former authority, that the King parted from the Cardinal without any signs of displeasure. His sudden departure, so much at variance with his resolution the evening before, was due to Mistress Anne, "who rode with him," says Cavendish, "only to lead him about because he should not return until the Cardinals were gone." She carried him off under pretence of taking him to see a piece of ground for a new

[1] One of Wolsey's attendants on this occasion confirms the statement of Cavendish in the main, and further adds, "My Lord sat with the Council until it was dark night. Suffolk, Rochford, Tuke, and Stevens (Gardiner) showed him as much observance as ever before. What they bear in their hearts, I know not." Alward to Cromwell, Sept. 23: IV. p. 2656. This unfavourable impression of Gardiner the writer shared in common with Cavendish, who reports (p. 243) a curious conversation between the Secretary and the Cardinal as they sat at supper at Euston.

park, in which she professed to feel great interest; and she kept the King at dinner until she was sure of the Cardinal's departure.

After dinner Wolsey, accompanied by Campeggio, rode to St. Alban's, then to the More, and finally to London. The Italian Legate took his journey to Dover shortly before the 10th of October. He was still there on the 12th; "and I have just heard," says Du Bellay, "that upon pretence of want of ships they will not let him pass without consulting about it, for fear he carries off the treasure of the cardinal of York."[1] This, probably, was no more than a mere excuse for searching the Legate's baggage, in order to discover the secret commission he had brought from Rome, and secure his correspondence with the Pope. Hall affirms that the intention was to learn what letters Wolsey had sent to Rome. "There were," he observes, "but a few letters found, for they were sent before in post;"—a bold assertion, of which there is no proof whatever, and no probability. But Hall, like many others, in the absence of better information, never believed that Wolsey was sincere in his proceedings for the divorce, and credulously accepted any idle story which fell in with this impression. "But in many chests," he says, "were found old hosen, old coats, and such vile stuff as no honest man would carry to have it, which much displeased Campeggio." That poverty should be objected to the Cardinal as disgraceful, by a writer who is not sparing of invectives against the luxury of the ecclesiastics, will astonish no one. Hall was ignorant of the fact that Campeggio had been repeatedly urged by the King to abandon all preparations for his journey, as all things necessary would be provided for him by the King's liberality. More than once he had refused large sums of money offered him for this purpose by the Bishop of Bath. The King never repeated his offer, or fulfilled his promise; and there is not the least reason for believing, as Hall asserts, that the Legate received any great reward for his arduous services. No minute to that effect is found among the King's payments. But such accusations were as easily made as they were greedily accepted.

On the contrary, the Legate was treated with a petty malevolence and indignity wholly inexcusable. It is to be remembered that he had visited England at great personal inconvenience and expense to himself, on the King's repeated

[1] IV. p. 2673.

solicitations. The legation in which he had been employed was far from agreeable. It had been undertaken by him with great reluctance; and if the result of the trial proved otherwise than the King expected, the Legate had only acted according to his instructions. Nothing, therefore, could be more childish or undignified than the petty annoyance to which he was now subjected by the active and impotent malice of his enemies. It would have been more agreeable to find that Henry took no part in this act; but his reply to Campeggio, who had complained of the insult, shows that if the King was not the author of it, he was not dissatisfied with such a contemptible opportunity of manifesting his displeasure.

"I have read your letters," he says, "in which you complain grievously of the disrespect shown to the pontifical dignity, and the violation of your legatine authority, because certain porters of ours have examined your baggage, and a rumor has prevailed that you and the cardinal of York have been guilty of collusion in our cause, and that you would not leave England until this calumny was cleared up, and satisfaction was given for so atrocious a wrong. I cannot sufficiently wonder that your wisdom should exaggerate such trifling offences, and conceive such dire displeasure, as though it were in my power to prevent the rudeness of a mob, or the excessive officiousness of others in the discharge of their duty. As to your legateship, no wrong has been done you by me or mine. Your authority only extended to the termination of my cause; when that was revoked by Papal inhibition it expired, and neither I nor my subjects admit that you have any other. I wonder you are so ignorant of the laws of this country, seeing you are a bishop here, and bound to respect my royal dignity, as not to be afraid to use the title of legate when it has become defunct." He then proceeds to say that the porters had received orders to allow no one to pass, who was legally suspected, even with the King's letters patent, without diligent examination of their baggage. But he regrets that they had not shown greater circumspection and prudence on this occasion. "As to the other part of your complaint, it would be hopeless for you to stay here in expectation of having it redressed by any process. A wise man will pay no attention to ordinary rumors. You may infer from it that my subjects are not very well pleased that my cause has come to no better conclusion. I have reason to doubt your faith, and the

integrity of your friendship, when your deeds and your professions so little agree."[1] Owing to these and other impediments, Campeggio did not cross until the 26th. He arrived in Paris on the 4th of November.[2]

[1] Oct. 22. Henry VIII. to Campeggio, IV. p. 2677. The letter is endorsed by Gardiner, and, considering its style and pungency, was probably his composition. It is absurd to suppose that the Custom House officers at Dover would have ventured to subject to these indignities a prince of the Church, like Campeggio, and a legate from the Pope, without the King's immediate authority.

[2] IV. p. 2702.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FALL OF WOLSEY.

Wolsey, after his return from Grafton,[1] attended the meetings of the Council at Westminster, as he had been commanded by the King. "There," says Hall, "the Cardinal showed himself much more humblier than he was wont to be, and the Lords showed themselves more higher and stranger." Michaelmas term was at hand. He went to the Hall with his usual train, as Lord Chancellor, for the first day,[2] but "never sate there more," nor ever again made his appearance in public. His licence to appoint two attornies[3] to act for him is dated the same day, and we must therefore infer that proceedings against him had already commenced, under the Statute of Præmunire, for the exercise of his legatine authority. Hall represents these proceedings as done behind his back; for whilst he sate in the Chancery, "the Lords and others of the King's Council were gone to Windsor to the King, when they informed the King that all things Wolsey had done almost by his power legatine were in the case of the *Præmunire* and *Provision;* and that the Cardinal had forfeited all his lands, goods, and chattels to the King. Wherefore, the King, willing to order him according to the order of his laws, caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ of *Præmunire* against him, in the which he licensed him to make an attorney."[4]

The touching letter addressed by him to the King in his disgrace must belong to this date.[5] It was written either on the very evening of the day on which he sate in the Chancery for the last time, or on the day before. It was thought by

[1] So Hall, p. 760.

[2] Oct. 9.

[3] His licence to appoint two attornies is dated Oct. 9. See IV. p. 2670. His appointment of John Scuse and Christopher Jenny to that office is dated Oct. 27. See p. 2685.

[4] Hall, p. 760.

[5] He was indicted in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, for the Præmunire; first on the 9th of October, and again on the 20th of the same month. IV. p. 2686.

lookers-on that he carried a high and haughty countenance, abating nothing of his usual pride, when with undiminished train and all the usual insignia of his office he entered Westminster Hall to take his seat as in the days of his prosperity. They little knew how every fibre of his frame was quivering under the long torture to which he had been so ungenerously subjected. They knew as little the terrible agony and suspense with which he was awaiting the outburst of the storm that was to overwhelm him. Refused admittance to the King, exposed naked and defenceless to his enemies, nothing remained for him except to suffer in silence, uncertain when and how the blow would fall. In this agony of mind he wrote to the King as follows :—

"Most gracious and merciful Sovereign lord,—Though that I, your poor, heavy, and wretched priest, do daily pursue, cry, and call upon your Royal Majesty for grace, mercy, remission, and pardon, yet in most humble wise I beseech your Highness not to think that it proceedeth of any mistrust that I have in your merciful goodness, nor that I would encumber or molest your Majesty by any indiscreet or importune suit;[1] but the same only cometh of an inward and ardent desire that I have continually to declare unto your Highness, how that, next unto God, I desire nor covet any thing in this world but the attaining of your gracious favour and forgiveness of my trespass. And for this cause I cannot desist nor forbear, but be a continual and most lowly suppliant to your benign grace. For surely, most gracious King, the remembrance of my folly, with the sharp sword of your Highness' displeasure, hath so penetrate my heart, that I cannot but lamentably cry . . . and say, *Sufficit; nunc contine, piissime rex, manum tuam.*"

He then urges upon the King the Gospel exhortations, *Dimitte et dimittetur vobis; Beati misericordes*, etc.; and concludes by styling himself, "Your Grace's most prostrate, poor chaplain, creature, and bedesman, T. Card. Ebor, *Miserrimus*."[2]

Expressions so abject seem strangely at variance with our modern notions of manliness and independence. For if by his "folly" Wolsey meant the part taken by him in the divorce, the King had been no less foolish and culpable. He had participated in all the measures, and, so long as it suited his own purposes, had approved of Wolsey's conduct. If he meant by this self-accusation the acceptance of the legatine authority, the King had not only approved and encouraged the assumption of it, but employed his influence with the Pope to procure it. But in condemning the Cardinal for the humiliating terms in which he throws himself upon the King's mercy,

[1] These expressions are to be noted. There is an evident reference in them to the cold rebuff he had already received from the King. See p. 367.

[2] State Papers, i. p. 347.

it is necessary to consider the difference of style employed in those days towards sovereigns and superiors as compared with our own. Wolsey felt that he was precluded from pleading the consent of his sovereign for infringing the Act of Præmunire, nor did he attempt it. That offence amounted to treason. It involved the forfeiture of his goods. It invalidated all his acts; and all the expenses incurred in the erection of his colleges were thus bestowed in vain. Not merely loss of dignity followed (as in our days), but total and irretrievable ruin. In the uncertainty of the law and the inequality of its administration his life was exposed to the malice of his enemies and to popular odium. As the entire legislative and executive power were concentrated in the Crown, not merely in theory but in practice, the courts of law were not independent of royal influence whenever the King was disposed to exert it. None, however innocent, would have found it easy to escape, of whose guilt the sovereign was persuaded. So the position of Wolsey was one to which, happily, under the settled principles of the constitution, and the independent administration of the law, no minister nowadays is liable.

In his troubles he was visited by his old acquaintance, Du Bellay, who, more than any other of his political friends, sympathized with the Cardinal in his misfortunes. "I have visited," he says, "the Cardinal in his troubles, and have found in him the greatest example of fortune that any man could ever witness. He has represented (*remonstrée*) his case to me in the worst rhetoric I ever witnessed, for heart and words entirely failed him. He wept much, and prayed that the king (Francis) and Madame would have pity upon him, if they had found that he had kept his promise to them of being their good servant, so far as his honor and ability would stretch. But at last he left me, without being able to say any other thing more expressive than his countenance, which is deprived of half its animation. I assure you, Monsieur, that his misfortunes are such that his enemies, even though they were Englishmen, could not fail to pity him. Yet, notwithstanding, they will not forbear from persecuting him to the last extremity; and he sees no means of safety, nor do I, except it should please the King and Madame to help him. He desires not legateship, seal of authority, nor influence. He is ready to abandon everything, even to his shirt, and to live in a hermitage, provided his King will not hold him in disfavour. I have comforted him the best that I could, but that is little at the

best. Since then he has sent a confidant[1] to me to tell me what he would like to have done for him, and it appears to him that it would not interfere with the interest of the king (Francis), if his most reasonable demand were granted;—that is, for the King to write to his master that he has heard a great rumor of his having removed Wolsey from his presence and his favor, in such a way that it was reported that he was to be deprived of his life, which he (Francis) cannot entirely believe; yet, for the fraternal affection between them, and their intimate intercourse in all affairs, he begs the King will not entertain, without due consideration, any bad impressions against those whom the world has once seen in such great authority, and whom he has employed as his instrument in the present amity of the two sovereigns, so renowned throughout all Christendom. And if, perchance, Henry is in any degree dissatisfied with the Cardinal, Francis would beg of him to moderate his anger, as he is quite sure that those who are about him, and have the management of his affairs, will counsel him to do."

Du Bellay seconded this request to his master by pointing out that no one could take offence at such an interposition in Wolsey's behalf. He urged that Wolsey owed his unpopularity in some measure to the support he had given to French interests, and his wish to be present at the meeting at Cambray. His enemies, says Du Bellay, have insinuated to the King that this was only a device on the Cardinal's part to escape from the dissolution of the King's marriage. Wolsey further requested that, whatever was done in the matter, no hint of this request should be suffered to transpire, still less should it be allowed to reach the King's ears, or it would ruin him entirely. Besides his supposed reluctance to the divorce, his enemies had another great advantage over him. He had maintained, both in peace and war, secret intelligence with Louise; he had, as they asserted, received large presents, and through her influence had refused to send the necessary succours to Suffolk at Mont Didier, in the war of 1523, thus preventing the Duke from taking Paris. He adds, "It is the intention of these Lords, when Wolsey is dead or destroyed, to get rid of the Church, and spoil the goods of both. It is

[1] This confidant was an Italian servant, in whose fidelity Wolsey placed implicit confidence. See Du Bellay's letter of the 22nd of Oct., IV. p. 2678. He could be no other than the Italian physician Augustine, who completely deceived and betrayed his master, as will be seen hereafter.

hardly necessary for me to write this in cypher, for they make no secret of their intentions. I suppose they mean to do grand things! . . . If the King and Madame are willing to do anything in Wolsey's favor they must make haste; for their letters cannot arrive before he has lost the seal; and though he thinks no more about that, they will be of advantage to him in what comes after. The worst is that Mademoiselle de Boleyn has exacted a promise from her lover that he will never give Wolsey a hearing, for she thinks he could not help showing pity on the Cardinal."[1]

On the day when this letter was written by Du Bellay, the great seal was taken from Wolsey by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, at six o'clock in the evening, whilst he was sitting in the gallery of his house at Westminster. It was delivered in the presence of Fitzwilliam, Dr. Taylor, Master of the Rolls, and Stephen Gardiner.[2] Cavendish relates that at their first coming the Dukes made their demand by word of mouth, without exhibiting any commission; and when the Cardinal declined to surrender the great seal without a sufficient warrant, "many stout words" were uttered by these noblemen; whose threats the Cardinal took patiently for the time; "insomuch that the Dukes were fain to depart again without their purpose at that present; and returned again unto Windsor to the King, and what report they made I cannot tell; howbeit the next day they came again from the King, bringing with them the King's letters. After the receipt and reading of the same by my Lord, which was done with much reverence, he delivered unto them the great seal, contented to obey the King's high commandment; and seeing that the King's pleasure was to take his house (York Place) with the contents, was well pleased simply to depart to Asher (Esher), taking nothing but only some provision for his house."[3]

His goods were at once seized to the King's use, and Fitzwilliam and Gardiner were appointed to see that no part of them was embezzled. On the 19th of October, Norfolk and Suffolk, with many of the spiritual and temporal Lords, came into the Star Chamber, and declared the causes of Wolsey's deprivation, and were appointed to administer justice in his stead. It was at this time that he was visited by Du Bellay, who still maintained a cordial correspondence with the degraded minister, and wrote in his behalf a second time to the

[1] London, Oct. 17: IV. p. 2675. [2] IV. p. 2681.
[3] Cavendish, p. 247.

French court. "I shall be glad," he says, "if you will grant the request which Wolsey made to me secretly, by an Italian servant, the only one who has remained faithful to him. On Tuesday, the 19th of October,[1] the great seal was taken from him, and an inventory was made of all his goods, and commands issued to every one who had been in his service these twenty years, to render a strict account of all they have touched. This has been found difficult, because not a sixth part has been discovered of what was expected. . . . Wolsey has also been ordered to reply to the charges made against him before the King or the Parliament . . . but he preferred to throw himself on the King's mercy; from which, however, he hopes less than nothing, as he has been used with such extreme severity, that, in addition to the loss of all his goods and dignities, he expects to be perpetually imprisoned, and that neither the King nor the Parliament will ever revoke his sentence. The points of which he is accused are robberies and exactions, but these do not amount to mortal offences. They say that when at Amiens he consented to admit the duke of Ferrara into the league without the King's knowledge; that he delivered to Francis a bond, under his hand, without authority; made intimation of war against the Emperor, &c.; and the least of these things, they say, will cost him his life. I fully believe that if Francis and Madame do not come to his relief in all diligence, he will be in great danger. . . . He begs Francis, for the mercy of God, to protect him from the fury of his enemies, who would bring his grey hairs to the most shameful and miserable end." Du Bellay adds in a postscript to this letter, "Whilst writing this I have learnt that the Legate is put out of his house, and all his goods taken into the King's hands. Besides the exactions with which he is charged, and the dissensions sown by his means between Christian princes, they lay at his door so many other things, that he is entirely lost. The duke of Norfolk is made head of the Council; in his absence the duke of Suffolk; above all is Mademoiselle Anne. It is not as yet known who is to have the seal. I verily believe that the priests will not touch it any more, and that in this Parliament they will have terrible alarms. I see that Dr. Steven (Gardiner) will bear a great stroke in the management of affairs, especially if he will throw off his gown."[2]

[1] The official record, as quoted before, says it was surrendered on the 17th.

[2] IV. p. 2678.

On the same day Wolsey signed an indenture, acknowledging that by virtue of his legatine authority he had vexed unlawfully the greater number of the prelates of this realm, and other subjects of the King, incurring thereby the guilt of Præmunire, by which he deserved to suffer perpetual imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and forfeit all his lands and offices. As some atonement for his offences, he prays the King to take into his hands all his temporal possessions, pensions, and benefices, of which he is willing to make further assurance when it shall be required.[1] He now prepared to leave his house in York Place, and retired to Esher, as the King commanded him; and calling his servants and officers together, had an inventory taken of all his possessions, the tapestry of his gallery, which was hung with cloth of gold, the copes he had provided for his colleges of Oxford and Ipswich, "the richest that ever I saw in England," says Cavendish. The gold and silver plate was piled upon tables. The silks, velvets, and fine linen were arranged according to their different inventories; and the strictest order was taken in expectation of the King's visit, who, hungering for the Cardinal's effects,[2] was anxious to feast his eyes upon his newly gotten riches. "Thus everything being brought into good order," says Cavendish, he gave the charge of (for) the delivery thereof unto the King, to every officer within his office, of such stuff as they had before in charge, by indenture of every parcel. For the order of his house was such as that every officer was charged by indenture with all such parcels as belonged to their office."[3]

When all was completed, he proceeded with his gentlemen and attendants to the water-side (with one cross only borne before him), and then took his barge at his privy stairs for Putney. The news of his disgrace attracted a vast concourse of people. Never was a fallen minister more unpopular. The part he had taken in the divorce had steeled the hearts

[1] IV. p. 2678.

[2] It was expected that the King, on this as on other occasions, would be accompanied by Anne Boleyn; and the heartless vanity of the whole scene is suggestive of her influence, at this time, over her royal lover. But so unpopular was the divorce that it seems that she never dared show herself openly in London until the time of her coronation. In 1531, when she was supping alone at a villa on the Thames, a mob of seven or eight thousand women of London, and of men disguised in women's clothes, attempted to seize her, and she would have fallen a victim to their anger if she had not escaped them by crossing the river in a boat. Ven. Cal., IV. p. 304.

[3] Cavendish, p. 250.

of the populace against him, as he had already lost those of the nobility, the religious orders, and the clergy. Even if he had any friends remaining, who still retained their fidelity towards him, their consciousness of the King's displeasure, however unmerited, prevented them from showing it; for every effort was made by his enemies and even by men of high character like More, from whom greater magnanimity might have been expected, to inflame the passions of the people against him.[1] Norfolk and Suffolk, Anne Boleyn, and her friends, devoid of all pity and generosity—how little do men anticipate their own misery!—aggravated his failings, insinuated against him charges they well knew to be false, and inflamed the King's anger by rousing his jealousy and fanning his suspicious temper! As Wolsey stepped into his barge at the foot of the stairs, not less than a thousand boats filled with men and women of the city of London were afloat upon the Thames, waiting for his departure, anxious to gratify their curiosity and feast their eyes on the once great minister, now fallen from his greatness. They expected to see him carried to the Tower, there to expiate on the scaffold crimes of which he never had been guilty.[2] "I cannot but see," remarks his faithful biographer, "that it is the inclination and natural disposition of Englishmen to desire change of men in authority: most of all, where such men have administered justice impartially."

Arriving at Putney he mounted his mule, and was shortly after overtaken by Master Norris, who brought him, from the King, a ring with a rich stone in it, as a token of the King's favour. "He added," if we may believe his biographer, Cavendish, "that the King commanded him to be of good cheer;" for though he had dealt unkindly with the Cardinal, as he might suppose, it had only been done to satisfy "the minds of some which he knoweth be not your friends, than for any indignation." When the Cardinal heard the message, "he quickly alighted from off his mule all alone, as though he had been the youngest person amongst us, and incontinent kneeled down in the dirt, with both his knees, holding up his hands for joy. Master Norris perceiving him so quickly [dismounted] from his mule upon the ground, mused and was astonied. And therewith he alighted also, and kneeled by

[1] They even went so far as to forbid the French ambassador from holding any further communication with him. IV. p. 2683.

[2] Cavendish, p. 251.

him, embracing him in his arms, and asked him how he did, calling upon him to credit his message. 'Master Norris,' quoth he, 'when I consider your comfortable and joyful news I can do no less than to rejoice, for the sudden joy surmounted my memory, having no respect neither to the place nor time, but thought it my very bounden duty to render thanks to God my Maker, and to the King my sovereign lord and master, who hath sent me such comfort, in the very place where I received the same.'"

The same faithful biographer narrates an incident which shows that Dagonet was not the only fool who retained his loyalty when ladies, knights, and prelates turned recreant, and forgot their vows. After Norris had left, the Cardinal remembered that he had not, as in the days of his prosperity, sent any token of his gratitude to the King. He had with him in his train, among the few who had not forsaken him, his fool, Master Williams, otherwise called Patch, evidently from the parti-coloured livery in which he was dressed. Turning to Norris, Wolsey requested him to present the King with "this poor fool," adding, "I trust his Highness will accept him well, for surely, for a nobleman's pleasure, he is worth a thousand pounds." Master Williams, unlike other fools, was not agreeable to the change. He was unwilling to abandon his ancient master, even for advancement in the King's service; and it was only by force, and in the company of six tall yeomen, that he could be induced to comply with Wolsey's wishes.

What were the King's intentions in sending this message to the Cardinal, it is not easy to divine. It may be that some ancient spark of generosity and nobleness still lingered in his bosom. He could not but be conscious that he was sacrificing to the machinations of his enemies one who had served him faithfully. To a man of any magnanimity it must have been far more galling, that he had allowed himself to become the unworthy instrument of their malice. That is the most favourable construction which we can put upon his conduct. But it must not be concealed, that there were some about the King, who had opportunities of watching his conduct, who attributed this apparent relenting to unworthier motives. Some, indeed, to the belief that he might still find the Cardinal useful in promoting the divorce, notwithstanding all that had occurred; a supposition which seems hardly credible. Others, again, to the more selfish intention of keeping the Cardinal

from total despondency, that he might the better discover where his treasures were preserved, and Wolsey be less inclined to offer any opposition to his designs.[1] It is possible that both may have had their influence, for Henry was at times subject to the two most opposite and inconsistent impulses —extreme avarice and lavish generosity—the most engaging frankness and the most furious and blinding passion. In him the Yorkist and the Lancastrian temper held divided sway.

Whatever hopes Wolsey may have entertained, cooler and more impartial heads than his own took a more gloomy view of his condition. "The downfall of the Cardinal," says Chapuys, the new Imperial ambassador, is complete. He is dismissed from the Council, deprived of the chancellorship, and constrained to make an inventory of his goods with his own hand, that nothing may be forgotten. It is said that he has acknowledged his faults, and presented all his effects to the King. Yesterday the King returned from Greenwich by water secretly in order to see them, and found them much greater than he had expected. He took with him *sa mie* (Anne Boleyn), her mother, and a gentleman of his chamber. The Cardinal, notwithstanding his troubles, has always shown a good face, especially towards the town; but since St. Luke's day (18th October) all has been changed to sighs and tears, night and day. The King, either moved by pity, or for fear if he should die the whole extent of his effects would not be found, sent him a ring for his comfort. He has withdrawn with a small attendance to a place ten miles off. They have sent for his son (Winter) from Paris. People say execrable things of him, all of which will be known at this Parliament. But those who have raised the storm will not let it abate, not knowing, if he return to power, what will become of them. The ambassador of France commiserates him most. It was feared the Cardinal would get his goods out of the country, and therefore a strict watch was kept at the ports, and the porters insisted on opening the coffers of cardinal Campeggio, notwithstanding his passport; and on his refusal broke open

[1] If Wolsey had stood out instead of yielding at once, he might so far have justified himself in the exercise of his legatine authority as to have rendered his prosecution troublesome and odious to the Crown. But besides this, the King wished to get into his own hands York Place, which belonged to the see of York, and Tittenhanger, which belonged to St. Alban's. To these he had no legal claim, whatever might be Wolsey's guilt, for they were not the Cardinal's property. But by playing on his hopes and fears the King obtained the surrender of both, and other advantages besides.

the locks. He said they had done him great wrong to suppose that he could be corrupted by the Cardinal, when he had been proof against the innumerable presents offered him by the King.

"The Chancellor's seal has remained in the hands of the duke of Norfolk till this morning, when it was transferred to Sir Thomas More. Every one is delighted at his promotion, because he is an upright and learned man, and a good servant to the Queen. He was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, an office now conferred on Fitzwilliam. Richard Pace, a faithful servant of your Majesty, whom the Cardinal had kept in prison for two years, as well in the Tower of London as in a monastery (Sion House), is set at liberty. Unless his mind should again become unsettled, it is thought he will rise to higher favor in court than ever."[1]

He adds in a postscript, "Two days after I had written the above, the Cardinal was definitively condemned by the Council (Court of King's Bench ?),[2] declared a rebel, and guilty of high treason, for having obtained a legatine bull, whereby he had conferred many benefices in the King's patronage. He has been deprived of his dignities, his goods confiscated, and himself sentenced to imprisonment until the King shall decide. This sentence was not given in his presence, but to his two proctors. He will not find it easy of digestion, but worse remains."[3]

When Wolsey fell into disgrace there was no ecclesiastic of sufficient influence to take his place, or defend the interests of the Church, at a time when those interests were exposed to the greatest peril. In temporal affairs, the direction, for the present, fell into the hands of Norfolk, rather from the sheer

[1] An instance how popular rumour exaggerates facts, or how Spanish ambassadors were likely to misrepresent them. Pace was never committed to the Tower, nor kept in prison by the Cardinal, but during his lunacy was placed under the charge of the Bishop of Bangor.

[2] A bill of indictment was preferred by Hales, the Attorney-General, against Wolsey on the 9th of October, at Westminster, for procuring legatine bulls, contrary to the statute 16 Ric. II. The offences of which he was guilty are stated. The Cardinal was accordingly attached, and the sheriff was commanded to produce him on Saturday after the mise of Michaelmas. That day his proctors appeared and pleaded in the Cardinal's behalf that, as he did not know that the procuring of these bulls was to the King's prejudice, or a violation of the statute, he threw himself upon the King's mercy. Judgment was ultimately given that the Cardinal should be out of the King's protection, and forfeit all his lands and goods. A second and a similar bill was preferred, on the 20th of the same month, containing fresh counts. IV. p. 2686.

[3] IV. p. 2683.

force of circumstances and the advantages of his rank than for his great ability. He now found himself, as he thought, without a rival; and was determined, if possible, to continue so. He had borne the Cardinal's superiority long, without betraying his disgust and indignation—for he was a master of dissimulation—and he suspected that on more than one occasion Wolsey, under the pretence of political necessity, had kept him at a distance from the Court. He was, therefore, resolved that the Cardinal should never return; and undoubtedly it was owing to his counsels that the unfortunate prelate was deprived of the see of Winchester, and sent into exile to his distant diocese of York. But it was easier to banish Wolsey than to supply his place. It was easier to disgrace him than gather up the threads of the various political negociations he held with the ease and steadiness of long experience. The French and Imperial ambassadors soon discovered Norfolk's weak side, and learned how to flatter him to their own advantage. He could not disguise his satisfaction at the court they paid him, or at the discomfiture of his great rival. "How glad the Emperor will be," he said, with a laugh of undisguised complacency, at his first interview with Chapuys—"how glad he will be when he hears of the Cardinal's fall and his loss of office." "I answered," said the sedate and guarded ambassador, in solemn tones, which must have sounded like a rebuke to this novice in diplomacy, "I thought perhaps you would; but not from any hatred you had for the Cardinal; for he could have done neither good nor ill to you, and was not of such importance as that you would trouble yourself about his disgrace."[1] Neither Chapuys nor Du Bellay shared the Duke's opinion of his own ability. "Norfolk," says the latter, "has been made chief of the Council, and in his absence Suffolk, who has had Wolsey's mules; and Master More, chancellor, leaving the Chancery of Lancaster to Master Fitzwilliam. They are beginning to assemble for the Parliament from all parts of the country, during which the King will occupy the house (York Place) which belonged to the Cardinal; and he comes to-day to see it arranged for his residence. I think the King will leave York, with some portion of his goods. Should this be so, and these lords not agree, as I suppose they will not, it is not improbable that Wolsey may regain his authority, and therefore I think it will not be bad policy to grant his request."[2]

[1] IV. p. 2682. [2] IV. p. 2685.

Parliament met at Bridewell on the 3rd of November. Among its members were Thomas Cromwell, member for Taunton;[1] his friend and associate, Thomas Rushe, who had been often employed with him about Wolsey's new college at Ipswich, and now sat as member for that town; Christopher Jenney, Wolsey's attorney, member for Dunwich; John Hennege, member for Grimsby; and for the county of York, Sir Marmaduke Constable. All of these were more or less friendly to Wolsey. Two knights of the shire, Sir William Gascoyne and Sir John Russell, might fairly be reckoned among the number of those who were not disposed to deal harshly with him. But though the constitution of the House in one respect might not seem unfavourable to Wolsey, it opened with a very bad augury for his friends, and that from a quarter which would scarcely have been expected. The new Chancellor (More) "standing on the right hand of the King, behind the bar, made an eloquent oration," in which he took the opportunity of comparing the kingly office to that of a shepherd, whose duty it is not only to preserve his sheep from danger, but also from infection. Then, alluding to Wolsey, he thus proceeded: "As you see that amongst a great flock of sheep some be rotten and faulty, which the good shepherd sendeth from the good sheep, so the great wether which is of late fallen, as you all know, so craftily, so scabbedly, yea, and so untruly juggled with the King, that all men must needs guess and think that he thought in himself that he had no wit to perceive his crafty doing, or else that he presumed that the King would not see nor know his fraudulent juggling and attempts. But he was deceived, for his Grace's sight was so quick and penetrable (penetrating) that he saw him, yea and saw through him . . . and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction."[2] He added more to the same effect,

[1] Cavendish has fallen into error in his account of the way in which Cromwell obtained his seat in the House. He states (p. 273), that chancing "to meet with one Sir Thomas Rushe, kt., a special friend of his, whose son was appointed to be one of the burgesses of that Parliament, he obtained his room." Rushe sat for Ipswich, Cromwell for Taunton; how, I do not understand, or by whose influence.

[2] Hall, p. 764. It must be stated in More's exculpation that Hall is the only authority for this speech. No trace of this invective against Wolsey is to be found in the short notice of More's speech, as preserved in the Parliament roll. Nor is the meagre description of it there given easily reconciled with Hall's account. Further still, it is inconsistent with More's speech in the Chancery, when, according to Roper, "he disabled himself as unmeet for that room, wherein, considering how wise and honorable a prelate (Wolsey) had lately before taken so great a fall, he said he had no cause thereof to rejoice." Life, p. 39. Yet withal it is hard to sup-

which I pass over, as little creditable to the candour, good sense, and good taste, for which Sir Thomas was upon the whole remarkable. Such a speech from one of so great and deserved a reputation pressed the more heavily upon the unfortunate minister, who was still lying under disgrace, and had already been indicted for his offences against the statute of *Præmunire* in the Court of King's Bench. It was foreign to that gentleness for which More, in his own person, was remarkable. It was an offence against that very justice which More in his judicial conduct was so desirous to maintain inviolate; still more in the highest legal functionary of the realm. "In his royal place of equal justice," said Wolsey, "the King hath constituted a chancellor, an officer to execute justice with clemency, whose conscience is opposed by the rigour of the law."[1] But on this occasion More, unlike himself, was overbearing both law and conscience, forgetting how differently Wolsey had acted towards himself in other and more prosperous days. The King looked on, and showed no sign. If, as More said, "his sight was quick and penetrable," he could not fail to see that all this abuse of Wolsey was displayed by men who only a few months before would have used very different language. He could not but be sure that all this contumely had been incurred by Wolsey in his service and for his sake. He saw and judged accordingly; and not one of those who now thought to recommend themselves by trampling on the fallen ever rose high in Henry's estimation.

It was during this Parliament that Cromwell is said to have greatly distinguished himself in defence of his master. "There could nothing be spoken," says Cavendish, "against my Lord in the Parliament House, but he would answer it incontinent, or else take unto the next day, against which time he would resort to my Lord, to know what answer he should make in his behalf; insomuch that there was no matter alleged against my Lord, but that he was ever ready furnished with a sufficient answer; so that at length, for his

pose that the whole speech was due to the active invention of the Chronicler. I find one Edward Hall mentioned as member of Parliament for Wenlock; but whether he is the same as the Chronicler, I have not been able to discover.

Unfortunately, since these remarks first appeared, the continuation of Gayangos' Spanish Calendar (IV. pt. i. 324) has supplied a strong confirmation of the substantial accuracy of Hall's report; for Chapuys gives an independent account of More's speech in writing to the Emperor; in which, though nothing is said of the similitude of the wether, the injustice to Wolsey is quite as great.—Ed.

[1] In his address to Judge Shelley. Cavendish, p. 283.

honest behaviour in his master's cause, he grew into such estimation in every man's opinion, that he was esteemed to be the most faithful servant to his master of all others, wherein he was of all men greatly commended."[1]

As this is a turning point in the life of a minister who was hereafter to exercise so important an influence on the reign, I stay for a moment to review his past career. He had been employed for the last six years in the Cardinal's service, chiefly in the erection of his two colleges, and in the management of the legal business connected with them. His knowledge of the law, his activity, and his acquaintance with financial matters, recommended him greatly to the Cardinal. Intently occupied during these latter years with political affairs, and absorbed with the King's divorce, Wolsey was compelled to leave all the details connected with his colleges to Cromwell and Dr. John Allen, afterwards promoted to the Archbishopric of Dublin. From very early years Cromwell had led the life of an adventurer, if we may trust to common report. Pliant by nature, gracious and insinuating, he had improved these natural advantages by foreign travel, and experience of mankind acquired by his habits of business and his various occupations. Tossed about the world, the sport of fortune, whatever else he may have learnt, he had learnt how to discover the weaker side of human nature, and turn its infirmities to his own advantage. It was an education uncommon among Englishmen in those days. His occupation as a scrivener, half lawyer, half money-lender, had given him considerable knowledge of that branch of his profession which related to property and conveyancing. A thriving usurer, woolstapler, and merchant, with a small capital painfully accumulated, he had by various loans obliged the needy scions of nobility and the poorer gentry, who, in the extravagant days of Henry VIII., often found themselves in difficulties, and were glad of his assistance at any cost. In the civil wars of the last century a great part of the nobility had been cut off. Those who remained, and had contrived to preserve their estates, were restrained by the policy of the Tudors from regaining their influence. Many were deeply in debt to the Crown; many, during the reign of Henry VII. and his successor, had incurred heavy penalties. Lists of recognizances ever and anon occurring among State Papers show how large a portion of the nobility and gentry were

[1] Cavendish, p. 274.

hopelessly plunged in debt; how many names were inscribed, in the royal ledgers of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. for large sums, which the Crown had no hope of recovering. Efforts had been made, from time to time during the administration of Cardinal Wolsey, to bring these debtors to account; but, if we may judge from the lists of insolvents, such efforts were attended with very little success. It will be at once perceived that such a state of things greatly increased the influence of the Crown. It proved a powerful check on the nobility and gentry, who at any time were liable, if they showed signs of insubordination, to be brought to their account, and suffer the extreme rigour of the law. The fact is, that in the reign of Henry VII., as is often seen at the close of a civil war, money more than arms had become the great power of the State; and no one understood this power more perfectly or cultivated it more carefully than did the founder of the Tudor dynasty. To a parsimonious reign had succeeded one of great splendour and magnificence; a Court of gay, ambitious young courtiers to a grave and sombre court of ecclesiastics brought up in the older school of frugality and discipline. In the costly revels and entertainments which distinguished the early years of Henry VIII. no one could take part unless he was prepared to lavish on his dress, his armour, and his masking habits, the same reckless expenditure as that of which the King and those round him set the example. Lands were pawned, estates were wasted, in providing the richest arms of the latest fashion, the most dazzling jewels and fantastic disguises, without which no young man of any pretensions could hope to distinguish himself from the throng, or take part in these courtly amusements. Nor was serious war, if serious it could be called, less ruinous in this respect than were these pastimes. To needy men whose incomes had not advanced in proportion to their wants, even small sums of ready money, and inferior employments under the Crown, small fees and offices in the gift of lay patrons and guardians of religious houses, were an object of solicitude. The minor nobility and gentry of England condescended to various means of recruiting their exhausted finances, and thus constituted a large body of royal retainers, grateful for 4*d.* or 6*d.* a day.

It will be seen how much this state of things was advantageous to a man of great aptitude for business like Cromwell, not unwilling to make the necessities of others

subservient to his own advantage. In managing the monastic estates appropriated to the new collegiate foundations of his master, he had many opportunities of enriching himself, not only in the regular way of professional employment, but by less regular and reputable means. In drawing out leases for the new tenants, in transferring estates, in the expenses really or ostensibly incurred on such occasions, he was able to secure ample remuneration from a master who was far too deeply engrossed in the business of the State to scrutinize very narrowly the proceedings of his subordinates. But there were other means less justifiable of enriching himself, in which Cromwell did not scruple to indulge, which more than once brought great odium upon himself, and even upon the Cardinal. Loud outcries reached the King's ears of the exactions and peculations of Wolsey's officers, in which the name of Cromwell was most frequently repeated; and more than once the King had to express his grave displeasure at the conduct of a man who was soon after destined to occupy the highest place in his favour.

This result is not to be attributed exclusively, as has been done by some, and as Cavendish seems to insinuate, to Cromwell's self-denying fidelity to his master. The narrative of Cavendish himself supplies the corrective of this supposition. "It chanced me," says this biographer, "upon Allhallowenday (1st November), to come there into the great chamber at Asher in the morning to give mine attendance, where I found Master Cromwell leaning in the great window, with a primer in his hand, saying of Our Lady's matins; which had been since a very strange sight (meaning that at that time he was not a Protestant).[1] He prayed not more earnestly than the tears distilled from his eyes." When Cavendish, far more concerned for his master's misfortunes than his own, inquired "Is my Lord in any danger, for whom you lament thus?" the reply of Cromwell is significant of his character. His tears were not flowing for Wolsey, but for himself. "It is my unhappy adventure," he replied, "that I am like to lose all I have travailed for all the days of my life for doing of my master true and diligent service." And on Cavendish express-

[1] This is fully confirmed by Cromwell's will. Whatever he may have been in after-life, he had not attached himself during Wolsey's time to the doctrines of the Reformation. Nor, indeed, would that have been possible; for as mass was celebrated daily in Wolsey's household, Cromwell could scarcely have systematically absented himself from it without attracting attention.

ing a hope that he had done nothing in Wolsey's service that would bring him into danger, Cromwell answered, "I understand right well that I am in disdain with most men for my master's sake, and surely without just cause." He then expressed his resolution after dinner of riding to the Court, and, in his own language, "to make or mar"[1] before he returned again to Esher.

He was not a man easily daunted by disappointment, or too sensitive to insult and contempt. He was by no means in good odour at Court; not, indeed, as he stated, for his too faithful service to his master, but for his irregularities in that service. Yet now that Wolsey had fallen under the King's displeasure, it is clear from his own expressions and the testimony of others, that, "instead of being courted by those who feared him when his master was powerful, he was in disdain with most men." "You are more hated," writes his friend Vaughan to him, "for your master's sake, than for anything which I think you have wrongfully done against any man."[2] And this ill report is confirmed by another letter from his friend, Thomas Rushe, who sat in the same Parliament with him.[3]

How he succeeded, and with what great rapidity he rose, we learn by a better authority than Cavendish. For Vaughan tells him from the Low Countries, on the 3rd of February, that he had received Cromwell's letters a few days ago, and was glad to learn how well he was progressing. "You now sail," he says, "in a sure haven;" meaning that Cromwell had escaped the dangers to which his old master was still exposed, and had obtained the favour at Court which he sought for. He adds as a caution, "a merry semblance of weather often thrusteth men into the dangerous seas, not thinking to be suddenly oppressed with tempest, when unawares they be prevented and brought in great jeopardy." He concludes by saying that he has heard of Lord Rochford's (Sir Thomas Boleyn's) departure from England towards the Emperor, and would have been glad if Cromwell were to go with him, as was reported. So within an incredibly short period, from being in the greatest disdain at Court, and regarded as an enemy to the Boleyns, in consequence of his

[1] This is one of the bombastic phrases put by Shakespeare into the mouth of Bottom the weaver. And Shakespeare had certainly read Cavendish.

[2] IV. p. 2686.

[3] IV. p. 2726.

connection with Wolsey, he had contrived so far to ingratiate himself with their party, as to be marked out by common report for the attendant upon Lord Rochford in his embassy to Bologna. By what dexterity he managed this remarkable feat, how he succeeded in ingratiating himself at Court, without losing the friendship of Wolsey, who still looked upon him as his "sole refuge and aid" in his necessity, I have now to explain. If it was due, as Cavendish and others surmise, to his faithful adherence "and honest behaviour" in his master's cause, such a rapid rise from disgrace to favour, from obloquy to honour, speaks more highly for the Court of Henry VIII. and those who were now in the ascendant there, than can be said of Courts in general.

His mode of operation was simple enough, and he seldom departed from it. Clever, facile, if not unprincipled, yet troubled by no stern dogmatic faith or unbending integrity, his experience in the suppression of monastic houses had given him no exalted idea of the sanctity of churchmen, and still less of church property. "Our abbeys and our priories shall pay," an unreal boast in the mouth of King John, was by no means an unreality to Cromwell. He had found it successful already. He was destined, under more favourable circumstances, to give it a wider application. His accession to power marks a great change in the policy of Henry VIII., which was regarded by many with little satisfaction. But at present it was his first concern to obtain some provision for those attendants who still remained faithful to Wolsey; and his mode of proceeding on this occasion furnishes a striking exemplification of his character, and of the policy adopted by him under a more powerful master. The veracity of Cavendish, to whom we are indebted for the anecdote, cannot be doubted. The surrender by the Cardinal of all his goods and chattels upon his indictment in the Præmunire, and the sentence passed upon him in the King's Bench, by which he forfeited all his possessions to the Crown, left him wholly unprovided. Either from carelessness, indignation, or a persuasion that he was possessed of certain hidden riches, the King had made no provision for him of any kind; and in his retirement at Esher, the Cardinal and his household continued for the space of three or four weeks without "beds, sheets, tablecloths, cups, and dishes, to eat, or to lie in." Of the Bishop of Carlisle and Sir Thomas Arundel he was compelled to borrow plate and linen, and whatever else was required for his com-

monest personal necessities. To procure the wages due to his attendants was out of his power. To dismiss them at a moment's warning, and send them home to their wives and families in the country without their wages or hope of future advancement, was too painful for Wolsey to contemplate. In his dilemma he was advised by Cromwell to call them together, and address a few words to them on his present necessity. To a lofty and generous spirit such an act as this was doubly distasteful, from the contrast which it offered of his present misery to his former affluence and greatness when he had the means of rewarding their fidelity. And so it was felt to be by Wolsey, the most liberal and magnificent of masters. "Nothing hath no savour," he said in desponding tones, "and I do lament the want of substance to distribute amongst them." "Why, Sir," added Cromwell, "have you not a number of chaplains on whom ye have bestowed very liberally spiritual promotions? There is not one of the least who by your preferment cannot spend three hundred marks a year, whilst your yeomen and gentlemen, who have done much more for you, have received no advantage. If they will not frankly consider your liberality, and assist you in your present necessity, it is a pity they should be allowed to live."

As no other alternative presented itself, the Cardinal, more than ever deferential to his ready-witted adviser, consented; and, assembling his attendants, he explained to them his inability to requite them for their services, expressing his hope that better times would come, when the King would relent, and he should be able to reward them. He begged them in the mean time to take their pleasures for a month, and "at the end of the period he would use his influence in procuring them admission into the King's service, or elsewhere, wherever his interest extended." "But, Sir," said Cromwell, "there are divers of your yeomen would be glad to see their friends; but they lack money, and here are divers of your chaplains who have received great benefits from you; let them now show their humanity. Though for my part I have not received a penny from you towards the increase of my yearly[1] living, yet I am willing to part with this towards the expences of your servants;" and therewith delivered the Cardinal 5*l.* in gold. "Now," added he, "let us see what

[1] These words are cautiously used; and the word "yearly" is to be noticed. Cromwell does not mean to assert that he received no pecuniary advantages in Wolsey's service, but that his annual fee which he received from the Cardinal had not been increased.

your chaplains will do, who are much more able to give a pound than I am able to spend a penny."

The suddenness of the appeal, the presence of all the household who were assembled upon the occasion, the grief and necessity of the Cardinal himself, who was entirely overcome by the violence of his emotions, produced the necessary effect. His chaplains among them offered sums of such amount as enabled Wolsey to pay all the wages of his household, and advance them money for their journey.

It was on the same principle that he proceeded to secure for himself, and for his master, friends at Court, and take off the animosity of his enemies. Accustomed to deal with men in the mass, and in great political combinations, no one understood men individually less than the Cardinal. The idea of propitiating the malice of his enemies by gifts or pensions out of his bishopric never seems to have entered his head. Even when the King, whose favour it was most important for him to propitiate, was anxious to have the Cardinal's house at Westminster, intending to turn it into a palace, Wolsey was little inclined to surrender possession, although the judges had declared their opinion that the right of it rested in the King.[1] Now, however, unable to stand up in his own defence, and surrendering himself entirely to the adroit management of his adviser, who, in promoting the interest of the Cardinal, was also promoting his own, we find him adopting Cromwell's policy. To George Boleyn, Anne Boleyn's brother, he granted an annuity of 200*l.* out of the revenues of Winchester, and 200 marks out of the lands of St. Alban's.[2] For Sir Henry Norris, another favourite, he made an increase of his fee to 100*l.* To Lord Sands, the comptroller of the Household, 40*l.* To Sir John Russell, 20*l.* He would like the last, he says, to be 40*l.* or 50*l.*; and will do this with all his heart, and more, if Cromwell thinks it expedient. Shortly after he writes to Cromwell to say, that he has always loved Norris for the service he has done to the King, and is willing to increase his fee to 200*l.*, and will enlarge the fee of Fitzwilliam, the King's treasurer. Similar gifts, judiciously bestowed, at Cromwell's advice and sugges-

[1] How that could be I do not profess to understand. The house belonged to the see of York, and if what the Judges declared was the law, and the King might claim it as his own, and rob the see of its property for Wolsey's personal offence, what necessity was there for *obtaining a recognizance from Wolsey?* But lawyers were now in the ascendant.

[2] IV. p. 2730.

tion, though they did not suffice to restore him to favour, had the effect, for the time, of softening the bitterness of his enemies.

In these proceedings it must be remembered that the advantage was not the Cardinal's exclusively. Perhaps it was less his than his minister's; for Cromwell thus found the means of making personal application to those on whom these gratuities were bestowed, and, insinuating himself into their favour whom it was most important for him to propitiate. Confined to Esher, entirely at the mercy of his shrewd advisers, unable to judge for himself what was necessary to procure his pardon—for all this time the King had most ungenerously kept the penalty of the law hanging suspended over Wolsey's head—whatever Cromwell advised, that the Cardinal felt himself bound implicitly to follow. It is clear from the correspondence between them that whenever he ventured to act upon his own responsibility, it was resented by his active but now somewhat imperious agent, and drew from his humiliated master, on more than one occasion, an abject apology.[1] He had obtained completely the upper hand of the downtrodden Cardinal. It was no small advantage, therefore, to Cromwell to have this opportunity of obliging a powerful faction at Court, and of serving Wolsey. He could approach them with offers of pensions and employments. He could arrange the amount, ostensibly in the Cardinal's behalf, and purchase their favour and protection, by these means, without offending their sensibility or their pride by the grosser offer of a bribe. And though it might be thought that any grants of the kind, so long as the Cardinal still laboured under the sentence of a Præmunire, would be worthless and invalid, these grants by some legal quibble were pronounced by the judges to be valid and permanent; whilst all the Cardinal's acts for twenty years before, and all the endowments which he had laboriously collected for his colleges, were declared by the same judges to be illegal and forfeited to the Crown. The same men who had maintained the King's absolute right to York House, now also maintained the necessity of obtaining Wolsey's recognisance of that right, even before he had received his pardon. So law and judgment followed the King's pleasure, and were obedient to his will as the shadow to the dial.[2] What was done in this

[1] See his letter to Cromwell, IV. p. 2782, in which he apologizes for having caused Cromwell's displeasure by sending Bonner. He says that he must undoubtedly perish if Cromwell does not help him.

[2] See IV. p. 2788. Cavendish, p. 282.

instance was imitated in others. In all these traffickings, so entirely inconsistent with modern notions, and derogatory to men of rank and station, Cromwell's particular knowledge of the law, and his experience of business, gave him no small advantage. I do not mean to insinuate that his fidelity to his master may not have recommended him to notice; at the same time, if such fidelity had been empty-handed, it is not very probable that it would have been so speedily and amply rewarded.[1]

The services which he rendered in this Parliament are as much misunderstood as the proceedings of Parliament itself. Cavendish tells us that a Bill of Articles was brought "into Parliament House to have my Lord (Wolsey) condemned of treason; against which Bill Master Cromwell inveighed so discretely, with such witty persuasions and deep reasons, that the same Bill could take there no effect." Although in all the proceedings connected with the Cardinal strange informalities prevailed, it would have been wholly irreconcilable with all notions of justice for a Bill of attainder to be introduced into the House, when the Cardinal was already indicted and condemned for the same offence in the Court of King's Bench. Nor is it at all likely that Cromwell, a man of little influence at the time, exposed, as he himself admits, "to the disdain of all men," would have been able to resist a Bill which was acceptable to the King or the majority of the House of Commons; and without the King's express permission, it is certain that no such Bill would have been introduced into the

[1] "It came at length so to pass," says Cavendish (p. 295), "that those to whom the King's Majesty had given any annuities or fees for term of life by patent out of the forenamed (Wolsey's) revenues could not be good but only during my Lord's life, forasmuch as the King had no longer estate or title therein, which came to him by reason of my Lord's attainder in the Præmunire; and to make their dates good and sufficient according to their patents, it was thought necessary to have my Lord's confirmation unto these grants. And this to be brought about there was no other mean but to make suit to Master Cromwell to obtain their confirmation at my Lord's hands. Then began both noblemen and other who had any patents of the King, and either of Winchester or St. Alban's, to make earnest suit of Master Cromwell for to solicit their causes, and for his pains therein they promised not only to reward him, but show him such pleasure as should be in their power. Whereon Master Cromwell, perceiving an occasion to work for himself, intended to work so in this matter that he might the sooner bring his own enterprise to purpose. And having a great occasion of access to the King for the disposition of divers lands . . . by his witty demeanour he grew continually in the King's favour." (Abridged.) Of his favour with the King in consequence of these employments abundant proof may be seen in the Calendar, IV. pp. 2859, 2883, 2889. Probably if he had not been quite so forward, and Wolsey had still kept his own grants more in his own hands, it might have been much better for the Cardinal.

Lower House. It was not a Bill of attainder that the House proposed, but only a Bill for disabling the Cardinal from being restored to his former dignities and place in the King's councils;—not unlike the disqualifications inflicted in the case of Lord Bacon. It was part of the policy pursued by a hostile faction in the Lords, who stood in constant dread of Wolsey's restoration to favour, and therefore wished to obtain an Act to make such a restoration impossible. That the King would have consented to have his hands tied by such a measure, had he felt inclined to act otherwise, is not very probable. These proceedings were of no real importance, beyond the attempt to cast an additional stigma upon the Cardinal, and popularize the charges on which he was condemned, many of which were frivolous, and many false. Parliament was a useful auxiliary in giving effect to the King's wishes. It enabled the King to appeal to its decisions whenever he wished to make it appear that his actions were determined by the voice of his people, and not by his own arbitrary will, for the Tudors shunned responsibility as much as the Stuarts courted it.[1]

This Bill passed the Lords on the 1st of December, and was signed by seventeen of the Upper House, among whom we find the name of Sir Thomas More, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lords Northumberland, Darcy, and Rochford, all of them, with the exception perhaps of More, distinguished for their animosity to the Cardinal. It was framed, in the main, from certain articles found in the handwriting of Darcy, drawn up as far back as July:[2] so long had the malice of his enemies been waiting for Wolsey's ruin. In this paper[3] the plot is devised for proceeding against the Cardinal. His real

[1] Much has been made of an expression in one of Henry's letters to the Pope, insisting on the importance and independence of Parliament. But those who use it overlook the whole purpose and tenor of the letter. To frighten Clement into compliance, the King had induced the Parliament to insist on discontinuing the annates paid to Rome. To give this act greater effect he pointed out to the Pope the dangerous consequences of such an attack on the great sources of the Papal revenue, hoping that his example would be followed by others. He gave out, at the same time, as an inducement for the Pope to comply with his wishes, that it rested entirely with himself to give efficiency to the wishes of Parliament. In other words, if Clement would grant the divorce, the annates should continue, in spite of the Parliament's wishes. An odd way, certainly, of showing its independence and importance.

[2] The animus of Darcy may be inferred from his own statement, IV. p. 2554, in which he expresses his anger that, owing to Wolsey, he had been deprived of the captainship of Berwick, and the wardenship of the Marches, worth 1000*l.* a year.

[3] IV. p. 2548.

or supposed offences are minutely registered; and it is boldly suggested that the Cardinal's personal property should be seized before he had any opportunity of preparing for his defence, and that all who had complained against him for his "inordinate pomp, vainglory, and hypocrisy" should bring their complaints before the Council.[1]

The Bill, or the "Book of Articles,"[2] as Hall calls them, "which the Lords had put to the King against the Cardinal," and passed on the 1st of December, was sent down to the Commons. Whether it provoked any discussion is uncertain. As the House was prorogued by the King on the 17th of December, it is not probable that Cromwell had any necessity to exert himself much in opposing it, or to ride backwards and forwards from Blackfriars to Esher to take Wolsey's opinion upon it. The Bill dropped, and no notice of it appears in the Rolls of Parliament. It had produced the effect intended; and nothing more was to be gained by it. It is certain that Cromwell, who now steered his course in the House as the King and Norfolk dictated, would not go beyond their instructions.

All this time Wolsey continued at Esher in the greatest distress and agony of mind, uncertain of the fate that awaited him. From that luxury and splendour, which had once made him an object of envy to all mankind, he had now fallen into comparative poverty. At the advice and suggestions of others, he had been induced to surrender his whole estate unconditionally into the King's hands. "As God is my judge," he writes to Cromwell, "I never thought, and so I was assured at the making of my submission, that I should have to part

[1] "Good it is, in my poor opinion," says Darcy, "that after he is sequestered in sure keeping, the King's grace, by good and secret espials in Rome, France, and in all outward strange countries, enquire well of all his affairs there, and also by straight examination of himself to be taken, and by searching of his books and examining his councils." IV. p. 2549. All that popular malice and misrepresentation ever raked up against the Cardinal is here sedulously noted. It seems that Darcy was upon friendly terms with the Duke of Norfolk, and it is not improbable that through the Duke's means these accusations were submitted to the King.

[2] The famous expression, "*Ego et Rex meus*," which Hall mentions as one of the charges, is a deliberate perversion of the original. In the Articles the Cardinal is charged, most distinctly, with using the expression "The King and I;" and he is condemned, not for putting himself before the King, but for employing the King's name in conjunction with his own; "using himself," says the original, "more like a fellow to your Highness than a subject." Hall, on the contrary (p. 767), with great disingenuousness, represents the charge thus: "I and my King; as who should say that the King were his servant." Little acts of dishonesty like these in Hall and other historians are the less justifiable, as none are more bitter in charging their opponents with falsehood and forgery.

with any of my promotions. For the rigour of the law, for any offence that can be arrected unto (charged upon) me, deserveth no such punishment."[1] He trusts that this will be duly considered; for these noblemen at whose persuasion he had been induced to submit, without using any effort to defend himself, had pledged their honour that upon his making a final gift of his whole estate to the Crown, he should be leniently dealt with, but hitherto he had received only fair words instead of comfortable deeds.[2] To augment his anguish he was kept in a state of continual alarm by visits and contradictory messages. At one time the King would command Sir John Russell to take him a ring, desiring the Cardinal to be of good cheer, as the King loved him as well as ever he did, and was not a little disquieted at his troubles. At another time he would be visited by the Duke of Norfolk, and be treated with the most ceremonious respect, as if he had still been "my good lord Cardinal," and higher than "any duke in the realm."[3] On other occasions the King would insist that he should part with some of the temporalities of his archbishopric, or resign the best livings in his gift.[4] "Thus continued my Lord," says Cavendish, "at Asher, who received daily messages from the Court, whereof some were not so good as some were bad, yet much more evil than good. For his enemies, perceiving the great affection that the King bore always towards him, devised a mean to disquiet and disturb his patience . . . Therefore they took this order among them in their matters, that daily they would send him something, or do something against him, wherein they thought that they might give him a cause of heaviness or lamentation. At some day they would cause the King to send for four or five of his gentlemen from him to serve the King; and some other day they would lay matters newly invented against him. Another day they would take from him some of his promotions; or of their promotions whom he had preferred before. Then would

[1] The persons to whom he refers are the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Secretary Gardiner; though we have no official record of this transaction. In a letter to Cromwell, written about December 17, he urges Cromwell to use his efforts with these men, as they knew what promises had been made to him, upon "the trust and confidence whereof" Wolsey had been induced to make his submission, and put himself wholly into the King's hands, "who by the rigor of his laws could not have had so much as his Grace now hath." State Papers, i. 352.

[2] IV. p. 2762. Compare his letter to Gardiner, p. 2793, and Cavendish, 275.

[3] p. 2681. Cavendish, 271.

[4] IV. p. 2717; and Cavendish, 279.

they fetch from him some of his yeomen, insomuch as the King took into his service sixteen of them at once, and at one time put them into his guard. This order of life he led continually, that there was no one day, or ever he went to bed, that he had not an occasion greatly to chafe or fret the heart out of his belly; but that he was a wise man, and bore all their malice in patience."[1]

Whatever might be the motives which prompted this treatment, as mean and paltry as it was ungracious, it broke down the Cardinal's feeble frame, already shattered by violent grief, and hope of pardon long deferred. The King had promised, at the prorogation of Parliament, 17th December, to make arrangements for the Cardinal's support and his future course of living. But, either charmed with the splendour and beauty of the Cardinal's houses, furniture, plate, and pictures, which had now become the property of the Crown, or entangled in the fascinations of Anne Boleyn, to whom he had now devoted himself more exclusively than ever, he was wholly oblivious of his promises.[2] Of all Wolsey's former friends and dependents who were able to serve him, none remained faithful, with the exception of Cromwell; for though Gardiner was ostensibly civil, it is to be feared that he was not really hearty in his desire to help his ancient patron and master. "I went to Mr. Secretary," writes Sadleyr to Cromwell, then at Esher, "who said he knew nothing at all about my Lord's grace (Wolsey). I think he will do little or nothing to my Lord's avail, or to that of any of his friends, more than he may not choose for very shame, considering the advancements and promotion that he hath had at my Lord's hand. I have small trust in him."[3] Helpless, forlorn, a prey to racking memories, disappointed hopes, and vain regrets, the unhappy Cardinal fell, at Christmas, into a dangerous sickness. At this time he wrote the following affecting letter to Cromwell:— "The furthering and putting over of your coming hither hath so increased my sorrow, and put me in such anxiety of mind that this night my breath and wind, by sighing, was so short, that I was, by the space of three hours,[4] as one that should have

[1] Cavendish, 286.

[2] "The Queen's treatment," says Chapuys, "is worse than ever. The King is always away from her as much as possible, and is here with the lady (Anne), whilst the Queen is at Richmond. He has never been so long without paying her a visit, and makes his excuse that one has died of the plague near her residence. He has renewed his attempts to persuade her to become a nun." Chapuys to Charles V.: IV. p. 2780.

[3] IV. p. 2729.

[4] He had a similar attack of syncope just before his death.

died. Wherefore, if ye love my life, break away this evening and come hither, to the intent I may open my mind unto you. If this time be put over, it shall not be in your power to provide the remedy. If I might (could) I would not fail, rather than this my speaking with you shall be put over and delayed, to come on my foot to you. At the reverence of God, take some pain now for me, and forsake me not in this mine extreme need; and whereas I cannot, God shall reward you. Now is the time to show whether ye love me or not . . . ye shall not tarry here long. In the which your coming I shall show you my mind, in all such things as ye have written to me, for I am now in no good point (condition) to write at the length anything, nor shall be able if I continue in this case, *nam dies mei finientur.* . . . Pray speak with Norris afore your coming, of whom you may learn some specialties. If the displeasure of my Lady Anne be somewhat assuaged, as I pray God the same may be, then should it be well that by some convenient mean she be further labored with; for this is the only help and remedy. All possible means must be employed for attaining of her favour." He concludes with a sentence, unfortunately mutilated, that he had none left him now to show charity and pity in his misfortunes, and was entirely dependent on Cromwell's counsel and exertions.[1]

The sickness increased so rapidly that Augustine, his Italian attendant (De Augustinis), in whom he reposed implicit confidence, now became alarmed, and desired that Dr. Butts, the King's physician, or Dr. Walter Cromer, a Scotch physician of great eminence, should be immediately sent for. As the case was urgent, he added that no time must be lost.[2] And now for the first time since Wolsey's disgrace the King began to think with some remorse upon the sick man, whose only crime it was to have served Majesty too faithfully, and too feebly have opposed its imperious wishes. "The King being advertised," says Cavendish, "was very sorry therefor, and sent Dr. Butts, his Grace's physician, unto him, to see in what estate he was. Dr. Butts came unto him, and finding him very sick, lying in his bed, and perceiving the danger he was in, repaired again unto the King. Of whom the King demanded, saying, 'How doth yonder man? Have you seen him?' 'Yea, Sir,' quoth he. 'How do you like him?' quoth

[1] IV. p. 2729.

[2] De Augustinis to Cromwell, January 19, 1530, IV. p. 2747. He corresponded with Cromwell in Italian, thus confirming the report of Cromwell's Italian scholarship.

the King. 'Forsooth, Sir,' quoth he, 'if you will have him dead, I warrant your Grace he will be dead within these four days, if he receive no comfort from you shortly, and Mistress Anne.' 'Marry,' quoth the King, 'God forbid that he should die, for I would not lose him for 20,000*l*.' 'Then must your Grace,' quoth Master Butts, 'send him first some comfortable message as shortly as is possible.' 'E'en so will I,' quoth the King, 'by you, and therefore make speed to him again, and ye shall deliver to him this ring, for a token of our goodwill and favor towards him.' In the which ring was engraved the King's visage within a ruby, as lively counterfeit as was possible to be devised. 'This ring he knoweth very well; for he gave me the same . . . therefore bid him be of good cheer.' Then spake he to Mistress Anne, saying, 'Good sweetheart, I pray you, at this my instance, as ye love us, to send the Cardinal a token, with comfortable words, and in so doing ye shall do us a loving pleasure.' She being not minded to disobey the King's earnest request, whatsoever she intended in her heart towards the Cardinal, took incontinent her tablet of gold, hanging at her girdle, and delivered it to Master Butts, with very gentle and comfortable words and commendations to the Cardinal."[1]

This anecdote of the Cardinal's biographer is better attested than such anecdotes are in general. Chapuys states in a letter to Charles V. that a cousin of the Cardinal's physician, meaning probably this Augustine, told him that Anne Boleyn had sent to visit Wolsey during his sickness, and represented herself as favouring Wolsey with the King. "This," remarks Chapuys, "is difficult to be believed, considering the hatred she has always borne him. She must have thought he was dying, or shown her dissimulation and love of intrigue, of which she is an accomplished mistress."[2] Through the able treatment of his physicians, aided by these comfortable messages from the King, the Cardinal recovered. At Candlemas Day (2nd of February) he was further gratified by a present from the King of plate and rich hangings for his chapel. On the 12th of the same month,[3] he received a full pardon; and on the 14th he was restored to the Archbishopric of York, with all its possessions, except York Place, in Westminster, consisting of a house, two gardens, and three acres of land. He received in ready money at the same time 3,000*l*., 9,565¾ oz. of plate, valued at 3*s*. 8*d*. the ounce; household

[1] Cavendish, p. 287. [2] IV. p. 2781. [3] IV. p. 2789.

linen, hangings, bedding, and napery, to the amount of 800*l.*; eighty horses, four saddle mules, six for his carriage, with their furniture, salt fish of various kinds, to the amount of 90*l.*; kitchen implements and pewter vessels, valued at 80*l.*; fifty-two oxen, seventy sheep, and wearing apparel, to the amount of 300*l.* The sum total was estimated at 6,374*l.* 3*s.* 7½*d.* Whether all these items were delivered to the Cardinal exactly as they appear in the schedule or officially embezzled, may be questioned. Further, when they are spoken of as the King's gift, it must be remembered that they were a gift in no other sense than as they were a restoration of a small portion of the Cardinal's property, which he had surrendered at his fall to the King, on the promise, as he himself states, that in so doing he should be leniently dealt with. He had been anxious to retain his other promotions of Winchester and St. Alban's, and for some time he entertained hopes that his wish would be gratified. Finding it was the King's pleasure he should retain only the administration of York, reserving to himself five or six of his best benefices, he writes to Gardiner: "If it is the King's pleasure that I should leave Winchester and St. Alban's, I am bound to submit; but if he will reflect how little time I have to live, the decay of the archbishopric by the sum of 800 marks, and my long services, considering also that I am to lose Winchester and St. Alban's, which I do not deserve to have lost, and did not expect to lose at my submission, as I had done no offence to the King, I trust a convenient pension will be granted me."[1] He urges this again with additional earnestness upon Gardiner, who was either not very forward or not able to help him, insisting on his miserable condition and continued sickness, increased by the moist and corrupt air of Esher, and an attack of the dropsy, with loss of appetite and lack of sleep. "I cannot live," he says; "wherefore of necessity I must be removed to some other drier air and place where I may have commodity of physicians. Secondly, having but York, which is now decayed by 800*l.* by the year, I cannot tell how to live, and keep the poor number of folks which I now have, my houses there being decayed, and of everything meet for a household unprovided and unfurnished. I have none apparel (furniture) for my houses there, nor money to bring me thither, nor to live with, till the propice time of the year shall come to remove thither. These things considered, Mr. Secretary, must needs make me in

[1] IV. p. 2763.

agony and heaviness, mine age therewith and sickness considered. Alas! Mr. Secretary, ye, with other my Lords, showed me that I should otherwise have been furnished and seen unto. Ye know in your learning and conscience whether I should forfeit my spiritualties of Winchester or no. Alas! the qualities of mine offences considered, with the great punishment and loss of goods that I have sustained, ought to move pitiful hearts."[1] But apparently pitiful hearts were few.

He returns to the same subject in a letter to Cromwell, begging him to continue the practices he has commenced for the bishopric of Winchester, and not to abandon them, though he has been warned to forbear speaking to the King in Wolsey's behalf; undoubtedly by Norfolk, who had no wish that the Cardinal should have any excuse for remaining in such close proximity to the King. It is not unlikely also that the same thought was in the Cardinal's mind, and his desire to retain Winchester was prompted as much by the hope of an opportunity for reinstating himself in the King's favour, as by any wish for its revenues. But the more he strove to retain these promotions, the more resolved were his enemies to oppose him. Assisted by Anne Boleyn, they prevailed. On the 17th of February he was compelled to resign Winchester and St. Alban's,[2] but he received some compensation for the loss in the shape of a beggarly pension of 1,000 marks. He remitted at the same time into the King's hands "the resignation of such benefices" as were under his jurisdiction at York, hoping that by these acts of submission it might now "please his Majesty to show his pity, compassion, and bounteous goodness" towards him, and not suffer him to lie any longer languishing and consuming away through extreme sorrow and heaviness.[3] He was utterly wearied and worn out by the continual vexations to which he was exposed. The promises of relief were offered, and then dashed away from his lips, as if with no other purpose than that of protracting his agony. Those who seemed to vie with each other in commiserating his misfortunes, and promising assistance, failed to make good their engagements. It is not surprising if in his grief and his sickness expressions of impatience escaped him; or that one who had been so long accustomed to years of prosperity, the favour of the King, high place and unlimited authority, should find it difficult all at once to contract his wants and conform himself to adverse circumstances. He

[1] IV. p. 2793. [2] IV. p. 2791. [3] IV. p. 2817.

had not yet learned to descend to his new condition of life, and no opportunity of preparing himself for the change had yet been afforded him. But if we blame Wolsey for these occasional outbursts of impatience, nothing can excuse the caprice, ingratitude, and neglect of the King, or the ignoble intrigues of his enemies. What can excuse the infatuation of a monarch who thus suffered himself to be swayed from his better judgment by the arts of a woman; or the avarice that could stoop to such petty devices for obtaining possession of the Cardinal's wealth? The King spent his time in passing from York House to Hampton Court, which had come into his possession by Wolsey's forfeiture. The latter had been enriched and decorated by the Cardinal's skill, and in it he had collected all that could contribute to gratify the eye or please the taste. "The King," says Chapuys, after referring to the coming of the French agent, John Joachim, into England, to reinstate Wolsey, as it was supposed, in the King's favour,[1] "is not thought to entertain any ill will to the Cardinal; and to reinstate him in the King's favor would not be difficult, if it were not for the lady (Anne Boleyn). His only wish is for the Cardinal's goods; and he is not very far wrong; for the Cardinal has spent very large sums of money, and said that all he accumulated was for the King.[2] To take administration of it before the time, is no such very great offence after all, considering that when the Cardinal began to suspect his fall, and since, he has always said that the King could not do him a greater favor than help himself to all that he had. As a proof that the King has no ill will to him, I am told that he did not wish the Cardinal's case to be determined by Parliament; for if it had been decided against him, the King could not have pardoned him. The said Joachim lodges at a house of one of the Cardinal's servants,[3] and soon after his arrival the Cardinal, though unwell, sent his physician (Augustinus, a Venetian), in whom he has much confidence, and who stayed with Joachim four or five days. The French

[1] It will be remembered that Du Bellay, at Wolsey's earnest request, secretly communicated to him by his confidential attendant, Dr. Augustine, had requested Francis I. to interpose in Wolsey's behalf. It was surmised that John Joachim, who had been employed by the French court on other occasions in most secret communications with Wolsey, had now been sent over to England at Du Bellay's instigation. No doubt Chapuys had been put on the alert by the Duke of Norfolk, between whom and Augustine, as will be seen hereafter, a correspondence was maintained, unknown to the Cardinal.

[2] Some idea may be formed of Wolsey's effects, by the inventory, printed in IV. pp. 2763, *seq.*

[3] This was, probably, Larke's house, where he generally lodged.

would spare no pains to reinstate the Cardinal, for, whatever they pretend, they have no confidence in the duke of Norfolk."

"The Cardinal has been ill," Chapuys continues, "and, some say, feigned illness, in the hope that the King might visit him. He has not done so, but sent him instead a promise of pardon; on the news of which the Cardinal recovered. He will receive his patent (for pardon) to-day, retain the archbishopric of York, and a pension of 3,000 angels on the see of Winchester, for which he is to resign all his other benefices. Besides 10,000 angels, the King has given him tapestry and plate for five rooms. All the rest the King retains. His house in town has been taken by the King, who gives another in place of it to the see of York. Russell told me that in consequence of some words he had spoken to the King in favour of the Cardinal, the lady (Anne Boleyn) had been very angry, and refused to speak with him. Norfolk told him of her displeasure, and that she was irritated against himself, because he had not done against the Cardinal as much as he might. After this he asked Russell, whether he thought the Cardinal had any expectation of returning to favour; and Russell told him that such was the Cardinal's ambition and courage, that he would not fail if he saw a favorable opportunity. Nor was this unlikely, if the King should require his advice. Then the Duke began to swear very loudly, that rather than suffer this, he would eat him up alive. To prevent such a contingency the Cardinal has been forbidden to approach the Court within ten miles."[1] Apprehensive of any alteration in his favour, Norfolk and his associates were now resolved to get him away. He had obtained licence of the King to remove to Richmond, and wrote to Cromwell to express his delight at the change. "And where ye would I should this day remove to Richmond Lodge, it is not possible for me so to do, not having any provision there. Wherefore I most heartily beseech that likewise as ye were determined this night to [come] to me with your wholesome medicine (the money), so ye would take the pain to bring the same hither this night, which [will] be to the inestimable consolation of me and all my folks."[2] This was the first letter he had written, since his fall, in which he had recovered any portion of his former spirits. So he came and lodged, according to Cavendish,[3] in the great park at Richmond, where there was "a very pretty house and a neat, lacking no necessary rooms that to so small a house was

[1] IV. p. 2780. [2] IV. p. 2811. [3] Life of Wolsey, p. 299.

convenient and necessary; where was to the same a very proper garden, with divers pleasant walks and alleys." At Richmond the Cardinal remained until the middle of Lent, which began in that year on the 24th of February, waiting until the ways were passable; for at that time no one ventured to travel, especially towards the North, whilst the roads were still clogged with the snow. His diocesan manor-houses had been left untenanted ever since his appointment to the province of York. There was no provision for himself or his retinue; and in the season of Lent, when salt fish of different kinds formed the staple food of the whole community, it was not possible to procure it, on an emergency, in any sufficient abundance for a numerous family. The markets were held only at stated intervals, and consequently in all large households a sufficient store was provided before the winter. In addition to this, when Wolsey surrendered his houses and goods to the King, he reserved nothing for himself, or for the daily support of his household. In a paroxysm of confidence he had left all such minor considerations to the King's generosity. For the payment of all his necessary expenses, his ready money, at the time, consisted of a thousand marks, or about 600*l.*; and though the King, on the seizure of his property had consented to liquidate Wolsey's debts, either from the reluctance of the King's officers, or the unwillingness of Wolsey himself, or his inability to realize the exact state of his finances, many claimants remained unsatisfied. In the Cardinal's fall, all who had advanced him money, or who had been employed on his numerous works at his colleges or elsewhere, now became importunate in their claims, and raised loud outcries against him. So the thousand marks which the King had granted him proved wholly inadequate for his present necessities.[1]

In a letter from Thomas Runcorn, his chaplain, detailing an account of the writer's interview with Gardiner, we learn that the greatest part of the thousand marks appointed for his journey to the North had been expended already in the payment of the Cardinal's debts previous to his leaving London.

Not more than 100*l.* remained for the immediate support of himself and his household. He had been so thoroughly stript of all profits and places by the greedy courtiers of Henry VIII., that it was not easy for him to borrow money on any security, even if any of his numerous creditors had

[1] IV. pp. 2869 and 2945.

been willing to lend it. The reply of Gardiner to his application, requesting him to use his interest with the King and obtain some immediate relief of Wolsey's necessities, is characteristic both of himself and the Cardinal. He told Wolsey's messenger that he was perfectly willing to do anything that would contribute to the Cardinal's interest and his pleasure; but though he had such favour with the King that he might come to his speech at all times, "he had no such trade"—such was his phrase—that he could in all cases bring the King to his purpose. "And, secondly," says the messenger, "he told me that if you had not sufficient to live withal, it was your own fault, for you might have taken sufficient, but you would not do so, in order that the show of your wealth might be the greater when it should be presented to the sight of the King. He said further, that you did not confess all your debts, but concealed very many, so as the King had paid four times more than it was thought he should have done." Probably there was more truth than grace in this remark.[1]

The Cardinal's departure was hastened by the importunities of the Duke of Norfolk, who felt the utmost uneasiness until Wolsey was banished to the North, pretending, if Cavendish may be believed, that by his residence there "he should be a good stay for the country;"[2] thus retaliating upon Wolsey his own policy. The biographer adds that in a communication of the Duke with Cromwell, the Duke uttered the following threat, which, however incredible it may appear to the reader, has so strong an affinity with the previous statement of Chapuys, as to leave little doubt of its correctness. "Your master, the Cardinal," said the Duke, "makes no great haste to the North. Tell him, if he does not go shortly, rather than he should tarry here I will tear him to pieces with my teeth."[3]

When this bitter observation was reported to Wolsey, the Cardinal replied, "Marry! Thomas, then it is time to be going, if my lord of Norfolk take it so. Therefore repair to the King, and tell him that I would gladly depart but for want of money. The last that I received of his Majesty has been too little to pay my debts to which I have been compelled by the King's Council."

He removed from the lodge in Richmond Park to the

[1] IV. p. 2946. [2] Cavendish, p. 293.
[3] Ibid., p. 298.

Charterhouse, built there by Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, and attended the services of the Carthusians, who still practised their original austerities. Reducing the number of his attendants to 160, he began his journey at the commencement of Passion week. His first stage was at Hendon; next day he removed to the Rye,[1] then to Royston; on the fourth day he reached Huntingdon. On Palm Sunday (the 10th of April) he arrived at the abbey of Peterborough, and lodged there with his whole train. There he remained until the Thursday in Easter week. On Maunday Thursday, in accordance with the custom of the day, he washed in the Lady's Chapel, and wiped and kissed the feet of 59 poor men, in allusion to the 59 years of his life. To each of them he gave 12*d.* in money, three ells of canvas for a shirt, a pair of new shoes, a cast of bread, three red and three white herrings. From Peterborough he removed to a house of Sir William Fitzwilliam, where he continued till the Monday following, when he left for Stamford. The next day he arrived at Grantham, and was entertained by Francis Hall, the member for that borough. The day after he reached Newark, and the next day Southwell. But as the manor-house of the diocese was under repair,[2] he was compelled to take up his lodgings in the house of one of the prebendaries, apparently Dr. Magnus. Like others who owed their promotion to the Cardinal, Magnus felt no little reluctance at receiving his former benefactor at Sibthorpe. Apologizing for his backwardness, he tells the Cardinal that his house has only three chambers suitable for his reception, the rest he used for storing his corn; but if Wolsey pleases, he is willing to let him have the hall, kitchen, buttery, and pantry all in one, the cellar, a little dining chamber, and the chapel.[3] At Whitsuntide (5th June) he removed to his own house at Southwell, and here he received the visits of the gentry. But even in his retirement into the North, he could not escape the distrust and jealousy of his enemies. "It has been reported in the Court," writes Sir John Gage, the King's vice-chamberlain, and a friend of the Duke of Norfolk, "that the Cardinal rode in such a sumptuous fashion on his departure towards the North, that some men thought he was of as good courage as in times past, and wanted no impediment but lack of authority." When certain people had come to him for payment of their debts or restitution of their goods,

[1] The Rye House. [2] IV. pp. 2844, 2848.
[3] IV. p. 2848.

the Cardinal had answered that all his goods were in the King's hands, he could neither pay for them, nor yet restore them. "I think it would be wisdom in him," says this sour retailer of small-talk, to have himself "in godde a vatte vatte wordeys passeys hyme" (in good await what words pass him), "and specially in the fore-mentioned case."[1]

Even the necessary repairs of his manor-houses could not escape censure. In his inability to procure suitable workmen for the repairs required at Southwell, his surveyor[2] had sent for one of the King's glaziers to glaze the Cardinal's lodgings; and we may judge of the want of skill in the workmen of those parts, that not a man could be found who could plaster the walls with lime and hair.[3] Such primitive and innocent attempts as these to render apartments tenantable to one who was aged and sickly, long accustomed to the splendid and luxurious hangings and galleries of Hampton Court and York House, were represented by his enemies as a proof that his pride was not yet sufficiently abated, nor his wings clipped close enough to prevent him from taking a higher flight whenever the opportunity was offered. "Would to God," writes one of his correspondents from London,[4] on Wolsey urging his usual plea of necessity, "that your Grace would content yourself with that you have" (viz. the niggardly pittance of 1,000 marks), "and there is no doubt that the King will be good and gracious to your Grace." "It is said," he continues in the same anxious tone, "that your Grace makes much more building there than you do, because you have men from London; and though we deny it, we are not believed."

It was at this time, or perhaps a few days later, that the Cardinal, in his distress, wrote to the King explaining the difficulties under which he was labouring, and requesting some relief. Until now the King's bounty does not seem to have extended beyond the pitiful sum of 1,000 marks, which he had advanced to the Cardinal out of all his property. "According to your pleasure," says Wolsey, "I have come into my diocese unfurnished, to my extreme heaviness, of

[1] IV. p. 2846. It is remarkable, considering Henry's accomplishments, that all his personal attendants should have been so very illiterate. Was this owing to the same motive as prompted Cæsar's wish:—

"Let me have men about me that are fat:
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep a' nights."

[2] Robert Brown.

[3] IV. p. 2844.

[4] Robert Smythe, June 10: IV. p. 2895.

everything that I and my poor folks should be entertained with; for the 1,000 marks which it pleased your Highness of your abundant charity to advance unto me beforehand of the pension assigned to me out of the bishopric of Winchester, *with all that I could borrow besides*, is already gone and spent. I have neither corn, nor cattle, nor any other thing to keep household with, nor know not where to borrow anything in these parts towards the provision of the same. *It will be Lammas* (August) *or I can receive any part of my rents in these parts which shall be the least to defray such expences as I shall sustain in the mean time.* My houses be, by the oversight, despoil, and evil behaviour of such as I did trust, in such ruin and decay, as well in the roofs and floors, *which be almost ready to fall down*, as in all other implements of household, that *the whole* or a great party of the portion assigned unto me to live with for one year will scantily in a very base and mean fashion repair and make the same meet to be inhabited." He adds that his creditors were importunate, and could not be satisfied; that he is wrapt in misery and need on every side, and knows not where to obtain relief. Yet, with the firm trust he ever had in the King, he cannot believe that he will be allowed to perish for lack of succour, considering how entirely he has obeyed and loved the King, doing unto him such long and painful service and such poor pleasures as were within his little power.[1]

This pathetic appeal produced no effect. Absorbed in his own pleasures, or, what is equally probable, indurated by the malice of his enemies, the King took no notice of his former minister. Every method was employed by Anne Boleyn and her friends to extinguish whatever feelings of kindness or symptoms of relenting they perceived or imagined they perceived in the King. It was impossible, after twenty years' perpetual service, that the old habit of intimacy should not occasionally regain its ascendancy over the mind of Henry. Even if he had lost all his former affection for the Cardinal, he could not at times fail to contrast the superior aptitude of Wolsey, his long experience of business, his masterly genius, with the inexperience and inability of those who succeeded him. The relations between the Emperor and the King were every day becoming less satisfactory, and needed more able heads to adjust them than such as Norfolk or Suffolk

[1] The passages in italics have been afterwards struck out. IV. p. 2849.

possessed. "My Lord Cardinal is communed of," writes one of his correspondents to Dr. Bonner, afterwards the notorious Bishop of London, "and among the Lords of the Council especially. They are afraid they shall be compelled of necessity to recall him."[1] Against such an ignominious result Norfolk and his party were resolved to venture all hazards. They had not been scrupulous in the means they had hitherto employed to supplant the Cardinal; they were less scrupulous still in the means they employed to consummate his ruin.

At the end of the hunting season, or grease time as it was called, the Cardinal removed to Scroby, to the great regret of the inhabitants of Southwell, whose favour he had completely propitiated. On his way he passed by Welbeck, thence to Rufford, sleeping at Blythe abbey, and reaching Scroby the next day, where he continued until Michaelmas. Here he persevered, according to Cavendish, in the same unostentatious mode of life which he had observed at Southwell. It was his custom during his progress to enter some parish church, hear or sing mass, or cause one of his chaplains to preach to the people. That done, he would go to dinner in the same unostentatious way at a house in the town, and distribute alms and food to the poor. These notices which convey so favourable an impression of his new mode of life, are not to be attributed to the imagination of his biographer. They are attested by one who cannot be suspected of partiality. In a pamphlet published in 1536, long after Wolsey's death, and from a quarter that was not likely to be swayed by affection to his memory, we have the following statement, which must outweigh the malicious representations of historians like Hall, Foxe, and their heedless imitators. "Who was less beloved in the North," says the author, "than my lord Cardinal—God have his soul!—before he was amongst them? Who better beloved after he had been there awhile? We[2] hate oftimes whom we have good cause to love. It is a wonder to see how they were turned, how of utter enemies they became his dear friends. He gave bishops a right good example how they might win men's hearts. There were few holy days but he would ride five or six miles from his house, now to this parish church, now to that, and there cause one or other of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people. He sat amongst them, and said mass before all the parish" (unlike the bishops

[1] IV. p. 2878.
[2] That is, the people of the North, who were then in rebellion.

of the time); "he saw why churches were made. He began to restore them to their right and proper use. He brought his dinner with him, and bade divers of the parish to it. He inquired whether there was any debate or grudge between any of them. If there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the church, and made them all one. Men say well that do well. God's laws shall never be so set by as they ought before they be well known." [1]

When the Cardinal had been prevailed upon to plead guilty to the Præmunire, and surrender all his possessions and promotions to the King, he had evidently been led to believe that he would be relieved from all further molestation. In that respect he was greatly deceived. From his fall to his death, scarcely a week was suffered to pass in which he was not subjected to some kind of alarm or interruption. The courtiers about the King were unwilling to allow such an excellent opportunity to escape them of enriching themselves with the spoils of the Church. There had been no such instance within the memory of man of a prelate being attainted for high treason, whose property offered so great a temptation to the needy and the covetous. His wealth was the envy of all men. His houses, his furniture, the magnificence of his plate, exceeded by far those of any subject, and were scarcely, if at all, inferior to those of royalty; for his taste was magnificent, and in the arts of building and decoration he surpassed all his contemporaries. Greenwich and Windsor showed as nothing beside the glories of Hampton Court and York House. Contemporary evidence which is wholly silent as to the royal palaces, is lavish in its praise of the splendour and beauty of the Cardinal's two great residences; and even his smaller houses at the More and at Tittenhanger were objects of Henry's cupidity. Magdalen tower in Oxford confirms the verdict of Wolsey's own age; and if Christ Church falls short of the beauty and grandeur of the design which he intended for it, that is owing to the fact that his work was marred, crippled, and disfigured by the avarice of the King and the flattery of those to whom Henry lent a willing ear. Besides the Archbishopric of York, he held Winchester and St. Alban's; though from Winchester, for which he had given up Durham, he had at his fall received no emoluments except the

[1] Quoted by Dr. Wordsworth in Singer's edition, p. 718, from the rare pamphlet called "A Remedy for Sedition," issued from the office of the King's printer in 1536, consequently many years before Cavendish's Memoir.

1,000 marks already mentioned, while his revenues from St. Alban's were inconsiderable. Much of his wealth had been expended in providing for his two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, in purchasing for their endowments houses and estates of the minor monasteries, and in the liberal provision set apart for both of these foundations. He was, in fact, reputed to be much richer than he was; for the purchase of this monastic property, the legal expenses incidental to such purchases, both in the ecclesiastical and the civil courts, and the necessity of providing for the religious inmates whose houses were suppressed, and of satisfying all claimants, had exhausted the greater part of his revenue. The exaggerated notion of his wealth was more perilous to him than its reality; for it not only brought together an importunate horde of hungry claimants, but those who sought to benefit by his fall could never be satisfied. They persuaded themselves, and they persuaded the King, that the Cardinal must have concealed his wealth; that he had hoarded his treasures, and they had only to search diligently enough, and worry him enough, to have their search rewarded. So in this spirit they ceased not to torment and alarm him in his distant exile; and in this spirit the King turned a deaf and obdurate ear to all his supplications for relief.

Talking the matter over on one occasion with Cavendish, who had remarked to him that people wondered how one of "so excellent a wit and high discretion" would so simply confess himself guilty in the Præmunire, when he might well have stood the trial, Wolsey explained his motives. He told his querist, that, finding his enemies had induced the King to make the cause his own, and by occasion thereof to seize his property, he was persuaded that, sooner than restore it, the King would procure his "utter undoing and destruction," or at least condemn him to perpetual imprisonment; and rather than be exposed to this fate, he deemed it better to confess and throw himself on the King's mercy, "living at large like a poor vicar," than languishing in prison with all his goods and honours. "And in my submission," he added, "the King, I doubt not, had a great remorse of conscience, wherein he would rather pity me than malign me. And also there was a continual serpentine enemy about the King, that would, I am well assured, if I had been found stiff-necked, have called continually upon the King in his ear (I mean the night crow[1])

[1] Anne Boleyn, or her uncle the Duke of Norfolk. Both had dark complexions.

with such a vehemency that I should, with the help of her assistance, have obtained sooner the King's indignation than his lawful favour." Therefore, he said, he preferred the chance of being restored to the King's good opinion—a hope he never entirely abandoned until the last scene of his life—than retain his possessions without it; *quia indignatio principis mors est*—a truth of which he himself was shortly after destined to be a most conspicuous example.

Although a free pardon had been granted him, and he had been secured in the possession of his diocese of York on condition of surrendering all his other spiritual promotions, he was not left in undisturbed enjoyment of his solitary dignity. According to the clumsy technicalities of the law, it was thought necessary to take out a process against him, and consequently commissions were issued to the sheriff of Yorkshire to find "certain offices," as it was called; in other words, to make inquisitions of the lands belonging to the See of York. Though he had been for many years Lord Chancellor, and had introduced many important reforms into the practice and proceedings of Chancery, either he was so much alarmed, or so little acquainted with this branch of the law, that he wrote to the Chief Baron,[1] expressing his fears of the result. The Chief Baron assured him that it was a mere *brutum fulmen*, and might have been dispensed with, adding that though the writ might "import hard words," it was no more than a common writ for the King; and he advised the Cardinal to think no more about it. Wolsey, however, did not recover his composure on this assurance; for though the bite of the law is worse than its bark—and both are bad enough—he knew too well how the judges of that time were slavishly dependent on the Crown, and how readily at its bidding harmless words might be converted into deadly weapons. It was the curse of the age that antiquated statutes and sleeping enactments might be suddenly roused up into bristling activity; especially whenever the judges thought that the interests of the Crown were concerned in their verdict. His own impeachment in the Præmunire, and that of the whole body of the clergy—hundreds of whom had never purchased or dreamt of purchasing bulls from Rome—was a flagrant instance of judicial iniquity. A letter from Cromwell two months after shows how deep and lasting was the Cardinal's anxiety. In reply to a letter from the Cardinal, dated from

[1] Richard Lyster, June 25: IV. p. 2910.

Southwell, the 10th of August, he refers to Wolsey's apprehension of these proceedings, "the finding whereof, as I perceive, ye do suppose should be much to your dishonor and detriment." He assures Wolsey that though in the preamble of the Bill his conviction in the Præmunire is touched upon, his pardon and restitution are nowise affected. "Wherefore it may please your Grace to quiet yourself, and to take the finding of these offices patiently; and upon return of the same, there shall be such order taken, that your Grace shall not be interrupted in the receiving of your revenues, or otherwise be molested in any manner case for any new suit." Then, after comforting the Cardinal with better news of his colleges, he proceeds to tell him how much is bound to God, who has suffered him so to behave in his diocese that he has gained the hearts of the people there, "the report whereof in the Court, and elsewhere in these parts (London), is and has been to the acquiring and augmenting the good opinions of many persons towards your Grace. . . . And, notwithstanding your good, virtuous, and charitable demeaning and using yourself in those parts, is not by your enemies interpreted after the best fashion, yet always follow and persevere ye attemperately in such things as, your worldly affections set apart, shall seem to stand best with the pleasure of God and the King." He then cautions him against the report that he kept too great a house and retinue, and was continually building: "therefore, as oftentimes I have done, I most heartily beseech your Grace to have respect to everything, and, considering the time, to refrain yourself for a season from all manner buildings, more than mere necessity requireth, which, I assure your Grace, shall cease and put to silence some persons that much speaketh of the same."[1]

[1] In a letter addressed, Aug. 4, by Thomas Runcorn to Wolsey, who had been sent to London by the Cardinal, we learn the real state of the case. "I have spoken," he says, "to Master Secretary (Gardiner), and given him thanks for his faithful love to you . . . beseeching him to persevere in his goodness, and declaring that, whatsoever was thought or spoken by other men, *your Grace specially trusted in him above all men.* I told him the great necessity your Grace was in, and begged him to solicit the King, out of respect to the service your Grace had done him, that he would, out of consideration for your former and present estate, look upon you with charity, and relieve you from this miserable poverty. I showed him that the 1,000 marks had for your journey to the North were spent in paying your debts previous to leaving London, and you had not more than 100*l.*, so that you have been obliged to borrow for the support of yourself and your household; that as for the magnificent buildings you were accused of making, they are nothing but the stopping of holes where it rained in from the windows, doors, &c., and had been paid by your receiver at Southwell out of his own money. Nor I forgot not to remember

These remarks are followed by a passage which might have furnished Shakespeare with more than one suggestion in the remarkable dialogue put by the poet into the mouths of the great Cardinal and his scarcely less great servant; only that in history the speakers are changed, and instead of the master and ecclesiastic preaching contentment and resignation to the inferior and the layman, the parts are reversed. Yet are they not less significant of human character. For though men in misfortune are apt to sermonize, rising and prosperous men have a much greater faculty and aptitude for warning others from the paths of ambition. No morality is so cheap or so easy as where the moralist believes he has no need of his own prescription. None, therefore, is more freely offered, as it was on this occasion. "I do reckon your Grace," says Cromwell, "right happy that ye be now at liberty to serve God, and to learn to experiment how ye shall banish and exile the vain desires of this unstable world, which undoubtedly doth nothing else but allure every person therein, and specially such as our Lord hath most endowed with his gifts, to desire the affections of their mind to be satisfied; in studying and seeking whereof, besides the great travails and afflictions that men suffer daily, most persons ben driven to extreme repentance, and searching for pleasure and felicity find nothing but trouble, sorrow, anxiety, and adversity. Wherefore, in mine opinion, your Grace being as ye are, I suppose ye would not be as ye were to win a hundred times as much as ever ye were possessed of."[1]

The troubles apprehended by Wolsey on this occasion were not realized. The process had probably no other object than to secure the King's legal rights, and those of his favourites, to whom leases and pensions had been granted out of Wolsey's possessions. And though their validity might be questioned, and such grants at least, strictly speaking, lasted only for Wolsey's life, and ought not to have prejudiced his successors, the interpreters and dispensers of the law found a method of evading the law. So far the interests of others made it necessary that Wolsey's rights to the spiritual promo-

how that he, and only he, was privy here, and with what trust you committed yourself and all you had to the King. I moved him touching your colleges, showing how much they stuck in your thoughts . . . He answered that he was perfectly willing to accomplish whatever should be most to your interest and pleasure, but he had no such favor with the King that he might come to his speech at all times." IV. p. 2946.

[1] August 18: State Papers, i. 365.

tions he now held, or had held when these grants were made, should not be questioned. But whilst the exercise of his legatine authority was regarded as no bar to any of his actions when the interests of the King and his courtiers were involved, it was, as I have said, very different with his colleges. Ipswich was totally suppressed; its lands and revenues were forfeited to the Crown. Christ Church, after narrowly escaping the hands of the spoiler, emerged from the fire grievously shorn of its original proportions, and deprived of a great part of its endowments. Ipswich was the first to suffer. Its estates were sequestrated by the King's command, and the tenants refused to pay rent. The income of the college was reduced at a blow to 300*l.* a year. Three months after, Capon, the provost, writes to Wolsey that he and the sub-dean had repaired to London, and retained the ablest counsel they could find; but they were all of opinion that as the lands of the college had been granted to Wolsey and his heirs for ever in fee simple, when he was still under the *præmunire*, they had reverted to the King.[1] The King's Council, he adds, "have made books to find offices upon all the premises (*i.e.* have made inquisitions on the lands previous to seizing them), and we have no remedy except to petition the King, which we have done, but with little comfort. . . . I cannot but perceive the King intends to take all the rents to his own use."[2] Eleven days after he writes again that the King had resolved to dissolve the college, and seize it to his own use before Michaelmas next. Dr. Stevens (Gardiner) has spoken in its behalf, but the King will not hear him. The Commissioners have made an inventory of the books, plate, and ornaments.[3] This ruthless determination was carried out: the college was swept away, and thus one of the noblest foundations for education, so much needed for the Eastern counties, was brought to desolation by the avarice of the King and the greed of his favourites.[4]

His college at Oxford was less harshly treated. On the 29th of April Dr. Tresham, at Wolsey's desire, had an interview with the King, beseeching him to be gracious to the

[1] April 11: Capon to Wolsey, IV. p. 2845.

[2] July 9: IV. p. 2928.

[3] IV. p. 2936.

[4] Henry provided for the college at Windsor out of the estates of Wolsey's colleges. Among the grantees of Wolsey's estates are the names of the Earl of Worcester, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Sir Rich. Page, of the King's chamber, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Anth. Ughtred, Sir Edw. Seymour, John Pen, George Colt, Thomas Baret, Thos. Pemberton, and others. See IV. p. 2933.

college, because it was begun by himself as the chief benefactor, and the foundation was greatly to the honour of God and the good of his realm. The King said, in reply to the petition, that none of the lands were assured to the college except by his sufferance. When one of the deputation alleged that they were his faithful subjects, he complained that several members of it had opposed his matter at Oxford. A few only, he said, had taken his part; alluding to the opposition made to the propositions submitted to the university for the King's divorce.[1] Already part of the chapel furniture had been given away; for, on a request being made to Henry by Tresham for "white copes" for the high days of Our Lady, the King told him they had all been disposed of, and not one of them was left.[2]

As he had determined to find "offices" on the college site and its lands,[3] some attempt was made by the authorities to anticipate the evil. Active searches were prosecuted into the

[1] A curious account of the proceedings at Oxford on this occasion, by an eye-witness, will be found in a poem published for the Roxburghe Club, entitled *Grisild the Second*, p. 75. It appears that Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, was the chief commissioner on the King's side; but, as the writer asserts,—

"There was used no indifferency.
Such as by learning made against the King,
They were redargued most cruelly,
Threatened also to forego their living.
On th'other side all thereto inclining,
They had high cheering, with meed other way;
Falsehood triumphing, Truth quaking for fray."—p. 76.

The students and inhabitants of the town were so highly incensed at these proceedings that at Lincoln College, where the Bishop lodged, they fastened the gates with ropes, and painted a gallows upon them. Another active agent in the King's cause, Fra Nicholas, a member of Wolsey's College, and often mentioned in these papers as a vehement partizan on the King's side, met with no less animosity, being mobbed by the women of Oxford:

'Alas! said some, that we might this knave dress
For his unthankful daily business
Against our dear Queen, good Grysillidis;
He should evil to cheeave (achieve),
he should not sure miss."

Whereupon they flung a lump of "Osmundys" at him; and for this act thirty of them were thrown into Bocardo.

[2] Tresham to Wolsey, May 12: IV. p. 2864.

[3] What this meant may be easily inferred from the words of the Commission: "Whereas the most reverend father in God, Thomas lord cardinal, archbishop of York, in the term of St. Michaelmas last past, was before us in our Bench justly and lawfully committed (convicted?), condemned, and attainted of and for certain great causes and offences by him committed and done against us, our regality and laws; Wherefore he hath forfeited unto us all his castles, houses, lordships, &c., whereof he, or any others to his use, was seized or possessed . . . with all the profits and revenues of the same: And forasmuch as it is come to our knowledge that the said Cardinal hath not only enfeoffed the dean and canons of a college by him lately erected within our university of Oxford . . . and because that by order of our laws offices must be found for us, comprising the certainty of the said lands; we, intending the effect of our said laws in that behalf to be enforced, have authorised you, by our Commission under our Great Seal, to enquire of the same," etc. Howard's Letters, p. 157.

college muniments, both at Oxford and in London, but the result was not more favourable than before. All the grants were found to be void in law; and the judges were unanimous in their opinion, that as Wolsey had used his legatine authority and infringed the statute of Provisors before his donations were made to the college, all such donations were void, and were now at the King's pleasure. "As the King was at Windsor," writes John Higden, the dean of Christchurch, "I, the Dean, and Robert Carter, spake with my Lord of Norfolk, who at first called us into his privy chamber, and declared we should have no more lands than such as belonged to the priory Frideswide." The college was to be dissolved, the buildings to be taken down and reduced to an extent conformable with the lands of the priory. But after they had shown the Duke that a loss of revenue would accrue to the King if the college were dissolved, he mused awhile, and then went straight to the King. In the mean time they were advised by Norris to attend at the King's closet, and speak with his Majesty, as he went to mass. Whilst they were waiting, Gardiner came in, and promised faithfully to do the best he could to second their petition. "As soon as the King entered, I, the Dean, delivered him the college letters; which he graciously accepted, and calling me, Carter and Tresham, apart, said, *submissâ voce*, 'I understand that ye are come unto us, as suitors for your college, and have brought with you a letter of attorney to commune with our Council, and to take some good way for the behoof of your house. Surely we propose to have an honorable college there, but not so great and of such magnificence as my Lord Cardinal intended to have, for it is not thought meet for the common weal of our realm; yet will we have a college honorably to maintain the service of God and literature. And as touching communication to be held with our Council, there are few of our learned counsel present at this time. We will that ye continue as ye have done. Until Michaelmas next coming, receive your rents, and then repair to us.'

"As the King went he called my Lords of Norfolk and Wiltshire. These two are now favourable to the college; for Norfolk came afterwards, and said to us: 'Sirs, albeit I have spoken hardly to you at the beginning, yet will I be a helper in your matter, for the King is very gracious Lord unto you, and purposes that ye shall have a great deal more lands than I spake of. Move not the King contrary to his pleasure in no case, for he is minded to be very beneficial unto you; and as

for the commissions, labour not to stay them, nor care not for them.' "[1]

The great object of the Dean and his followers was, if possible, to stay the commission, and obtain a *supersedeas* for the college lands in general. They had already managed, by the help of Gardiner, to have the site and circuit of the college exempt from all interference by the commissioners. To obtain more than this was by no means easy. On the 6th of October they had an interview with Sir Thomas More, then Chancellor, at his house in Chelsea, and delivered to him Wolsey's letters. "He entertained us very gently," says Tresham to Wolsey, "but a *supersedeas* we could not obtain, for he said the King's Council had sent him word to the contrary." For some reason, not clearly explained, the *supersedeas* obtained by Gardiner was either revoked, or was not sufficient. "I fear," says the writer, "that no *supersedeas* will be granted, and the college will be taken from your Grace, to its no little hindrance. As touching the land and appropriation, they will escheat to the King. I exhort your Grace to patience."[2]

On More's advice they resolved to make suit to the King, who was then at Hampton Court, and on the 10th had an interview with the Duke of Norfolk. He told them that the King had granted no *supersedeas*, and the Earl of Wiltshire (Sir Thomas Boleyn), who had at first affirmed it, afterwards denied it in Norfolk's presence. On the 11th their suit was more successful. "I have got a *supersedeas* sealed in the Chancery, and allowed by the King's council," writes Tresham on the 11th of October. "The chancellor (More) is very good in this matter; he entertained me very lovingly, and showed me that Master Stevens (Gardiner) is especially good to the college . . . I hope to obtain Mr. Baynton[3] by the promise of a fee, and so consequently my lord of Norfolk, for that is the chief way, after the counsel of Mr. Butts, the which, with Mr. Chambre, most humbly recommend them to your Grace, and say that they will do what they may (can). . . . My Lord Chancellor fears that the King will in conclusion have your Grace's college for all the *supersedeas*, but he added that Mr. Secretary (Gardiner) was active for its continuance, and he thought the King could not make it less than you intended. I trust," he adds, "it shall continue, as we shall now be impartially heard by the Chief Justice."[4]

[1] Higden to Wolsey, August 22: IV. p. 2963.

[2] Tresham to Wolsey, October 7: IV. p. 3004.

[3] A friend of Anne Boleyn.

[4] IV. p. 3010.

The destruction of his colleges was regarded by Wolsey with inexpressible anguish and dismay. They had formed for years the darling project of his life. The old feeling of founder and benefactor, scorned and ridiculed by hebdomadal philosophers in these days, had not yet died out in an age when munificence was still regarded as a virtue. Amidst the transitory glory and demoralizing occupations of this life, men still craved for a permanent resting-place, where their memories should be associated with the pure and uncorrupted affections of the young, and thoughts of themselves should rise to Heaven in prayers and orisons uttered by lips as yet untarnished by the world. Perhaps in the old Church, a sense of a common Christendom, a communion in which the living and the dead alike formed one society, did something to maintain sentiments of this kind, which grew weaker when men ceased to care for any but their own individual faith and salvation, and a live dog was more highly valued than a dead lion. But, whatever it was, these colleges, with which his name should for ever be associated when his other deeds were pardoned or forgotten, were the cherished objects of Wolsey's thoughts. For them he had incurred vast expense and ceaseless trouble in England and in Rome. The bulls required before any monastic house could be suppressed and converted to secular uses were numerous and costly, whilst the cumbrous legal proceedings involved in the transfer of property, the cancelling and renewal of leases, were enormous. The legal procedure of two courts, the secular and ecclesiastical, with their minute and endless technicalities, would have dismayed one of less courage and determination than Wolsey. But now all the hopes and labours of many years were to be given to the winds—for a hard construction of the law—for a mere flaw, which no lawyer of the time, however astute, could possibly have foreseen. One single expression in the transfer of these collegiate estates might have saved them, would save them even now, if the King, instead of taking advantage of the error, and insisting upon the strict letter of the law, had been willing to accept a moral and equitable construction. But the temptation was too strong for him, and he hardened himself against all sentiments of generosity. The easy acquisition of Wolsey's houses, manors, property, plate, and furniture, instead of satisfying, excited still more the cupidity of his master. The old failing, of which indications were visible in earlier times, now began to display itself in a more

unmistakable manner. The exactions from the clergy, the seizure of Church property, the suppression of religious foundations, are traceable to that spirit of greed, which he had inherited from his father. The example thus set by the King was followed, as it was recommended, by the nobility. Schemes of Church spoliation, after the fall of Wolsey, are among the most frequent and the most popular devices of the age.

By Wolsey himself the loss of power, the forfeiture of his estates, and even his exile to York, were regarded with indifference, compared with the ruin of his colleges. For recovery of the former he made little or no effort; for the preservation of his colleges he bestirred himself with ceaseless and untiring energy, employing all the little influence he still possessed, or believed he possessed, with men in power, to rescue them from the hands of the spoiler. When the news of the King's intention to insist on their forfeiture reached the unfortunate prelate, he wrote to Cromwell:—"I am in such indisposition of body and mind by the reason of such great heaviness as I am in, being put from my sleep and meat for such advertisements as I have had from you of the dissolution of my colleges; with the small comfort and appearance that I have to be relieved by the King's highness in this mine extreme need, maketh me that I cannot write unto you, for weeping and sorrow. Wherefore, these shall be not only to give unto you my most effectual thanks for such great pains as ye have taken in all my causes . . . but also to recommend my poor estate and colleges to your and other good friends' help and relief, beseeching God to inspire in the King's heart more pity and compassion."[1]

On a subsequent occasion he informs Cromwell how greatly desirous he is to understand how affairs proceed concerning his colleges. "Surely," he adds, "if you knew what heaviness of mind I am in presently, and that the same daily more and more do increase, I have no doubt your gentle heart would have compassion thereof." Even when his mind was more set at rest by the assurance that the lands belonging to his see were not to be seized, he could not help complaining to the same faithful adviser: "Such bruits and opinions have sprungen thereof in these parts that I am weary of hearing them. There is nothing here but lamentation and mourning,

[1] IV. p. 2936. See also his letter to Gardiner, p. 2938.

not knowing certainly what will follow. I pray God that I may be once in repose, and regard may be had to my poor estate and old service." He begs Cromwell "to use his dexterity to bring the duke of Norfolk to reason."[1]

As all hope of preserving his new foundation at Ipswich had failed, his utmost efforts were now directed to the preservation of his college at Oxford. It is mournful to think that such ceaseless importunities should have been needed; that Henry, who professed to be an admirer and patron of learning, should have required such repeated solicitations before he could be induced to forego any portion of the endowments, and comply with so reasonable a request. It is true that the Crown lawyers, with that servility which, with a few honourable exceptions, distinguished or rather degraded the Bench during this reign, had advised the King that all the lands and livings appropriated to the college had reverted to the Crown by the Cardinal's attainder; but it is questionable whether if Wolsey had anticipated treatment so severe, and such utter forgetfulness of his past services, he would have so easily admitted his guilt, and made no effort to defend himself. Certainly no sovereign of any generosity, who had employed and trusted such a minister as Wolsey, and had approved all his proceedings in this matter, would have availed himself of an error for which the King was no less responsible than his minister. Though Henry had taken little active part in the foundation of these colleges, he had more than once expressed his satisfaction at their erection. Now, however, when the chance was offered him of converting their property to his own use, Wolsey's design was deemed too magnificent; a more meagre provision was considered sufficient for all purposes of education.

In this critical state of his foundation at Oxford, Wolsey in the last hope addressed the following pathetic letter to the King. "Most gracious sovereign Lord and merciful Prince! Prostrate at your Majesty's feet, with weeping tears, these shall be in most reverent and humble manner to recommend unto your excellent charity and goodness the poor college of Oxford, which, for the great zeal and affection that your Grace beareth to good letters and nourishing of learning, and in consideration of my painful and long continued service, your Grace was contented that I should erect, found, and establish. And where, notwithstanding my conviction in the Præmunire . . .

[1] IV. p. 2949.

it has pleased your Highness, to your perpetual merit, honor, and renown, to impart your mercy, liberality, and bountifulness unto me . . . so it may please you to have pity on the Dean and Canons of the said college, who are coming to know your pleasure concerning their establishment." [1]

He was not destined to learn the result of all these earnest entreaties and efforts. Matters were fast drawing to a close. Towards the end of September he left Scroby for Cawood Castle, a few miles distant from York, confirming many children that were brought to him, both at St. Oswald's Abbey and at Ferrybridge. More than six months had now elapsed since he had left London—a period unusually long, even in those days—and he had not yet reached his metropolitan city; nor, so far as it appears, had he ever visited his cathedral. The reason for this delay is to be found in the fact that it was not usual for the archbishop to enter his metropolitan church until after his installation—a ceremony of some magnificence, followed by a sumptuous feast, of which Archbishop Neville, one of his predecessors, had set an extraordinary example. Stript of all his property, and reduced to great distress, it is clear that the Cardinal had not the means of providing what was considered necessary for the occasion, and he waited consequently until his rents had been received, in order that his installation feast might not be wholly unworthy of his fame and dignity. A list of the debts incurred by him during his residence at Cawood has been preserved,[2] with an account of the provisions received by his officers against the proposed ceremony. In this manner the whole month of October passed away without any event of importance. On a visit from Dr. Higden, the Dean of York, and the prebendaries, who had given him to understand that, according to precedent, he could not enter the choir, nor have even a stall there, until after his installation, he ordered it to take place on Monday,

[1] IV. p. 2961. In his letter to the Lord Chief Justice on the same subject he says that as he had never intended to use his legatine authority to the derogation of the King's dignity, it would be great pity "that to these poor innocents (his scholars) the sharpness and rigour of the law should be ministered." He adds, that in the erection and foundation of the college he had been guided by the advice of all the Judges. It is quite clear that the Act of Præmunire was never intended to be interpreted as it was in Wolsey's case, where the legatine authority was used on behalf of the Crown, and with its full consent, and not against the Crown. In another letter he states that the college had been erected by the grants of the King and the Pope as effectually as could be devised. If, therefore, it was an offence against the laws, it is one of which the King and the Judges were no less guilty than himself.

[2] IV. p. 3048.

the 7th of November. When the event became generally known in the diocese, many presents of wild fowl, venison, and other provisions, were offered by the gentlemen and the religious houses of the county; all of whom, equally with the Cardinal himself, had not the least anticipation of the event that was so soon to follow.

It will be seen by what has been already stated, that his enemies had not ceased to keep a watchful eye upon his movements. Prompted by jealousy and suspicion, they had contrived to gain intelligence of all his words and actions, far removed as he was from the Court. Messengers passing continually to and fro, and keeping the Cardinal in a continual ferment of agitation and alarm, had not failed to carry back to their employers exaggerated accounts of his doings. It had never been expected that he would apply himself so heartily to the spiritual duties of his province, or gain so rapidly the affections of those with whom he was now for the first time associated. The popularity of the Cardinal in his new position no less alarmed them on its own account, than from the dread it inspired of his possible return to the King's favour, and the restoration of his former influence. Among the most implacable of his enemies, and the least scrupulous, were the Duke of Norfolk and Anne Boleyn; both of whom were resolved to take every measure to alienate the King from his former minister, by exciting suspicions in his mind of the Cardinal's loyalty, and by suggestions partly true, partly misrepresented, and partly fictitious. The true and the false were so artfully blended as to give plausibility enough to both, and arouse the anger of the King, who now determined on the Cardinal's arrest. The plot had evidently been in preparation some days before the blow fell. It was carried on with the utmost secresy, lest it should reach Wolsey's ears, and give him an opportunity of defending himself, or explaining his conduct to the King. In an account of an interview between Thomas Arundel and the Duke of Norfolk, certain particulars have been preserved, showing the implacable animosity with which the Duke still continued to persecute the fallen minister, notwithstanding all the efforts Wolsey had made to soften his resentment. The writer informs the Cardinal that he had delivered his letters to the Duke at Hampton Court, "with as lowly recommendations as he could devise;" and in conversation with him had enlarged upon Wolsey's good fashions and manner of living, trying to persuade him how little the

Cardinal aspired to the renewal of his authority. At these words the Duke burst into a violent rage, and exclaimed, that no man should make him believe that; and the more Arundel spake to the contrary, the more irritated the Duke became. "After many contradictions on both sides," continues Arundel, "he showed me, though I list to be blinded, I should blind no man here; for he said he had both your Grace's hand to the contrary, and knew of three messages, sent by three divers persons from your Grace to the King, whereby it might well appear that ye desired as much authority as ever." These messengers were Brierton, Leyton, and a third, whose name Arundel had forgotten; but it was, in all probability, Wriothesley, then of little account, but who afterwards played such a conspicuous part in the history of the reign. Wolsey had reminded each of these messengers of the benefits he had conferred on them and their families, all of which they had evidently servilely reported to Norfolk, who had put an unfavourable construction on their reports.[1] What the Duke meant by the proofs he had received in Wolsey's handwriting, and how he had obtained them, must now be explained.

It will be remembered that just a year before Wolsey's fall, he had earnestly entreated the French ambassador, Du Bellay, to induce his master, the French King, to write a letter in the Cardinal's favour to Henry VIII., and express his regret that Wolsey had incurred the King's displeasure. He was desired to signify his hopes that the King would moderate his displeasure out of consideration to Wolsey's eminent services. In making this request to Du Bellay, Wolsey had expressed a wish that no hint of it should be allowed to transpire, as he apprehended that his enemies would make use of it for his destruction.[2] The message was sent to the French ambassador by one whom the Cardinal implicitly trusted and employed on the most secret occasions, Augustine, an Italian physician. He was ignorant, at the time when he made this request, that the French King, notwithstanding his earnest profession of gratitude and attachment, had already basely betrayed him, and had insinuated to Suffolk that Wolsey held a secret correspondence with Rome unfavourable to the King's divorce. Du Bellay was succeeded in his mission by John Joachim de Vaux,[3] at the commencement of the year 1530.

[1] IV. p. 3013.
[2] IV. p. 2675.
[3] De Vaux himself, although employed by the French King, was a subtle Italian.

His mission, according to the Imperial ambassador, though, of course, not ostensibly acknowledged, was to reinstate the Cardinal in the King's favour. "The said Joachim," says Chapuys, "lodges at a house of one of the Cardinal's servants; and soon after his arrival, the Cardinal, though unwell, sent his physician, a Venetian in whom he has much confidence, who remained with De Vaux for four or five days." Chapuys imagined that the object of their conference was the restoration of the Cardinal to his former dignity, as the French distrusted the Duke of Norfolk. The true purpose of it, however, is explained in a letter by De Vaux to Francis I., on the 15th of March, in which he states that the Cardinal, who was then at Richmond, not only hoped but fully expected the assistance he had desired of the French King, and that the demonstration of their bounty towards him would be in proportion to the greatness of his fall. It is clear that Augustine was employed in this confidential transaction, and his care of Wolsey in his sickness at the commencement of the year had augmented still more the implicit confidence reposed in him by his master. This man was a traitor of the deepest dye.[1] He was necessitous, as we learn by his numerous letters and importunities for money. He had been bribed by Norfolk to betray and accuse his master. On the 8th of November De Vaux wrote to the constable Montmorenci, stating that he had delayed his despatch in order to learn more about the "poor Cardinal," in regard to whom the King and the Lords of the Council had assured him, upon oath, that they had no shadow of suspicion against him (De Vaux), but looked upon him as their good servant. Norfolk and Suffolk had begged him, with great earnestness, to accept this assurance. "But as to the Cardinal," continues De Vaux, "I fear there are no hopes. They say that they have many and grave proofs against him; and the King has told me that he has intrigued against his Majesty, both in and out of the kingdom, telling me where and how, and that *one*, and perhaps more than one, of his servants have discovered and accused him." He concludes by assuring Montmorenci that he is much grieved at the Cardinal's danger.[2]

[1] IV. p. 2861. The treachery of this rascal is placed beyond dispute. He was bribed and bought by Norfolk for 100*l*. His bond consenting to forfeit that amount, *i.e.* return it, in the event of not keeping secret "all such matter as is mentioned in a book, written with his own hand, concerning the late Cardinal," and presented to Norfolk, will be found in IV. p. 3057.

[2] IV. p. 3029.

Little doubt, I think, can exist that Augustine betrayed to Norfolk Wolsey's communications with the French court, giving them a turn that would suit Norfolk's purposes, and best earn a traitor's wages. Anyhow, such a communication, however innocent, was sufficient to rouse Henry's rage, as Norfolk anticipated. The accusation, based upon such unsatisfactory evidence, soon took, as was usual in those days, a definite and official shape; and the Cardinal's guilt was considered established, although there was no proof whatever that he had corresponded with the Court of Rome, and no probability in the charge. This had, doubtless, been contrived between Norfolk and the Cardinal's unprincipled physician; and it would look as if a Nemesis had overtaken Wolsey for his share in the Duke of Buckingham's condemnation, though he was only the King's instrument on that occasion; for the Duke also was betrayed in the same way, and brought to his execution by the treachery of one of his servants. It could not be denied by De Vaux that Wolsey had employed Augustine, as already stated, in negociating with the French court, and this gave probability to whatever falsehood his betrayer might invent to serve himself and ruin his master, by pretending that Wolsey had intrigued with the Pope and other courts against the King. De Vaux, though professing so much commiseration for the Cardinal, was scarcely more honest than the rest. He joined in the outcry of those who had betrayed the Cardinal, though he had paid assiduous court to Wolsey in the days of his prosperity. "I received at Blois," writes Bryan to Henry VIII., "your letters under signet, dated York Place (Wolsey's former residence), November 11th, thereby perceiving the right detestable practices and conspiracies, *newly confessed*,[1] and set forth by the lord Cardinal archbishop of York, as well to the Court of Rome, as within your realm, expressly against your most noble estate and royal dignity. According to the tenor thereof, I resorted to the Court, desiring to speak with the Great Master (Montmorenci), and who, immediately after he saw me, demanded if news out of England lately I had not heard. I then, desiring to know what should move him to inquire, had for answer of him, that the King his master was advertised from his ambassador there (De Vaux) that the lord Cardinal was by your Highness' commandment in hold; but what offences he had made was to him utterly unknown; notwithstanding, he said, the King

[1] This also was an invention. There was no such confession.

your brother was of the opinion that he thought he had well merited his said imprisonment." To this Bryan replied that he had been sent to prevent all untrue surmises that might arise respecting this event; "showing him if the particularities which I said did chiefly concern presumptuous (presumptive) sinister practices made to the Court of Rome for reducing him (Wolsey) to his former estate and dignity, contrary to his allegiance, were as much known to the French king and my Lady as they were to your Highness, there was no doubt they would much abhor the same. He made answer that though the French king had no knowledge of such seditious and traitorous misbehavior, they judged that so just a prince as Henry would not have punished the Cardinal without his heinous deserts." After dinner Bryan was introduced to Francis, and repeated what he had already told Montmorenci. The King replied that nothing would ever have induced him to listen to any tales reflecting on the King's honour, and demanded the particulars of Wolsey's offences; which Bryan said *he knew not*, but they should be sent him speedily; "which answer he accepted very well, saying he perceived much faithful kindness in the King, *and thought ever that so pompous and ambitious a heart, sprung out of so vile a stock, would once* (one day) *show forth the baseness of his nature, and most commonly against him that hath raised him from low degree to high dignity, as ye have done; and he said he thought by his outrageous misbehaviour*[1] *he had well merited either a life worse than death, or else of all deaths the most cruel.* Sir, as far as I can perceive, the relation made unto the King your brother by M. De Vaux, his ambassador, was of very good sort in disclosing the misdemeanor of the said Cardinal."[2]

On the spirit and tone of this interview I leave my readers to their own reflections. Its baseness must be shared between the servile minister, the treacherous sovereign, the ungrateful master. I pass on to the further revelation of the scheme now set on foot by the Cardinal's unscrupulous and unrelenting enemies, who, noble as they were by birth, and the chief advisers of the King, had committed themselves to a course of treachery, falsehood, and deceit unknown to all historians. The ordinary chroniclers of the day accepted the official account of Wolsey's crimes without examination, probably without suspicion. That account has been repeated since

[1] Neither Francis nor Bryan knowing what it was!
[2] State Papers, vii. 211 (abridged).

with little variation to the present time; and popular misconceptions have borne as hardly and unjustly on Wolsey's memory in this respect, as the ingratitude of his sovereign and the malice of his enemies could have desired. No compunction was felt for his wretchedness—no respite was allowed to his sufferings. Month after month they harassed him as we have seen, broken as he was in health and fortune, and worn out by labours such as no statesman had ever endured. In a letter from the Imperial ambassador to the Emperor Charles V., we come upon minute and authentic details of the plot laid against the Cardinal's life, and of the profound cunning and dissimulation with which it was carried on. "Eight days ago," he writes, "the King gave orders for the Cardinal to be brought here, on which the Cardinal remained for some days without food, hoping rather to finish his life in this way[1] than in a more shameful one, of which he had some fears. He has been taken ill on the road, and has not yet arrived. It is said he is to be lodged in the same chamber in the Tower where the duke of Buckingham was detained. The cause of his arrest is a mere conjecture. A gentleman told me that a short time ago the King was complaining to his Council of something that was not done according to his liking, and said in a rage that the Cardinal was a better man than any of them for managing matters; and, repeating this twice, he flung himself out of the room. Since then the Duke (Norfolk), the Lady and her father, have not ceased to plot against the Cardinal, especially the Lady, who does not give over weeping and lamenting the lost time and her honor, threatening the King that she will leave him, in such sort that the King has had much trouble to pacify her, and though he prayed her most affectionately, with tears in his eyes, that she would not speak of leaving him, nothing would satisfy her except the Cardinal's arrest. It is pretended that he had written to Rome to be reinstated in his possessions, and to France for its favor; and was returning to his ancient pomp, and corrupting the people. But since they have had the Cardinal's physician (Augustine) in their hands, they have found what they sought for. Since he has been here, the same physician has lived in the duke of Norfolk's house like a prince. He is singing the tune as they wished him!

"Joachim (De Vaux) would not say a word about it to the

[1] This was one of the unfounded rumours industriously circulated at the time.

Papal nuncio, but he told the Venetian ambassador that, *according to the confession of the Cardinal's physician*, the Cardinal had solicited the Pope to excommunicate the King, if he did not banish the Lady from Court, and treat the Queen with due respect. He hoped by this to raise the country, and obtain the management. De Vaux protested against the malice of the Cardinal, but I do not know from what motive. . . . They might have summoned the person who was the go-between, to whom the physician wrote, and who sent him the answers; but up to this time not a word has been said about it.[1] Were the physician to confess all that has passed between *us*, he could not do anything to impugn me." [2]

[1] Whether he alluded to De Vaux, or to one of Wolsey's chaplains, who seems to have been implicated in his betrayal, is not clear.

[2] Nov. 27: IV. p. 3035. With this the reader may compare the account given by the Milanese ambassador, Scarpinello, who was then in London. "After Cardinal Wolsey's departure, by the King's order, to visit the church of York, which he had never done previously, by reason of his public occupations, he made his entry into that city with upwards of eight hundred horse" (a mistake, as the Cardinal had not yet visited York), "but by the doom of fortune he was made prisoner a few days ago, and taken by the earl of Northumberland, then delivered to the earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he will be brought to the Tower to-day or to-morrow. I have been unable to obtain any authentic account of the cause of this arrest. Some say that the Cardinal purposed to make his escape; some that he advised the Pope to interfere in his favor, and in that of the English clergy, contrary to the statutes. Others attribute everything to the envy and fear of his rivals, who have repented of letting him fall on a feather bed, and are afraid lest he should rise again, and therefore are determined to despatch him. Up to this time, the Cardinal's physician, a Venetian, Messer Augustino, and a chaplain, have been arrested. The latter was on his way to cross the channel with certain letters, which are understood to have been of no great importance. As yet no harshness has been used in the examination of the said two persons." Ven. Cal., p. 262.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WOLSEY'S LAST JOURNEY AND DEATH.

ALL this time Wolsey was at Cawood, wholly unconscious of the danger which awaited him. On the 1st of November Sir Walter Walshe, one of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber who had been employed in the King's correspondence with Anne Boleyn, was despatched with a warrant to the Earl of Northumberland. The Earl had been brought up in Wolsey's household, but had now become one of his bitterest enemies; not, as some have supposed, because the Cardinal had broken off the Earl's contract of marriage with Anne Boleyn (for its existence was solemnly denied by the Earl), but in consequence of a sharp remonstrance addressed to him by Wolsey for real or supposed misconduct in the North. This had galled his harsh and imperious spirit, and was never forgiven. Besides this provocation there had been continual feuds between the Archbishops of York and the powerful house of Percy, and consequently they were rarely upon friendly terms. It was upon the Friday following, the 4th of November, preceding the Monday of Wolsey's proposed installation, that the Earl and his associates, with a great company of servants and gentlemen, entered the hall of Cawood Castle, where the Cardinal's officers were at dinner. Wolsey had dined, and retired to an upper chamber, where he was still sitting at his dessert. On entering the courtyard of the castle the Earl demanded the keys of the porter, who refused at first to deliver them, but after some short discussion complied, and was immediately sworn into the King's service. As soon as Percy had entered the hall he posted sentries at all the passages to prevent egress, and ordered a guard to keep the stairs that led to the Cardinal's chamber, "so that no man could pass up again that was come down."

All this time Wolsey was ignorant of what was passing below. At last one of his attendants chancing to look down

into the hall from a loop in the gallery, espied the Earl of Northumberland, and on the news being communicated to Wolsey, who was not a little astonished, he ordered his gentleman usher (Cavendish) to ascertain the truth. On finding it confirmed, he rose from the table, and as he was going down the stairs he encountered the Earl, who was coming up, with all his men about him. After they had embraced each other, and the Cardinal had expressed a wish that the Earl had sent him word of his coming before, in order that he might have been better provided to receive him, he led the Earl into the chamber where he had dined, saying to him, "Sir, now ye may perceive how far forth we were at our dinner." Then leading the Earl to the fire he said to him, "Ye shall go into my bed-chamber, and there shift your apparel until your chamber is ready." Then, addressing a few courteous remarks to the Earl's attendants, he took the Earl by the hand, and led him into his bed-chamber; "and they being there all alone, save only I," says Cavendish, to whom we are indebted for these details, "that kept the door, according to my duty, being gentleman usher, the two standing at a window by the chimney in my Lord's bed-chamber, the Earl trembling said, with a very faint and soft voice, unto my Lord, laying his hand upon his arm, 'My Lord, I arrest you of high treason.'"[1] At these words the Cardinal was marvellously astonished; and both stood for a considerable time without uttering a word. Then Wolsey, breaking silence, demanded of the Earl his commission; and, on his refusal to produce it, declined, he said, to obey his authority. As they were debating the matter, Walshe, who had been busy in arresting Augustine, drove him, with pretended violence, into the chamber, exclaiming, "Go in, traitor, or I shall make thee;" and as soon as both had entered he pulled off a cotton hood in which he had disguised himself, and as he kneeled Wolsey said to him, "My Lord of Northumberland hath arrested me of treason, but on what authority he avoweth me not, but, he says, he hath one. If you are privy thereto, or be joined therein with him, I pray you show me." Walshe answered in the affirmative, but, like Northumberland, refused to produce his commission. Finding it useless to contend, the Cardinal surrendered himself to Walshe, remarking, "You are a sufficient commissioner of yourself, for you are one of the King's Privy Chamber. The worst person there is a sufficient warrant to

[1] Cavendish, p. 343, *seq.*

arrest the greatest peer of the realm, by the King's only commandment, without any commission. I am ready to be ordered and disposed of at your pleasure." Then they delivered him into the custody of certain gentlemen, and Walshe and the Earl proceeded to take the keys of his coffers.[1] To maintain the deceit, and obviate suspicion, Augustine, attended by guards, was despatched to London, with his feet tied under his horse's belly, as if to prevent his escape. Saturday passed, and the greater part of Sunday. No access to Wolsey was allowed, and no intimation was given him of the charges on which he was arrested. He was plunged into the profoundest agony of grief and agitation, breaking out now and then into lamentations, which, as his biographer justly remarks, "would have caused the flintiest heart to have relented, and burst for sorrow." But even then his grief was as much for others as for himself. In his total abandonment by those who had once kneeled before him to supplicate his favour, in the ingratitude of the King and his obdurate mistress, who had forgotten all his services and joined with his enemies, he could not fail being struck with the unselfish constancy of the few who still continued to serve him in his adversity without any expectation of reward; and not the least for the honesty, truth, and fidelity of his gentleman usher and biographer, Cavendish, who remained with him to the last. "Alas!" he exclaimed, seeing the kindly and unwearied efforts of Cavendish to console him, "I am left here bare and wretched, without help or succour, but of God alone. 'Howbeit,' quoth he to me," says the biographer, "calling me by my name, 'I am a true man, and therefore you shall never receive shame of me for your service.' I, perceiving his heaviness and lamentable words, said thus unto him: 'My lord, I nothing mistrust your truth, and for the same I dare and will be sworn before the King's person and his honourable Council. . . . I doubt not, but coming to your answer, you shall so acquit and clear yourself of all surmised and feigned accusations, that it shall be to the King's contentation, and much to your advancement and restitution of your former dignity and estate.' 'Yea,' quoth he, 'if I may come to mine answer, I fear no man alive; for he liveth not upon the earth that shall look upon this face (pointing to his own face) shall be able to accuse me of any untruth; and that knoweth mine enemies full well, which will

[1] The inventory of the Cardinal's goods taken by the Earl will be found in IV. p. 3044.

be an occasion that I shall not have indifferent justice, but they will rather seek some other sinister ways to destroy me.'"

On Sunday, after dinner, as it drew towards night, he was conducted to Pomfret with five of his attendants only. At his departure, which had now got wind, a multitude of the country people assembled to testify their grief at his arrest, praying that "the foul fiend might catch" all those who had taken the Cardinal from them. The custody of his person was apparently committed to Sir Roger Lascelles by the Earl, who remained behind in Cawood Castle to take charge of the effects. From the Abbey of Pomfret he proceeded next day to Doncaster, where he lodged with the Black Friars; the day after, to Sheffield Park, where he was received by the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury with great affability.[1] The Earl embraced him, affirming that he was heartily welcome, but that he would have been far more pleased if Wolsey had come in a different fashion; saying to him, after some further remarks, "I will not receive you as a prisoner, but as my good lord and the King's true, faithful subject; and here is my wife come to salute you;" whom my Lord kissed bare-headed, and all her gentlewomen, and took my Lord's servants by the hand, as well gentlemen as yeomen and others.[2] At Sheffield Park he remained for eighteen days, and was treated by his host with great consideration and generosity. Once every day he was visited by the Earl, who sought to comfort his unfortunate prisoner. But he resolutely repelled all the efforts that were made to console him, applying himself wholly to devotion, and renouncing all earthly pleasure. Though he was not more than fifty-nine years of age, his health and strength had been completely broken down by his long and laborious occupations, and the incessant vexations to which he had been exposed since his disgrace. Even in his most prosperous days he had never been a strong man; now his great anxiety of mind, and the enormous pressure upon his faculties during the progress of the divorce, had wholly undermined his constitution. He was attacked by dysentery, brought on by shattered health and excessive agitation; but it was more immediately caused by eating Warden pears, and was increased apparently by the unskilful treatment of his apothecary.

The final and heaviest blow was reserved for his last

[1] The Earl of Northumberland was married to Lord Shrewsbury's daughter, but they lived very unhappily; that may be seen by the letters in the Calendar, vol. IV.

[2] Cavendish, p. 362.

moments. The reasons for his arrest had been studiously kept from him; but as upon all occasions when the King had resolved to strike, he struck once, and never wavered, so it was now. When Henry had abandoned himself to his resentment he was borne along its current with the blind impetuosity of fate. No doubt was allowed to enter his mind. No question of the wisdom or justice of his own determination, no feeling of pity, no sense of past services, however great, were allowed to arrest his hand. He had ordered Sir William Kingston, the keeper of the Tower, to proceed to Sheffield to receive the Earl's prisoner, and bring him to the Tower. It required the greatest delicacy to break the dreadful news to the unhappy Cardinal. For this purpose the Earl, who seems to have been unusually humane and considerate, hit upon the following expedient. During his conversations with Wolsey, when the latter expressed his apprehensions lest he should be condemned unheard, the Earl either took, or pretended to take, an opportunity of writing to the King in Wolsey's behalf. Then calling Cavendish to him, he said, "My Lord, your master, has often desired me to write to the King that he might answer his accusers in the King's presence. Even so have I done; and this day I have received letters from his Grace, by Sir William Kingston, by which I perceive that the King holds the Cardinal in very good estimation, and has sent for him by Sir William, who is now here, to come up and make his answer. But do you play the part of a wise man, and break the matter unto him warily; for he is always so full of sorrow when he is in my company, that I am afraid he will not take it quietly." Cavendish promised to comply, but added, with a clear apprehension of the true meaning of the Earl's stratagem, that the moment he mentioned the name of Sir William Kingston to the Cardinal, his worst suspicions would be confirmed; "because," said he, "he is constable of the Tower, and has brought twenty-four of the guard to attend upon him." The Earl kindly suggested reasons for removing these unfounded fears, as he was pleased to term them, but evidently with little effect. Cavendish proceeded to break the news. "I found him," he says, "sitting at the upper end of the gallery upon a trussing chest of his own, with his beads and staff in hand." "What news?" said he, seeing Cavendish come from the Earl. "Forsooth, Sir," he replied, assuming the best appearance of cheerfulness he could master, though his voice sadly belied his words, "I bring you the best news

that ever came to you in your life." "I pray God it be so," said Wolsey; "what is it?" "Forsooth, Sir," replied Cavendish, "my lord of Shrewsbury, perceiving how desirous you were to come before the King, has so exerted himself that the King has sent Master Kingston with twenty-four of his guard to bring you into his presence." "Master Kingston, Master Kingston!" exclaimed the unhappy Cardinal, musing for a time, as if to recollect himself; and then clapping his hand on his thigh, he gave a deep sigh. Cavendish endeavoured to cheer him. He urged the old argument that the King had no other intention by this act than to bring Wolsey into his presence; and had sent the Constable with a guard of honour out of consideration for Wolsey's high estate, and he had no reason therefore to mistrust his master's kindness. All his efforts were useless. The Cardinal knew too well the King's temper to be deceived. He had not served him so long without being fully aware how implacable and immovable were his resentments. "I perceive," he said, with very significant words (the shadow of Buckingham must have crossed his imagination as he was speaking), "more than you can imagine or can know. *Experience of old has taught me.*"

Meanwhile the Earl came into the gallery to reinforce the arguments of Cavendish; but with no better success. "Well, Sir," quoth the Cardinal, "as God will, so be it. Where is Master Kingston?" On this Kingston was introduced, and according to the usual fashion, kneeled down to the Cardinal as he saluted him in the King's behalf. "I pray you, stand up," said Wolsey; "kneel not unto a very wretch, replete with misery, not worthy to be esteemed, as a vile object, utterly cast away. Stand up, or I will myself kneel down by you." The Lieutenant assured the unhappy prelate that the King bore him as much goodwill and favour as ever; and though it was necessary he should be sent to trial, there was no doubt he would be able to clear himself from all accusations. "Therefore," said he, "be of good cheer, and when it is your pleasure to take your journey I shall give mine attendance." "If I were as able and as lusty as I had been lately, I would not fail," replied Wolsey, "to ride post with you, but I am sick and very weak. Alas! all these comfortable words which you have spoken to me are only to bring me into a fool's paradise. *I know what is provided for me.* Notwithstanding, I thank you, and will be ready to-morrow."

It was the sentence of death, and he knew it full well; but

his despondency and waning health anticipated the sword of the executioner, and disappointed the malice of his enemies. That night his disease, turning to a violent dysentery, increased rapidly; he became very weak, and was scarce able to stir. The next day he commenced his journey; and lodged at night, still very sick, at Hardwick Hall.[1] The day after he rode to Nottingham, his sickness and infirmity increasing at every stage. On Saturday (November 26) he rode his last stage to Leicester Abbey; "and by the way he waxed so sick that he was divers times likely to have fallen from his mule." As the journey was necessarily impeded by these delays, Sir William and his prisoner did not reach Leicester until late at night; where, on his entering the gates, the Abbot with all his convent went out to meet him, with the light of many torches, and received him with great demonstrations of respect. "To whom my Lord said, 'Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you.'"[2] They then brought him on his mule to the stair's foot of his chamber, where Kingston took him by the arm, and led him up. Immediately he went to his bed. On the Monday morning, "as I stood by his bedside," says Cavendish, "about eight of the clock, the windows being close shut, having lights burning upon the cupboard, I beheld him, as meseemed, drawing fast to his end. He, perceiving my shadow upon the wall by his bedside, asked who was there; and inquiring what was the clock, 'Sir,'" said Cavendish, "'it is past eight of the clock in the morning.' 'Eight of the clock, eight of the clock!' slowly repeated the dying man; 'nay, that cannot be, for by eight of the clock you must lose your master. My time draweth nigh.'"

But even in these last faltering moments he was not allowed to remain unmolested. The King had received information from Northumberland that by an account found in Cawood the Cardinal had in his possession 1,500*l*., of which no portion could be found. Anxious to obtain the money, the King's impatience could brook no delay, although the Cardinal was now on his way to the Tower. He sent a special messenger

[1] In Nottinghamshire, a place of the Earl of Shrewsbury's. Hardwick in Derbyshire did not come into the possession of the family till the reign of Queen Elizabeth.—Ed.

[2] It adds increased interest to these words when it is remembered that in the days of his prosperity Wolsey was chosen a brother of the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine, to which this house belonged, and a participator of its benefits. They had appealed to him in 1518 to maintain their authority over refractory brethren. The Abbot's name was Richard Pexall. See II. p. 1311.

to Kingston, commanding him to examine the Cardinal, and discover where this money was deposited. The commission would have been immediately executed; but the weakness of the Cardinal was so great, and increased so rapidly, that Kingston was obliged to put off the examination till the next day. The same night Wolsey was very sick, and swooned often, but rallied a little at four the next morning, being St. Andrew's Eve (29th November). After taking a little broth, he remembered that it was a fast day. "What though it be, Sir," said his confessor, Dr. Palmes; "ye be excused by reason of your sickness." "Yea," quoth he, "What though? I will eat no more." About seven, Kingston entered the room, intending to fulfil the King's command respecting the money. But seeing the feeble condition of the patient, he endeavoured to encourage him with the usual topic, telling the Cardinal that he was sad and pensive from dread of that which he had no occasion to apprehend. "Well, well, Master Kingston," replied Wolsey, "I see the matter against me, how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have served the King, *He* would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit, this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service. Commend me to his Majesty, beseeching him to call to his remembrance all that has passed between him and me to the present day, and most chiefly in his great matter; then shall his conscience declare whether I have offended him or no. He is a prince of royal courage,[1] and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want part of his appetite he will hazard the loss of one-half of his kingdom. I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but I could never dissuade him." Then urging him to warn the King to have a care of the rapid increase of Lutheranism as destructive to the authority of princes, his words and his voice failed him. His eyes grew fixed and glazed. Incontinently the clock struck eight, and he breathed his last. "And calling to our remembrance," says Cavendish, "his words the day before, how he said that at eight of the clock we should lose our master, we stood looking upon each other, supposing he had prophesied of his departure."

As the lieutenant of the Tower had now no further charge, and was anxious to be gone, the burial was fixed for the next

[1] Courage, *i.e.* spirit.

day. The body was placed in a rude coffin of wood, with mitre, cross, and ring, and other archiepiscopal ornaments. He lay in state until five o'clock in the afternoon, when he was carried down into the church, with great solemnity, by the abbot and convent, with many torches. Here the corpse rested all night in the Lady Chapel, watched by four men holding lights in their hands, whilst the convent chanted the old and solemn office for the dead. About four in the morning, whilst it was yet dark, they sung a mass. By six they had laid him in his grave, on that cold and dreary November morning, unwept and unlamented by all, except by the very few who, for the glory of human nature, amidst so much of baseness, greed, ingratitude, and cruelty, remained loving and faithful to the last.[1]

[1] In the poem of *Griseldis the Second*, to which reference has been made already, the author thus describes the last scenes of Wolsey's life. p. 60.

"In whiche journeyinge by the wayes, doubtles,
Hee tooke certayne pyllys, his stomake to purge,
Replenyshed withe greuous heauynes
For this sodayne tempestyous surge,
Rysinge, as he thought, throughe the Merqueses grudge;
So that of necessytee by the waye
He tooke restynge at Lecestre Abbaye;

"Wheare, thorowe woorkynge of the said peelys,
Whiche, as I herde tell, weare too too manye,
And thorowe sorowe, hymselfe he theare feealys
His life to forgoe witheoute all remeadye;
No longe was the tyme while he dyd theare lye,
Not passing eyght dayes at the veary moste,
Tyll he was foarsed to yealde vpp the goste.

"Before he departed, right Christyanlye
He sent for the Pryor and was confest,
The Euchariste most reuerentlye
Receauynge into his penytent brest,
Askynge God mercye withe harte and moste earnest
For that in his tyme, by will, deade, and thought,
Agaynst His goodnes he had eauer myswrought.

"And to signyfie that hee was penytent,
Certaynlye, the Pryor I herde thus saye,
A shurte of heare was his indument
Next to his bodye, when he thear deadde laye;
For whome hartelye it behoaueth to praye,
Sithe hee heere ended so penytentlye,
To whome, no doubte, God grauntethe His mercye.

"What thoughe he lyued muche remyssyuelye,
Farre oute of the trade of his profession,
Yeat dyinge, as hee dyd, penytentlye,
His sowle, no doubtys, hathe heauyns ingression
By hauynge in harte vycis suppression;
For thoughe mannys life bee neauer so infecte,
God, speciallye, his ende dothe respecte."

Readers of Shakespeare will remember that Griffith, in his description of the Cardinal, utters a similar sentiment, though in fewer words:

"His overthrow heaped happiness upon him;
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,

Cruel to him in his life, the age was not less cruel to his memory. "The cardinal of York," says Chapuys, "died on St. Andrew's day (eve), at a place where king Richard was killed. They are both buried in the same church, which the people call *The Tyrants' Sepulchre*."[1] I draw these remarks to an end by an extract from the letters of the Milanese ambassador, Scarpinello, already mentioned. It is valuable as faithfully reflecting the opinions and rumours of the times.

"I wrote," he says, "on the 17th ultimo, an account of the occurrents here, more especially of the recent arrest of cardinal Wolsey. Subsequently, the King, having determined on his removal to the Tower, sent its constable, Kingston, with a guard to arrest him. Arriving at a place sixty miles off, he found the Cardinal very ill, and in bed; and although the Constable exhorted him to rely on the King's mercy, declaring he was sent to convey him at his own convenience, and he might remain where he was as long as he pleased, at the end of two days he departed this life, drawing a deep and loud sigh at the close of it. Some six hours afterwards there was put into the earth that personage, who had prepared for his remains a more costly mausoleum than any royal or papal monument in the world.[2] This the King intends shall serve for himself, *post multos et felices annos*, and has therefore erased from it the Cardinal's arms.

"It is said that the Cardinal's indisposition was preceded by two very bad symptoms. When first arrested he would take no food, owing to mental depression, and when pressed to do so dysentery followed, and he could retain nothing on his stomach. According to report, his mind never wandered to the last; and, on seeing the Constable, he made his attendants raise him in his bed, where he knelt, and whenever he heard the King's name mentioned, he bowed his head, putting his face downwards. He then asked Kingston where his guards were, and on being told that lodgings had been prepared for them on the ground floor of the castle, he requested they might be brought into his presence. After as many had entered as the place would hold, he raised himself as well as he could, saying that on the day before he had confessed and

And found the blessedness of being little:
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died fearing God."

[1] IV. p. 3054.

[2] This "mausoleum" was in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, till it was removed to St. Paul's and placed upon Nelson's tomb. Scarpinello's words give a very exaggerated notion of its magnificence.—ED.

communicated, and expected to find himself shortly before God's judgment-seat; and as God should judge him, he called them all to witness that he had never thought to do any disservice to the King.

"The nobles, however, who are at the head of this government say, without entering into any details, that the King was induced for great reasons to order the Cardinal's arrest. With him they seized a physician in his service, Messer Augustino, a Venetian, and at the commencement of these proceedings they brought him to London, to the house of the duke of Norfolk, and examined him without violence (*i.e.* the torture). He has found great favour with the Duke, who gives him a good character. It is supposed that his deposition justified the Cardinal's arrest. Certainly the King would not have acted as he has done without good cause. It is undeniable that a few days before his arrest, certain letters of the said Augustino were intercepted, containing a few lines in cipher. According to report, they were addressed to the French ambassador, De Vaux, who was then building a hermitage at Dover. It is said that the cipher merely contained a request for the Christian king to intercede with his Majesty here." Scarpinello then repeats the vulgar rumours, which he did not credit, such as Wolsey's attempt to escape to France, or to Scotland, or to Rome, and his communications with the Pope. He adds, in conclusion, that the King somewhat regretted this catastrophe, more especially as, a few days before the arrest was ordered, in discussing affairs with the Privy Council, he exclaimed, "Every day I miss the cardinal of York."[1]

It would be pleasant to believe that Henry paid even so slight a tribute to the memory of his great minister. Probably he missed his energy, his abilities, his long experience; but he missed and regretted his money more. When Cavendish was summoned to his presence, to give him the details of Wolsey's last hours, the interview lasted the unusual length of an hour and more, "during which time he examined me," says Cavendish, "of divers weighty matters concerning my Lord, wishing that liever than twenty thousand pounds the Cardinal had lived." But he was far more concerned to discover what had

[1] Ven. Cal., iv. 266. The report that he died by poison cannot be maintained. When Granvella in 1531 inquired of Augustine, Wolsey's physician, whether this suspicion was true, he replied, "By no means;" adding that his death was owing to palpitation of the heart and sickness (*atra bilis*) brought on by grief. See Pocock's "Records of the Reformation," ii. 125.

become of the 1,500*l.* with inquiries after which he had troubled the last hours of the dying Cardinal. "Sir," said Cavendish, "I think I can tell your Grace partly where it is." "Yea, can you?" said the King, his curiosity and greed now piqued to the uttermost; "then I pray you tell me, and you shall do us much pleasure, and shall not go unrewarded." Cavendish informed him it was in the hands of a certain priest. "Is this true?" said the King. "Let me alone; keep this gear[1] secret between yourself and me, and let no man be made privy thereto; for if I hear any more of it, I shall know by whom it is come to knowledge. Three may keep counsel, if two be away; and if I thought that my cap knew my counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it."[2] Never had the King spoken a truer word, or described himself more accurately. Few would have thought that, under so careless and splendid an exterior, the very ideal of bluff, open-hearted good humour and frankness, there lay a watchful and secret eye, that marked what was going on, without appearing to mark it; kept its own counsel until it was time to strike, and then struck, as suddenly and remorselessly as a beast of prey. It was strange to witness so much subtlety combined with so much strength.

So fell the great Cardinal. Had he been really guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, so unwearied was the pertinacity and malice of his enemies, that it cannot be doubted they would have been able to furnish more satisfactory evidence of his guilt. Of that guilt they never produced any particulars. They allowed it to rest on the vaguest and most improbable suspicions. The promises made to foreign courts—for the King thought it necessary to justify himself in the eyes of contemporary sovereigns from the charge of injustice and caprice in his extraordinary treatment of his once powerful favourite—were never fulfilled. He was satisfied that the memory of the Cardinal should be buried under a load of infamy, as a cankered and ambitious plotter against his master, who had only been too leniently treated "for his seditious and traitorous misbehaviour." So fell the great Cardinal; and the greatness and the splendour of Henry's reign departed with him. There may be qualities which men desire more than these, and consider more conducive to the interest and happiness of nations; but these will not be denied to Wolsey's administration; nor in these respects can any of his successors be compared with him, for greatness

[1] A favourite word with the King. [2] Cavendish, p. 397.

and magnanimity are not the qualities we should attribute to Cranmer or to Cromwell. From a third-rate kingdom of little account in Europe, Wolsey raised this nation to an equality with the highest. For a time, at all events, peace and war depended on its fiat. It held the scales between the two great contending powers; and if that was any satisfaction to a proud and ambitious prince, Henry had the satisfaction of seeing the two most powerful monarchs of Christendom contending for his favour. No nation ever yet achieved greatness by its internal policy alone. It is only by mixing in the wide theatre of the world, by its external relations, by measuring its strength with others, that any nation attains to eminence; and without greatness even its virtues are apt to reflect the littleness of its vices. With all its faults—and they were not few—in all true nobleness, in all that exalts a people, the reign of Henry VIII. was incomparably superior to that of Henry VII.; yet in all the virtues which exalt the man, in temperance, moderation, self-control, and political sagacity, Henry VII. was far superior to Henry VIII. But able as were the ministers of Henry VII. they have been completely obscured by the brilliant abilities of Wolsey. His name still stands out pre-eminent above all others as the one great statesman before the Reformation; and even now, of the very few who have since deserved that distinction, it is of profounder interest and significance than any other. This is due, perhaps, to two special characteristics: first, that, churchman as he was, he was still more of an Englishman, and the honour and aggrandisement of his country, or rather perhaps of its king, as the head of it, occupied a much higher place in his affections than the exaltation of the ecclesiastical order, or of the hierarchy, of which he was so eminent a member. And, secondly, able and skilful as he was as a politician, and fitted by nature and inclination to shine as a statesman, the man was not, as in other instances, totally absorbed in the politician. The impression of his feelings and affections is visible in his measures, and in all his foreign policy. And though by some this may be considered as a defect, and as detracting from his unquestionable ability as a statesman, it invests his life and career with far more interest for the historian than if he had been the mere pale and bloodless representative of a transient political system. So much more permanent is any phase of human nature, however remote from modern types, than the most ingenious and successful political combinations, the

most suprising feats of strategy, or the greatest victories of mere diplomacy.

No man was less disposed to persecution; or, upon the whole, though furiously attacked with satire, misrepresentation, and the grossest abuse, from all sides, less inclined to avenge himself. When the Reformers held him up to popular execration for the splendour and magnificence of his houses, his entertainments, and his retinue, he bore their reproaches with indifference. He even condescended on one occasion to hold a personal conference with one of the most eminent among his assailants, and to hear with patience his objections, and to reply in his own defence. And it must be admitted that in defending himself, and justifying his assumption of so much dignity and splendour, he had far the best of the argument.[1] That he was lofty and sour with the lofty and overbearing feudal aristocracy of the age, who could not endure a rival near the throne, still less a rival of such consummate ability, may be admitted. But that, in the poet's words, he was "sweet as summer" to those who sought him or requested his favour—that he was a considerate and generous master, and willing to acknowledge and reward merit in those about him, there are numerous indications in these volumes.

No man ever met with harder measure from his contemporaries; and never was the verdict of contemporaries less challenged than in his case by subsequent inquirers. In no instance has mankind been less careful to test and analyze motives and actions; nor have they ever shown themselves more ready to accept obloquy heaped upon the memory of the dead, with less discrimination or hesitation. They have accepted the estimate of his character and conduct from those who were specially concerned to misrepresent and blacken both. To the professor of the old faith Wolsey was nothing less than the author and promoter of the divorce, the unscrupulous opponent of the Pope, the enemy of her whose cause was bound up with the survival of the old religion. To the Reformer he was the type of the wealth, the luxury, and the worldliness of the ancient church, which the Reformer hated and despised. He was the proud prelate who, by his insolence and ambition, had overshadowed the salutary influence of the royal authority, and represented in his own person and actions the intolerable aggressions of the spiritual on the temporal authority. No one, indeed, accused him of persecution; for

[1] See his curious discussion with Dr. Barnes in Singer's edition of Cavendish.

it was notorious that in the three short years of the chancellorship of the mildest and kindest of men, Sir Thomas More, persecution raged more bitterly than during the whole twenty years of Wolsey's administration.

From either of these—for the nation was sharply divided into two portions, who could neither understand nor esteem each other's position, and were only unanimous in condemning the one man of the age who rigidly belonged to neither—it is impossible to obtain a just, fair, or discriminating estimate of Wolsey's character or measures. A reformer, so far as to show no especial interest in maintaining the strict ultramontanism of doctrine or discipline of his own time; an earnest promoter of education and the new learning, if not unfriendly to the religious orders, yet anxious to convert their endowments to better uses;—he was still a faithful adherent to the ancient faith and practice, in his love of splendid ceremonial, in his political dislike of Lutheranism, in his conviction of the need of a great central spiritual authority to preserve the peace and unity of Christendom. If he had lived longer; if, like Richelieu, whom he resembled in the grandeur of his conceptions, in his sense of reorganization, in his vast powers of work, he had had for his master a king like Louis XIII. instead of Henry VIII.;—he would probably have introduced into England reforms as great, as extensive, and as permanent. The wasteful expenditure of the King's household he reduced into order, and placed upon a more rigid and economical footing; and for this cause he incurred the displeasure of all those menials and thriftless gentlemen who found their advantage in the idleness, luxury, and prodigality of an ill-regulated and disorderly establishment. He devised stricter and more equitable regulations for the Court of Chancery, which from that time began to rise into its present importance, and thus incurred the hatred and displeasure of powerful suitors and unscrupulous advocates. He had intended to convert the monastic institutions, wholly or in part, to the higher purposes of education, and enforce the retirement of inefficient and imbecile abbots; and for this he was detested and opposed by the religious orders. He had proposed to redeem by an equitable arrangement the annates and firstfruits paid by the clergy to the Court of Rome, and, without breaking with the Pope, to render his relations with the Church of England more simple and more equitable. An economist, exercising a salutary restraint on the King's

tendency to prodigality and extravagance, he had intended to reform the finances, and bring the irresponsible expenditure of the sovereign within juster limits; for in those ages the King had complete control over the revenue, and no account was rendered of the sums lavished upon crafty and worthless favourites. But in all these projects, and many more, devised for the good of the Church and of the State, he was hampered by the will of an imperious master, who was apt to listen to interested advisers; and when once he had given ear to their suggestions, whatever they put into his head, none of his ablest councillors could ever put out again.[1]

During the last years of his life his energies were so completely absorbed by the divorce, that whatever designs he entertained for the good of the nation were necessarily curtailed or blighted, or had to be abandoned. To that divorce, in the first instance, he was vigorously opposed, not because he was aware of the King's affection for Anne Boleyn, or because he was at this time afraid that his own authority would be impaired by her ascendancy. If he had succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Court of Rome to her marriage with the King, he would probably have been as acceptable to her as to Henry himself. At all events he was not likely to find in her a worse friend than in Queen Katharine. But perceiving that the King's mind was fully resolved, and knowing better than any man how impossible it was to shake his determination, he stooped to that which he considered was unavoidable. It is absurd to suppose that he was not sincere in promoting the divorce: the contrary is evident from all his correspondence. It is equally absurd to suppose that he held secret communications with the Court of Rome for the purpose of thwarting the King's wishes. The King was fully persuaded of the nullity of his marriage. He regarded it as a breach of those divine laws with which no Pope could dispense. How he had arrived at that conclusion, or how far his wishes agreed with his arguments, it is needless to inquire here. He had studied the subject for years; had listened to the arguments of divines and canonists; until, as Campeggio himself remarked, no man was better master of the whole subject, or could add anything to his knowledge. The question was one of considerable difficulty, and if his judgment had not been

[1] "I warn you, be well advised and assured," was his dying remark to Kingston, "what matter ye put in his head, for ye shall never get it out again." Cavendish, p. 389.

swayed by motives no one can defend, and his conduct marked with deceit and violence towards his Queen, there was nothing in the mere discussion of the question any one could fairly condemn. Nor was the solution of it so easy as some have imagined. Foreign Reformers, like Luther and Melancthon, acting on the principle *fieri non debuit, factum valet*, admitted the illegality of the marriage, even when they condemned the divorce. The English nobility and prelates were divided in their opinions; the common people generally, swayed by their feelings and a sentiment of pity, espoused the part of Katharine. Yet there wanted not arguments for the other side:—the dread of a disputed succession, the great disparity of years, the apprehension of increasing evils to come, the certainty that the divorce would in effect be real, if it were not nominally conceded; the intense necessity of a king to the nation in the growing religious and civil confusion of the times, in the weakness and debasement of all other authority, spiritual as well as secular. For a king, and a strong one—an arbitrary one, if need be, rather than a weak and powerless ruler—men were prepared to sacrifice many scruples. For without a king who had a will of his own, and was prepared to assert it, the nation, they felt, would be left in its own hands, without a head to guide it; and for lack of good order in the common weal, "utter destruction and desolation would come upon the realm," and with it, as Wolsey believed, the ruin of the Church and the reign of infidelity.

Nor were the obligations of marriage so well understood in those days as they are now. They had become grossly perverted by dispensations, and the subtle distinctions of the canonists. The solution of matrimonial questions was too frequent and too fertile a source of profit to the ecclesiastical courts to be simplified or diminished. The ease with which divorces were granted to those who could afford to pay for them, was the occasion of no little confusion in the minds of the laity, not to say a pregnant source of immorality.

To many, therefore, the divorce of Henry VIII. offered nothing strange: to many it was a mere question for the Church to decide, and if the Church had decided the result, it would have been accepted as a matter of course, and neither Katharine nor her friends could possibly have objected. But the question for decision, in the first instance, was whether there was any need to refer to the Papal Court in a matter so obvious. For, let it be observed, it was not a divorce that was

required of the Pope, as is sometimes imagined. It would have been no very unusual stretch of the Papal prerogative to declare that marriage with a brother's wife was illegal; for if it had been legal, what necessity was there for a dispensation from Julius II.? What Henry really required was that Clement should pronounce the dispensation of his predecessor illegal. If that could be obtained the dissolution of his marriage with Katharine would follow, as a matter of course, and no formal dissolution was needed. The King had at first resolved to treat it as a nullity, and regard his marriage as void *ab initio*. To Wolsey this seemed to be a perilous disregard of what was due to the supreme authority of the Church, whose aid had been invoked to legalize the marriage, and could not now be unceremoniously set aside by a king who had signalized himself throughout Christendom for his assertion of the Papal authority, at a time when, from the spread of Lutheranism and Lollardism, as Wolsey regarded it, the most dangerous disregard was everywhere exhibited for civil and spiritual authority. And let it be remembered—otherwise his policy and character will appear wholly unintelligible—that the one was necessary to the other, and the stability of both was essential to the peace and maintenance of society. To both Lollardism was destructive, as he thought. Unlike the majority of Henry's councillors, Wolsey did not take upon himself to dispute the nullity of the marriage; but he insisted that, for the avoiding of public scandal, the Church, which had been called in to legalize and consecrate the marriage, should now be required to revoke its act, and declare the dispensation invalid by its supreme representative, or permit a court in England to declare it. This could not be done without the Pope's sanction, for no authority less than his could invalidate the authority of a Pope. Round this point the whole discussion centred; Henry contending that the dispensation had been granted on insufficient grounds; that it claimed to override obligations it could not overrule; eventually, that it was a forgery, or invalidated by a subsequent decision. This is clear from the Pope's reply. If the King, he urged, is satisfied with the nullity of his marriage, let him proceed to second nuptials: but to invalidate, as he was asked to do, the acts of his predecessor; still more, on *ex parte* statements to delegate his authority to a commission, and suffer no appeal to himself—these things it was not in his office as Supreme Judge to grant. It is obvious that the

two great principles which came into fatal conflict at the Reformation were here involved, and the attempt to combine and reconcile the two was impossible. If the Papal authority was to be maintained, a final appeal to the Pope in all matters connected with his supremacy must be permitted: if the independence of national churches, of kings and their courts, is to be preferred, then any appeal from their decisions to external authority cannot be allowed. The experiment was now tried to accommodate the two, and ended, as might have been anticipated, in a signal failure.

It is nothing to the point whether in these negociations Clement was guilty of timidity, or even had recourse to evasions to avoid the King's importunity. He had penetration enough to see that the question in dispute really involved the maintenance of his spiritual supremacy, and the independence of the Holy See. If he had yielded to the menaces or the flattery of the King and his ministers, if he had parted with any portion of his jurisdiction and authority at their desire, in so important a case as this, he would not only have sacrificed to his own wishes or personal convenience the rights and dignity of his office, but would have completely betrayed that ecclesiastical jurisdiction and order he was bound to uphold, and of which he was the professed head and representative. Marriage was a sacrament. From the earliest days of Christianity all questions connected with it, as an ecclesiastical rite, had been finally settled by ecclesiastical authority. To abandon the right of such determination now, to give it over into other hands, to let it be settled by any court not acting by his express consent, or independent of his sanction—in fact, by any national court whose decision should be final, and from which there should be no appeal, what was this except to set up some special court above the court of Christendom? What else, but to concede the principle of the Reformation?

To the King, of course, it was a matter of no moment whether the spiritual authority, hitherto universally admitted on these matters, suffered or not, provided he obtained his divorce. But to Wolsey it is clear that the difficulty presented itself at the outset; though he did not well see how the collision could be avoided. Unable to resist the imperious desires of the King, conscious of his own personal danger, perhaps influenced by considerations as a statesman, and the necessity of avoiding greater perils, he was anxious for the

divorce; if that could be obtained, *salvo jure ecclesiastico*, he probably thought that any informality would be sufficiently atoned for by the increased support thus secured for the spiritual supremacy by the gratitude of his master. Moreover, ecclesiastic as he was, he was not a divine, but a statesman; much less of a divine, as he was much more of a statesman, than Sir Thomas More. Above all, he was an Englishman of the sixteenth century, profoundly impressed, as Englishmen then were, with the greatness and nobility of his nation; believing also, as Englishmen then did, that its welfare and its aggrandizement depended on the authority and aggrandizement of its monarch. Neither he nor they felt any apprehension lest that authority should be unduly exercised, whether they were reformers like Tyndall and Cranmer, or opposed, like Wolsey himself, to the subversive and vague tendencies of the Reformation. The King was the centre of English society and of English nationality; round him all parties revolved with unhesitating obedience—alike those who wished to see him independent of all spiritual control, and his authority enlisted in favour of the Reformation, as those who believed that such authority was the strongest barrier against dangerous innovations, and the surest safeguard for the Church. The temptation was great; still more so as each party narrowly scanned the strength or progress of its opponents, and looked upon the King as the sole arbiter of the contest. So both were concerned to magnify the royal authority as much as possible, and oppose it as little as they might, not criticizing narrowly Henry's actions or his wishes, but blindly believing that in serving him they were serving the highest interests of the Faith which they professed.[1] If Wolsey, in his grief, disgrace, and leisure moments, regarded his service to the King as incompatible with his service to God, this was not the conviction of his stronger hours, nor yet of many others besides himself. Possibly all that he meant by those memorable words was not the incompatibility of the two in themselves, but that the hours necessarily occupied by secular employments had detracted too much from those opportunities of prayer, devotion, and contemplation, in which the service of God consisted, and for which the

[1] Even Luther, independent and courageous as he was, and indifferent to the assistance and judgment of men, showed himself by no means indifferent to the aid of princes and sovereigns; nor did he think it inconsistent with his profession of confidence in God to call upon kings and emperors to interpose their authority in favour of the Reformation.

monastic and religious institutions and practices of his times furnished so many opportunities, and held out numerous examples.

No statesman of such eminence ever died less lamented. On no one did his own contemporaries pile a greater load of obloquy; not one stone of which has posterity seriously attempted to remove. Even his kindliest of biographers, Cavendish, rather regards his life as pointing a moral against loftiness and ambition; as if this were all—as if kings were never ungrateful, or the world was always infallible in its verdict. The greatest of dramatists lifted the veil for a moment; and, notwithstanding his intense respect for the general judgment of mankind, and the universal impression of his own days, saw that there was a better and a brighter side, which even the unanimous and uncritical prejudices of history and tradition could not wholly obscure. To men whose knowledge and estimation of such events were exclusively derived from the pages of Foxe and Hall, this defence of the Cardinal, beautiful, yet slight and insufficient as it was, put in the mouth of Katharine's receiver, must have appeared no less remarkable for its boldness than for its innovation on long established prejudices. Protestant and even Catholic historians had shut every avenue to clearer and more faithful intelligence. They had followed each other, repeating the same idle stories, the same misrepresentations of facts, the same unfounded assumptions, the same blind disregard of motives. The bitterness and unscrupulousness of party, the exaggeration of satirists, official injustice, indifferent alike to the reputations and the lives of men, had all been accepted as so many trustworthy and independent witnesses, whose evidence was not to be examined or disputed. Yet in spite of all these heavy imputations on his memory, in spite of all this load of obloquy, obscuring our view of the man, and distorting his lineaments, the Cardinal still remains, and will ever remain, as the one prominent figure of this period. The interest concentrated in his life, character, and actions is not eclipsed by any of his contemporaries. The violent calumnies resting on his memory have in some degree been already lightened by juster and clearer views of the events of his time, and the characters of the chief agents. It needs not apprehend an examination still more rigid and more dispassionate. Not free from faults, by any means, especially from those faults and failings the least consistent with his ecclesiastical profes-

sion, the Cardinal was perfectly free from those meaner though less obtrusive vices which disfigured the age and the men that followed him—vices to which moralists are tolerant, and the world indulgent. Magnificent in all his designs and doings, he inspired a grandeur and a loftiness into the minds of Englishmen, of which he himself was a conspicuous example, such as had not been found in this nation from the days of Henry V. He extorted deference and respect for his master and his country, from kings, popes, and emperors, when they were as unwilling as they had been unused to grant it. Left to himself, or to such councillors as Cromwell or Cranmer, if we may judge by his actions after Wolsey's death, Henry VIII. would have inaugurated no grand policy, he would not have extended his thoughts beyond his pleasures and the means of providing for them. Even for these he would scarcely have ventured to defy the Pope and the opinion of Europe, which he so much coveted, had he not by Wolsey's policy converted his hereditary enemy into his ally; had he not also, by Wolsey's policy and sagacity, been transformed from a third-rate and precarious monarch into the head of a great nation, and the arbiter of Christendom. Ruler of England alone, in the face of a great confederacy, headed by Francis I. and Charles V., menaced by Scotland on one side, and by Ireland on the other, the Pope might have found in him as faithful a vassal as in his father, and Anne Boleyn would never have worn the crown of Katharine. On these things, however, it is useless to speculate; but when historians insist on the greatness and energy of the Tudor sovereign, it should be remembered that it was Wolsey who led the way; it was the reign of Henry VIII. that was present to the minds of his most energetic successors.

At the time of his death he was 59[1] years of age and left two children, a son and a daughter, "by one Lark's daughter," according to the words of the indictment,[2] who was afterwards married to "one Leghe of Aldington." On this

[1] Such is the statement of Fiddes and Cavendish; but it seems more probable that he was not more than 57. According to the letter of the Abbot of Winchcombe (I. 5355), he was not yet 40 when he attained the dignity of Archbishop of York. This would bring the year of his birth to 1474, and not 1471, as Fiddes gives it. And this accords with the remark of Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, who states, in 1519, that Wolsey was then about 46 years old. (See vol. I. p. 60.) Of course, if the statement of Cavendish be correct, that on his last Maundy he washed the feet of 59 poor men, that is, a man for every year of his life, there could be no doubt as to his age. But in details of this nature Cavendish is not to be implicitly trusted.

[2] IV. 6075, art. 38.

son, who went by the name of Wynter, Dean of Wells, he bestowed numerous preferments.[1] He was carefully educated in Paris, and had in succession various eminent scholars for his instructors; among others, Maurice Byrchynshaw,[2] with whom he studied at Louvain. In 1523 he was with Clerk in Italy, but was obliged to return in consequence of his health, and was settled shortly after in Paris, under the tuition of Lupset.[3] At the Cardinal's disgrace he was stripped of most of his preferments, and complains in a letter to Cromwell, written about 1533, that he had fallen into distress, and had been abandoned by most of the friends he had known in his prosperity. He outlived Cromwell, who appears to have befriended him in his troubles, for in 1543 he resigned the archdeaconry of Cornwall, which he had held since 1537. After that date I have not been able to discover any trace of him. He had among his most intimate friends, and apparently for his instructor in his palmy days, a celebrated Scotch scholar, named Florentius Volusenus (Wolsey or Wilson) whose wonderful command of the Latin tongue, even at the time when the style of Cicero was so assiduously cultivated, attracted the admiration of Sadoleti and the most fastidious of the great Italian scholars. Wynter's letters to Cromwell are not unworthy of his master, as models of ease, elegance, and pure Latinity. To judge by his correspondence, he had very little of his reputed father's energy, ambition, or ability, still less of his delight in the stormy winds and waves of statesmanship. He was mild and gentle, and either unable or unwilling to cope with the hardships of life, still less with the harder times and men of his own generation. He had imbibed a taste for literary ease, and made no effort to advance himself, or even preserve the promotions heaped upon him by the Cardinal, and ruthlessly plucked from him by the selfishness of those who owed their advancement to Wolsey's favour. On the dispersion of Wynter's household at Wolsey's fall, Volusenus entered the service of the celebrated Du Bellay,

[1] See them in Fiddes, Life of Wolsey, p. 530.

[2] II. p. 1438, III. p. 179 (A.D. 1519), where he is described as a boy beginning to speak Latin. This would seem to imply that he was born about 1509.

[3] Lupset was in Wolsey's service. In his "Exhortation to Young Men," he says, "I lay waiting on my lord Cardinal, whose hours I must observe to be always at hand, lest I be called when I am not by; the which should be straight taken for a fault of great negligence. Wherefore, now that I am well satiated with the beholding of these gay hangings that garnish here every wall, I will turn me and talk with you" (Edmund Withipol). Aug. 24, 1529. At the More.

Bishop of Paris, and afterwards visited Sadoleti, who was much struck with his appearance, manners, and scholarship. Sadoleti has left an interesting record of his conversation at dinner with an eminent physician, in which Volusenus showed himself in all respects far superior in ease and good temper to his doughty opponent, as he was superior to him in learning and philosophy. It is only right to state that Volusenus in this interview asserted that Wynter was the son of Wolsey's brother; an evidence not to be outweighed, if that were all, by the assertions of Bale, who merely repeats the popular rumour, or by the charge in the Act of Attainder, to which I have already referred; for such Acts in those days were drawn up without any regard to precision and accuracy, and embodied every form of popular rumour or suspicion against the accused.[1]

But whatever may be the truth of Wynter's paternity, it is certain that Wolsey left behind him a daughter, who was committed, under the name of Dorothy Clansey, to the care of the Abbess of Shaftesbury, where she afterwards became a nun. When the house was suppressed in 1540 she received a pension of 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and was living in the year 1553.[2] The following curious letter contains the only other particulars of her history with which I am acquainted :—

"Right honorable, after most humble commendations, I likewise beseech you that the contents of this my simple letter may be secret; and that forasmuch as I have great cause to go home, I beseech your good mastership to command Master Herytage to give attendance upon your mastership for the knowledge of your pleasure in the said secret matter, which is this: my lord Cardinal caused me to put a young gentlewoman to the monastery [of] St. Mary of Shaftesbury, and there to be professed, and willed her to be named my daughter; and the truth is, she was his daughter; and now by your visitation she hath commandment to depart, and knoweth not whither; wherefore I humbly beseech your mastership to direct your letter to the abbess there, that she may there continue at her full age, to be professed. Without doubt she is either 24 years full, or shall be at such time of the year as she was born, which was about Michaelmas. In this your doing your mastership shall do a very charitable deed, and also bind her and me to do you such service as lieth in our little powers, as knoweth our Lord God, whom I humbly beseech prosperously and long to preserve you.

"Your orator,
"JOHN CLASEY (CLANSEY)."

[1] Volusenus is the author of the *Dialogus de Animi Tranquillitate*, written apparently in 1542, at Lyons. He refers to English affairs, and mentions Stephen Gardiner, then Bishop of Winchester, and others with whom he was acquainted but makes no reference to Wynter. He was alive in 1546; how long after, I cannot discover. He died at Vienne, in Dauphiné.

[2] Browne Willis, Hist. of Abb., ii. 70.

This letter is addressed "to the right honorable and his most especial good master, Master Cromwell, secretary to our sovereign lord the King," and must have been written between the years 1534 and early in 1536; and this would carry the date of her birth back to 1510 or 1511.

It is to be observed that both of these children were born of the same mother, though neither bore her name; and further, that both of them were born before Wolsey was created a bishop, first of Tournay, afterwards of Lincoln. Whether, like other ecclesiastics (as Cranmer), he was married to their mother—so far, that is to say, as such marriages could be regarded as valid, which were not, and could not be, celebrated in the face of the Church or acknowledged by the laws of the land—it is impossible to say. Clandestine marriages among the parochial clergy were not unfrequent; especially in the sixteenth century, when clerical discipline had become relaxed by the confusion of the civil wars and the general disorganization of Europe. In England the celibacy of the priesthood was never universal. It never could be universally enforced. In the more remote districts it was openly set at nought. Here, as in other Catholic countries at the present day, or at least until recently, the marriage of the parochial clergy had to be tolerated more generally than is supposed;—marriage, that is, which depended only on the consent of the parties, at a time when none were legal without the sanction of the Church. But as in all higher promotions, for which the consent of the Pope was required, the strict Roman law of celibacy could be enforced, the parties separated by mutual agreement. Allusions to this disastrous state of things are frequent among the writings of the Reformers. Its effects on the morality of the age need not be described; but, what with the example of the clergy, and the intricacies of the canon law in reference to marriage, dispensations, and divorces, the relations between the two sexes had fallen into the greatest confusion.[1] But

[1] In enforcing celibacy among the clergy it was Gregory's object to wean them from lay vices and lay occupations; to prevent them from making benefices hereditary in their families; to preserve and insure discipline in a very corrupt condition of the Church. And as the provision for the clergy at that time was small and meagre, he thought celibacy would be the best means for preventing those scandals which are apt to arise, where a needy married clergy have to support families upon an inadequate income, and eke it out by employments ill suited to their spiritual functions. In a wealthy country like ours, and in the face of strong public opinion, such precautions are needless, not to say mischievous. But in the enforcement of discipline for offences, there will always be this difficulty, which every police magistrate has to face, that of punishing the innocent wife and

justice requires that when historians bring charges of immorality against the clergy, especially from the records of the Consistory Courts, they should remember that in many instances such offences involved no greater transgression of the moral law than the civil marriage of the priesthood does to this day among nations acknowledging allegiance to the Pope; such marriages, for instance, as are now contracted by the English prelates and clergy, and were contracted by Cranmer and others before the Reformation. For the sanction of the civil law weighs nothing with the ecclesiastical.

It will, I think, appear extraordinary to many, that after his bitter disappointment the King should still have prosecuted his divorce in the Court of Rome with no less assiduity than before. As he had fully resolved to marry Anne Boleyn—if he were not married to her already;[1] as he had more than once expressed his anger against the Pope in the most aggravated and contumelious terms;—what was to prevent him from throwing off the Papal supremacy at once, and following the bent of his own inclinations? Was the nation riper for this step in 1534 than it was in 1529? Without anticipating what may have to be said hereafter, I must express my conviction that Henry never, in the first instance, seriously contemplated separation from Rome, and, until the inevitable step was reluctantly forced upon him, would gladly have avoided it. He was a victim to his own devices. Throughout the divorce, and even after the fall of his great minister, two purposes are evident in all his actions—an intense desire to marry Anne Boleyn, and an equally intense desire to compass this object with the sanction and approbation of the Pope. When that approbation was withheld, in spite of the prayers of Wolsey and the menaces of the King himself, he did not abandon all hope, still less all effort, to obtain it. Had he obtained it, there would have been no Reformation in his reign, at least so far as the King could personally have prevented it. Even after his marriage with Anne Boleyn, he still sought the Pope's concurrence, and urgently deprecated his disapprobation. His wrath and indignation upon finding himself disappointed, his unsuccessful efforts in persuading Francis I. to follow and support his example, all show how

children for the husband's offences, and starving them whilst the bread-winner of the family is prevented from gaining a livelihood. In the case of a celibate this evil does not occur.

[1] The date of his marriage is a mystery.

bitterly he felt his position. How great was the value he set upon the Pope's approval is manifest by the violent terms in which he denounced the Papal authority and pretensions, seeking to gratify his mortification by the ignoble expedient of reviling the Pope's conduct, and blotting out his name from all books and manuscripts.

Nor is this strange. Above all monarchs the Tudors were covetous of popularity. None were more restless or more concerned than they to stand well in the opinion of the world, and of their subjects especially. The whole life of Henry VIII., till within the last few years, had been spent in displaying to admiring eyes the splendour of his person and the perfection of his bodily accomplishments. When the praises these provoked had failed to please, or seemed mechanical and monotonous, he had come forward to display his Latinity and his other theological accomplishments, in a task still most august and redoubtable—no less than that of shoring up the declining authority of the Papacy. And no knight-errant who had slaughtered a magician or a giant regarded his feat with greater satisfaction than did Henry regard his championship of the Holy See. It had won for him, or he was told that it had, the gratitude of the Pope and the applause of Christendom. More than all, it had gained for him the title of Defender of the Faith—a distinction he was not inclined to surrender, even when he had ceased to deserve it.

To us these things are pale and shadowy—*vox et præterea nihil*, for Protestantism has trampled on and degraded the Papacy. To us the braggadocio of King John has come to express a national sentiment:—

> "Thou canst not, Cardinal, devise a name
> So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous,
> To charge me to an answer, as the Pope."

Then it was far otherwise. The Papacy was not only the highest but it was the oldest monarchy of Europe. Compared with it all other kingships and dignities were of recent growth; —no small consideration at a time when aristocracy and long descent were so highly valued. It was fenced round with traditions mounting up to Heaven. It had been the great and chosen instrument of God for propagating and preserving the lore, the faith, and the love of Christ among ignorant and unsophisticated nations—a prophet among babes, an apostle among barbarians. It had been the chief, at one

time the sole, depository of wisdom, art, law, literature, and science to uninstructed and admiring men. Whether St. Peter founded or not a primacy at Rome might be a question of interest and importance to the disputants of the seventeenth and the nineteenth century: it was of no import whatever to men before the Reformation. Circumstances quite independent of St. Peter; deeds which the Middle Ages could understand, services of the highest nature rendered to mankind, the silent and even the obtrusive attestation of spiritual truths, of spiritual order and authority rising above the confusion and the janglings of this world;—these and similar influences were the true causes of the primacy of St. Peter. For these, kings and emperors felt themselves constrained to bow down before the representative of a heavenly authority, and grovel for reconciliation and forgiveness at his footstool. To be at amity with the Pope, to be dignified with some distinction as his champion or assistant in the Faith, was an honour coveted beyond all others. It was the more highly esteemed because it was extended to very few. To be one of so select a circle was to hold a higher rank in the comity of nations. To stand aloof, to be excluded, was to forfeit a distinction which kings and their subjects coveted and appreciated. Looking at the whole career of Henry, considering his education, the influence of long custom, his own character, the subtle influence pervading the very atmosphere of the time, it would be unnatural to suppose that he now intended to break entirely with Rome, and stand alone in his defiance of the Pope's authority. It is unlikely that he would have braved the good opinion of Christendom, had he not been betrayed into a position from which escape was impossible.

To this result he was brought by slow and silent steps. He had so long threatened to break with the Pope, that he was compelled at last to make his own threats good. For his own purposes he had done so much to encourage attacks upon the Papacy, to question its dispensing power, to menace its authority, that to retrace his steps, had he felt inclined to attempt it, was impossible. The marriage of Anne Boleyn completed the recoil. He had stooped down from monarchy to match with a plebeian. He had forfeited his rank among the rulers of Christendom. It mattered little to take one step further, and sacrifice his place among Christian rulers, whose dignity and rule were endorsed and authenticated by the Pope.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CONCLUSION.

THERE are other subjects connected with the history of this period, on which I have not time or space to enlarge. They must be left to another occasion. Yet two of them, regarded by some as of the utmost importance, must not be left wholly unnoticed. I refer to Tyndall's translation of the New Testament in 1527, and the meeting of Parliament in 1529. The two have, of late, been blended together in popular imagination, as if there were some necessary and inseparable connection between them. It has been supposed that this Parliament differed greatly in its character, independence, and aims, from all its predecessors; that it was animated with a spirit of liberty never manifested before, and with a resolution to remove ancient abuses—of the clergy especially —the burthen of which had now become intolerable. So novel a spirit in an assembly, gathered, as it had been before, from known supporters of the Court, and generally returned at the King's nomination, has been attributed to the new doctrines disseminated by Tyndall and others, and especially to the effects produced by the circulation of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue. From this training, it has been supposed that the Parliament of 1529, gathering up its loins to a final and effectual struggle with the ancient Faith, nerved itself to a resolution of shaking off the domination of the clergy, undeterred by the threats of the Crown, much less of the Pope. It must be a very lively imagination, indeed, that can find in the dry records and authenticated proceedings of this Parliament any support for such captivating notions. There is no ground for imagining that it differed much from other Parliaments assembled by the Tudors, in the mode of its election, in the choice of its members, in the measures it passed, or in its exemption from the dictation and interference of the Crown. The choice of the electors was still determined by the King,

or his powerful ministers, with as much certainty and assurance as that of the sheriffs. Independence of discussion prevailed so far, and on such questions, as the Crown thought good; no further, and no more. As Henry required no grants of money from his Parliament, as he was now engaged in no war, was exacting from the clergy, by the Act of Præmunire, a larger sum than he could ever have expected from Parliament, he was independent of its decisions. To him, as to others of his race, Parliament was nothing better than a court to register the King's decrees, and assume a responsibility for acts, the unpopularity of which he did not care to take upon himself. To foreign powers—of whose good opinion he was exceedingly jealous, and who knew nothing of our English Constitution—it was convenient to make it appear that his people, not he, were the authors of his severity against his ministers and the clergy. He had good reason, therefore, to write to the Pope that "the discussions of the English Parliament were free and unrestricted;"—as, of course, they were, so long as such discussions were kept within the direction and the limits prescribed by the Crown. Of these remarks, the election of a member of this Parliament, not the least important, furnishes a very fair proof. In answer to Cromwell's inquiries, who had despatched him to London for the purpose of securing his election, Ralph Sadleyr writes, that he had spoken with Mr. Gage, the vice-chamberlain, at Court, and, according to Cromwell's command, had requested him to speak with the Duke of Norfolk for "a burgess's room of the Parliament," on Cromwell's behalf. In compliance with this request, the Duke had spoken to the King on the subject, who was content that Cromwell should be elected if he would "follow the Duke's instructions." Sadleyr adds: "It will be well for you to speak with the duke of Norfolk as soon as possible to-morrow, to know the King's pleasure how you shall order yourself in the Parliament House."[1] The evidence that the King throughout his reign interfered with the elections for Parliament, determined its measures, regulated its debates, is too clear and too abundant to be disputed. It faithfully reflected the King's wishes and his policy, as shadowed forth in the acts of his chief minister for the time; and there is no reason to suppose that the Parliament of 1529 formed any exception to this rule, or was more independent than its predecessors.

[1] Nov. 1, 1529: IV. p. 3178.

It was not from Parliament, but from Convocation, that the King had to anticipate any show of independence or opposition. The former was as tame and submissive as the most arbitrary monarch could desire; and there is scarcely an instance on record, in this or any succeeding Parliament throughout the reign, of a parliamentary patriot protesting against a single act of the Crown, however unjust and tyrannical it might be. Convocation had, at least, the advantage in this respect: it did resist, though its resistance was short and ineffectual. Consequently, the King, in his desire to concentrate all the powers of the State in his own hands, spared the Parliament and the laity, depriving the Convocation of its independence, on the Tudor maxim—

Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.

Nor, in examining the lists of the members, do they appear by any means to have been impregnated with the spirit of reform, or to have been influenced by that broad and bold temperament which rises to the surface in times of popular effervescence and excitement. Many of them belonged to a profession more remarkable for its mild conservatism than for the audacity of political fugle-men, who despise all precedents, and are indifferent to the law and its professors. Lawyers are not in general enemies to things established; they are not inimical to the clergy, though they may sometimes despise the pretensions of the clergy, or entertain a professional dislike to the Canon Law, and the fees exacted by the ecclesiastical courts. So was it on this occasion. The Parliament of 1529, instead of any burning questions, any heroic assertion of spiritual freedom or the rights of conscience, directed its first attention to mortuary fees, to fines for probates taken by the ecclesiastical courts, to regulations for executors, to pluralities, and the like. The other reforms inaugurated by it were equally professional and unpretending: "—Concerning delays in Assizes;" "Recoveries by Covyn;" "Restitution to persons robbed by felons." Their loftiest efforts in the direction of morality and religion rise to no higher level than an Act "to release the King from repayment of the loans he had borrowed;" another, to the "Rearing of calves;" a third to "Limiting the price of woollen hats made beyond sea;" a fourth to the "true making of cables at Bridport in Dorsetshire."[1] Like moderate and sober men, they proceeded,

[1] See the Acts in the Rolls of the Parliament, and IV. p. 2690.

gravely and deliberately. Not one of them imagined he was armed with a hammer to break down institutions and usages which had stood for centuries. They were lawyers and country gentlemen entertaining unlimited notions of the royal prerogative. If the King wished to burn heretics, they were willing he should burn them. If he wished to threaten the Pope by abolishing annates and firstfruits, they offered no objection. Parliament did not pay them. With them it would have been equally orthodox and scriptural to pass an Act at one time for asserting the King's supremacy, and at another the Six Articles denouncing the Creed of Protestantism. In the reign of Henry VIII. the Reformation is the work of the King, in all respects, as far as it went, and of his minister Cromwell. It was otherwise under Edward VI. and Elizabeth.

And as there is no indication whatever that Parliament was influenced in its temper or deliberations by Tyndall's translations or polemical writings, there is also no reason for thinking that his books were regarded by the nation in general in any other light than as books forbidden by competent authority. Parliament made no attempt to remove the restrictions imposed on their importation into England. It expressed no sympathy whatever with the Reformers; nor does it ever appear to have made the least effort in behalf of the preachers of the new Faith. Tyndall and his friends remained in hopeless exile. Their writings were proscribed and burnt. Those who remained in England, and held the same tenets, were more fiercely persecuted than in the days of Wolsey, who was better satisfied that a heretic should wear a faggot on his sleeve than feel the effects of its flames upon his person. Nor, indeed, is it possible that Tyndall's writings and translations could at this early period have produced any such impression, as is generally surmised, or have fallen into the hands of many readers. His works were printed abroad; their circulation was strictly forbidden; the price of them was far beyond the means of the poorer classes, even supposing that the knowledge of letters was at that time more generally diffused than it was for centuries afterwards. To imagine that ploughmen and shepherds in the country read the New Testament in English by stealth under hedges, or that smiths and carpenters, in towns, pored over its pages in the corners of their masters' workshops, is to mistake the character and acquirements of the age. So far as doctrine and the study of the Bible are concerned, the Reformation belongs to a later period.

It did not commence with the lower classes, or with the laity, but with the scholars and clergy of the two Universities; with men like Frith, Barnes, Latymer, and Cranmer; with friars and converts from the religious orders, like Coverdale, like Luther and his associates; or with parish priests like Tyndall. That these men, devoted to learning and the study of theology from early life, acquainted with the writings of Luther and Erasmus, should, on the diffusion of letters, have grown discontented with the ignorance of their age; that the obstinacy and arrogance of others less thoughtful and studious should be distasteful; that in disputes, which were sure to arise, appeal should be made to Scripture on one side, to tradition and authority on the other—was natural enough. And equally natural was it that as these men began to contrast more carefully than before the plain letter of Scripture with the practices they saw around them, they should be struck with the wide difference of the two, and welcome whatever help they could obtain for facilitating their studies. So Tyndall's translation made from the original, to men who only knew the Scriptures through the Latin Vulgate, was a great boon. It was prized the more highly because, in discussions with their opponents, now becoming more frequent, it could be appealed to before an ignorant audience as an independent and conclusive authority. "It is not so in the Greek" was an irresistible argument to those who knew no Greek. Those of the clergy and the religious Orders who favoured the Reformation read it by stealth, or repeated portions of it to small and secret circles inclined to the same opinions as themselves. But these, in comparison with the population at large, cannot have been numerous at this time, nor can the writings of Tyndall have been so generally read as his admirers would have us believe.

But the Reformation did not owe its origin to Tyndall or to Parliament—to the corruptions of the clergy, or the oppressions of the Ecclesiastical Courts. There is no reason to suppose that the nation as a body was discontented with the old religion. Facts point to the opposite conclusion. Had it been so, Mary, whose attachment to the Faith of her mother was well known, would never have been permitted to mount the throne, or have found the task comparatively easy, seeing that the Reformers under Edward VI. had been suffered to have their own way unchecked, and to displace from honour and influence all who opposed their religious principles. Long down into the reign of Elizabeth, according to the testimony

of a modern historian, the old Faith still numbered a majority of adherents in England. The experiment would have been hazardous at any time, from Henry VIII. to the Spanish invasion, if a *plébiscite* could have been impartially taken of the religious sentiments of the people. This rooted attachment to the old Faith, and the difficulty everywhere experienced by the government and the bishops in weaning the clergy and their flocks from their ancient tendencies, is a sufficient proof that it was not unpopular. Nor, considering the temper of the English people, is it probable that immorality could have existed among the ancient clergy to the degree which the exaggeration of poets, preachers, and satirists might lead us to suppose. The existence of such corruption is not justified by authentic documents, or by an impartial and broad estimate of the character and conduct of the nation before the Reformation. There is nothing more difficult than for contemporaries to form, from their own limited experience, a just estimate of the morality of the times in which they live; and if the complaints of preachers and moralists are to be accepted as authoritative on this head, there would be no difficulty in producing abundant evidence from the Reformers themselves that the abuses and enormities of their own age, under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, were far greater than in the ages preceding.[1]

We must then look for the real cause of the Reformation elsewhere; and to those who carefully consider its rise and progress under the Tudors, and its stationary character ever since, there will be no difficulty in arriving at a true solution. The Reformed Church of England has always found its strongest hold in the middle classes of this country; unlike dissent, unlike Roman Catholicism (an expression I must use for want of a better), whose influence is with the upper and the lower, and little with the classes between the two. Among the upper and the lower elements of society, though its ministrations may be accepted as a matter of course, the Church of

[1] "Ye know," writes Bradford, "a heavy plague of God is fallen upon us in taking away our good King (Edward VI.). . . . Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous sin. We (the Reformers) did not know the time of our visitation. We were unthankful unto God; we contemned the Gospel, and cruelly abused it to serve our hypocrisy, our vainglory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security." — Letters of the Martyrs, p. 203. Again: "Now by me the same Lord sendeth you word, that if ye will go on for ever in your impenitence, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, &c., wherewith, alas, alas, our country floweth, &c." p. 205.

the Reformation has never excited much enthusiasm. They have neither built nor filled its churches, at least as compared with the adherents of the older Faith, whose grand and mighty structures, even in remote parochial districts, fill the spectator with astonishment, as if their founders out of worldly vanity built temples to God ten times larger than the requirements of the population. It is from the middle classes that the Church of England derives its strength; it is among them that it counts its most zealous admirers and supporters. It is among the middle classes that its worshippers are mainly found; and in spite of all efforts to the contrary—open churches, gratuitous sittings, missionary efforts in the homes and haunts of the poor—the middle classes, or those rising into the middle classes, take possession, not of the places occupied by the poor, but of places the poor do not care to occupy. And as the Reformed Church of England is the church of the middle classes, its services, its teaching, its character, are in a great degree moulded by the tastes and requirements of the middle classes. Its intense loyalty, its exaggerated respect for established order and decorum, its dislike of mysticism, its tendency to dwell exclusively on the practical side of Christianity, are so many indications of the class who watched over its birth and superintended its progress. Its efforts to accommodate itself to the wants of busy men and the exigencies of society, as if it were not the sole foundation, but a portion only, and perhaps no better than a permitted portion of the nation, betray the influences to which it was subjected from its cradle. Other Faiths apply themselves to the feelings, emotions, and imaginations of man; this to their reason and their conscience. Other churches lay hold of the spiritual nature of man; this of his moral and utilitarian. The Englishman of the middle-class estimates a church, established or otherwise, by its utility; he measures its importance by its usefulness to his family, to his village, or to his parish, and lastly, perhaps least of all, to himself. For the secular society in which he moves, its opinions, its rules, and its usages, have a stronger hold upon him than any other; its frowns and its anathemas are more terrible, because more tangible and more material, than any spiritual censure. Hence it is that though his Christianity is decorous, it is never enthusiastic; though it enters into his daily life, it is not elevated. He is moral, but not devout; religious, but not fervent; strictly observant of his duties, but intolerant and impatient of anything beyond them. For

the old Church, with its imaginative tendencies, its spiritual exercises, its retreats, its saints' days, and its vigils, he feels little favour, partly as interfering with business, to success in which he owes his importance, and which he loves for its own sake, partly because he regards these things as relapses into superstition, or at best as excuses for idleness. Hence the Reformation has produced no books of devotion comparable to Thomas à Kempis or Francis de Sales. And whereas for ten centuries previous to the Reformation there was scarce a period in the history of the Church in which works of religious meditation and devotional writings did not appear, there is but one book of devotion in the Church of England which has held its place and obtained any general acceptance among its people, and that is the Book of Common Prayer; as a book of Social Prayer the most wonderful achievement of any age—the greatest, next the Bible, of any human production. But the bitter opposition which the Prayer-book encountered from the Reformers themselves, the contempt with which it was treated, because it was derived in the main from the ancient services, the preference felt for sermons, polemics, and invectives against the Pope and the Papacy, the inadequate appreciation of its excellence even now, and the impenetrable self-satisfaction with which lay and clerical reformers, who could not compose one of the simplest of its collects, propose to dismember, to reform, or to modify it, are evidences enough that it is not the genuine product of the Reformation. Nothing can show this more clearly than the total absence of any similar book of devotion in kingdoms and societies where the work of the Reformation was less fettered than it was in England.

It was, then, to the rise and influence of the middle classes that the Reformation owed its origin; as the Reformed Church of England to this day reproduces in its work the salient characteristics of the middle classes. The civil wars of the fifteenth century almost entirely annihilated the old feudal aristocracy, and the jealousy of the Tudors continued the work of destruction. The aristocracy that succeeded was of a different kind; it was inspired with different sentiments. It was taken from a lower class; it owed its elevation, not to great territorial possessions, in the first instance, but to personal, not to say menial, services rendered to the sovereign, which the old baronial peerage would have regarded with contempt. For the first time almost in our history even sub-

ordinate offices in the King's household, in his chamber or his kitchen, were the passports to wealth and distinction. Secretaries, chamberlains, lords of the bedchamber, grooms of the closet and the stole, supplanted the ancient proud aristocracy. Such a personal nobility, indebted for their rank, their emoluments, their importance, and their employment, to their personal services about the king—enriched by wardships, by marriages, by forfeitures, by stewardships on the royal demesnes, continually augmented by impeachments of the older houses—raised up round the throne a nobility wholly unlike the old feudal aristocracy. They owed everything to the King: they repaid the obligation with exaggerated deference to the royal authority. Originally of small means and narrow estates, until they had been enriched by the confiscation of the monastic property, they maintained none of the old feudal grandeur and sumptuous living of the former territorial nobility. Churches and monasteries owed little to their munificence. Many of them, like Sir Thomas Boleyn, risen from small fortunes, and obliged in youth to practise habits of economy, carried their frugality with them, when it was no longer required, into wealthier conditions. The gentry, impoverished by the civil wars and the extravagance of the Court of Henry VIII., where large sums of money were squandered in card-playing, dress, and jewelry, fell irretrievably into debt, pawned their estates, and were supplanted by their tenant-farmers and yeomen, who had no such temptations, and became the possessors of the land they tilled. The discovery of the New World, the rapid increase of commerce, fostered by the peaceful times of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., so disastrous to the men of the sword, raised the small merchant and shipowner into importance. The increasing taste for luxury and the produce of foreign countries poured new riches into the coffers of the tradesman. Thus it was that everything tended to exalt the middle classes of the nation, as much from their ever increasing wealth and importance, as from the weakness and want of influence in the classes above and below them; the latter of whom still remained stationary, no better than they had been for centuries in all that related to the comforts and improvements of life; admitted to no power, possessing no influence.

To men who were thus indebted for their importance to habits of frugality, activity, and industry, brought less than any other under the direct influence of the Church, and

weighing the worth of most things by its money-value, the old Church, with its splendid ceremonials, its constant holidays, its wide waste places of idleness and devotion, its multiplied orders and intricate ritual, appeared little suited to the altered circumstances of the times. They listened with avidity to proposals for a more beneficial distribution of the Church's property; they began to reckon how the burthens of the State might be shifted from their own shoulders by a new appropriation of ecclesiastical and monastic endowments. But until now, against any such attempt they had to fear the displeasure of the Church itself and its sovereign Pontiff, not altogether an empty terror. Nor could they hope for any reforms except through the power and supremacy of the sovereign. Hence their tendency to exalt the royal authority above all other; their unreasoning loyalty to the Crown, augmented into fanaticism by the vigour, determination, and courage which signalized Henry's proceedings against the Pope and the clergy. In their minds the King of necessity became the representative of the supreme authority in the nation, and they were prepared to support him in the utmost extension of his pretensions. In these reforms they were aided by every device calculated to render the spiritual authority odious and contemptible in the person of its chief representative. It was the policy of Henry, by proclamations, by sermons, by popular appeals, to decry and calumniate adherence to the Papacy, as something unmanly, un-English, and unholy. So the civil authority gained strength in the person of the King, notwithstanding his violence and his injustice. But beyond this, beyond the successful assertion of the prerogatives of the sovereign, which would not have been so readily admitted had the old feudal nobility survived, the Reformation advanced no further in the reign of Henry VIII. The suppression of the monasteries, as the constant assertors of an opposite principle, followed as a matter of course. But their fall and the transfer of their property to the Crown became the easier, because it was a realization of those utilitarian schemes of the middle classes, which appear again and again, for converting ecclesiastical property to secular uses. Monasteries had been erected by kings and nobles in ancient times. Within their walls founders and benefactors had found a refuge and a quiet retreat, when, aged and sick of the violence of the world, war and the tournament offered them fascinations no longer. But the

thriving middle classes, of this or of any other century, had no need of and no taste for such retreats. Their employments were not amidst the horrors and destructions of war, they were not absorbed in the search for a Holy Graal, or spiritual idealism of any kind. The pursuits of commerce are attended by no bitter remorse, no fears of blood, no spiritual wrestlings of wasted frames and bended knees, no knight-errantry for Heaven.[1]

It is probable also that they saw only the worthless and the useless sides of those religious foundations, which were continually brought before them, and studiously represented in the most odious light. There was no one to suggest a better application of monastic revenues. Political sagacity, and independence such as might be expected in men lately risen to importance, were utterly wanting. Their facility and submission in implicitly adopting whatever Cromwell suggested may be some excuse for their imprudence and injustice. With a thoughtlessness only due to weakness or inexperience, they did their best to convert this monarchy into an arbitrary government, and make the King as independent of Parliament as he was of Convocation.

But though the Reformation advanced no further under Henry VIII., and he still maintained the rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of the ancient Faith, it was already in his reign irrevocably established. Its triumph was complete. The abolition of the Papal power, the destruction of those societies where that power had been most vigorously maintained, the transfer of the spiritual supremacy to the Crown, altered the whole position of the Church of England. It was no longer tied to a *consensus* of doctrine or of discipline involved in the determination of the Pope as the supreme representative of the Catholic Church. The very antagonism to which it was committed by the rancorous hatred of Henry VIII. bound it in some degree to depart widely from whatever depended on papal approbation. And though in its new career and modified independence it professed to be guided by primitive antiquity, it was of necessity influenced by the sentiments and opinions of those classes to whom it was mainly indebted for its new position. Its clergy and its bishops were married

[1] Monastic institutions had two phases, both fatal to them in this conjuncture: one was their self-governing and democratical element; the other was their right and habit of appealing to an extraneous and independent authority against royal and episcopal dictation.

men, taken generally from the middle classes. They mixed more freely among the middle classes than the unmarried clergy had done in former times; knew and shared their likes and dislikes, and could not fail of being influenced by them, still more when the ancient independent tribunal of ecclesiastical opinion had been removed, and there was none other to take its place. Old habits, of course, remained, and could not entirely and at once be shaken off. To the prayers and the ritual they had been familiar with from their childhood, the clergy still adhered. Their devotional exercises had been prescribed in ancient manuals; their knowledge of the Scriptures was derived from the Latin Vulgate. What was more, in constitution the Church remained the same. The pre-eminence of its episcopate, the ordination of its priests and deacons, were visible and solemn indications of its organic connection with the ancient Church. So the Reformation in England, though propagated and moulded in a great measure by the influence of the middle classes, could not help retaining an element in itself which was not due to them, and has never heartily or wholly commanded their sympathies or their obedience.

To the character thus impressed upon it at the outset, it has remained honestly faithful throughout its career. It has submitted, more than once, with comparative indifference, to the dictation of the middle classes; whether that dictation was indirectly expressed through the general influence exercised by them over public opinion, or directly by their accredited representatives, the Houses of Lords and Commons. For no one who has read the history of this nation to any purpose will suppose that the House of Lords has been occupied since the Reformation, in vindicating the peculiar rights or feudal privileges of the aristocracy, any more than it represents that aristocracy in its present tastes and pursuits. No one will accuse it of holding towards the Church of England an attitude essentially different from that held by the House of Commons. In this respect both Houses have faithfully reflected the feelings and wishes of the middle classes, whether, in common with the rest of the nation and in their exaggerated loyalty to the Crown, they have been content with registering the Royal decrees, as in the times of the Tudors,[1]

[1] It is not merely to Henry VIII. that this remark applies. As late as the year 1593, in a speech delivered by the Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Coke, then Speaker of the House of Commons, we find this language.

with confining their discussions, and the subjects of them, to the dictates of the sovereign; or whether, as under the Stuarts—a race uniformly unpopular with the middle classes—they have advocated the notions and wishes of these classes against the Crown and the hierarchy. In every great epoch of the Church's history, in every modification of its ritual and teaching, whether by legislation, or tacit consent independent of legislation, such concessions have been uniformly made to the will of the laity, or rather to those classes of the laity who have always been most interested in the Church. On no occasion has the appeal been made to some supposed standard of Catholic antiquity.

A striking confirmation of these remarks will be found in the conduct of those to whom the spiritual rule of the Church has been committed since the reign of Henry VIII., when the power of the episcopate over the inferior clergy became much greater and more absolute than before; and Henry VIII. could justly boast, so far as its government was concerned, that he had procured for the Church an independence it had not enjoyed under the Papal supremacy. The power and wealth of the monastic institutions, the opportunity of constant appeal to the Pope, the restraining influence of synods and convocations, a rule of faith and practice emanating from the Catholic Church, and admitted by all its members,—these served as a system of checks upon the hierarchy, which was either extinguished entirely, or became inefficacious at the Reformation. The necessity of keeping the clergy under control by a small and responsible body inclined the sovereign to augment the power and influence of the hierarchy, no less for the advantage of the Crown than of the Church itself. It was thus that the dominion of the bishops over their clergy became absolute to a degree never known before, or in any other country. The privilege conceded to a diocesan of deciding, on his own authority, questions affecting his clergy, without consulting his presbyters, without any regard to

He tells the House that he had been sent for by her Majesty, who directed him to tell the House, among other things, "that it is in her power to call Parliaments and to end them, and to assent to or dissent from any thing done therein. 2ndly, that in Her Majesty's pleasure, delivered to them by the Lord Keeper, *it was not meant that they should meddle either in matters of State or ecclesiastical causes*; and she wondered that any should be so forgetful of her commandment, or so bold as to attempt a thing so expressly contrary to that she had forbidden. She further directs that if they attempt to exhibit any Bills tending to matters of State or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, the Lord Keeper, on his allegiance, shall refuse to read them."—Mrs. Green's Calendar of Elizabeth, 1591-1594, p. 322.

ecclesiastical precedent, any deference to supreme and spiritual authority, was extraordinary, to say the least. It had no precedent in ecclesiastical usage. Granted at a time when submission to the voice of antiquity was the rule, and respect for the canon of Faith, derived from long habit and earlier times, was supposed to be still prominent in determining episcopal judgments, it was imagined that this authority would be employed in strict conformity with pure Catholic usage and acknowledged Catholic standards. It was, in fact, rather intended as a counterpoise against those lay influences to which the clergy had now become subject, and as a means of securing for them some measure of that independence of which they were deprived. It was never imagined that bishops would be less faithful to ecclesiastical precedent than the undignified clergy; or, from their learning and training, be less inclined than others to maintain the privileges of the Church. Ritual and ceremonies might be unsafe in the hands of men who, from the days of Tyndall, denounced all subordination of orders, all ceremonies, all habits distinguishing the clergy from the laity; but they could not be unsafe, it was supposed, in the keeping of those who were bound to maintain them, and see that others maintained them. With the exception, however, of Laud, if that can be called an exception, and of those who attempted to imitate him, an opposite tendency has been tacitly and steadily advancing with the advance of the Church of England. Deference to the wishes of the great middle classes has, at all times, been the ruling influence in quarters where it might have been least expected.[1] One century after another exhibits the same phenomenon. Whatever of ancient faith or of strict ecclesiastical character the Church of England still retains, it owes to a period antecedent to the Reformation. Its merely popular elements are of later date. Any great divergence from its orbit, by influences external or internal, is of a merely temporary nature; for the same forces which determined its career at the outset will be sure to draw it back again eventually into its original path.

[1] Here, for instance, is the latest utterance of an eminent and able prelate of the English Church. "His Lordship concluded by saying that English churchmen, though not holding the traditions of the elders in a slavish spirit, were ready to adopt what was new, or modify what was old, if by so doing they could give a better and fuller expression to the conscience and feelings of the age" —that is, of the middle classes; certainly not of the classes above or below them.

So long, then, as the middle classes remain the governing body and main power in the nation, so long will the Church of England remain as the representative of their religious peculiarities and convictions, their plain good sense of duty, their love of order, their intense loyalty, their indifference to ideal excellence, their dislike of novelty, their suspicion of all departures from the common and familiar types of human honesty and goodness. So long also will they interpret and justify the prayers and creeds of the Church of England, not by some standard of the Catholic Church in this or that century, but by the same feelings which demanded and modified the Reformation at its origin. It is only when political power shall have been transferred to new hands, and new classes shall have supplanted the old, that the Church of England will cease to be their exclusive representative, or the rigid exponent of the Reformation. Only then will it be called upon to modify its teaching, and enlarge its sympathies.

APPENDIX.

THE following two letters in cipher were discovered by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson in the Vatican Archives. A small portion of a printed letter suggested the key, but not completely. After the whole had been carefully deciphered, it still remained unintelligible in consequence of the introduction of words which had apparently no meaning. It then occurred to us that these words themselves must be symbols of other words; and after considerable trouble, and testing their use in various places, we were enabled to determine their meaning, of which the reader can judge from the letters themselves. Two or three passages still defy satisfactory interpretation, and must be left to the ingenuity of the reader. The whole text of these two letters, except the passages in italics, is in cipher in the original.

I. CAMPEGGIO to SALVIATI.

Mag. et Ill. D., &c. Il primo di del anno hebbi le lettere di V.S. di xiiij di Novembre, et del non haver lei havuto mie lettere sino a quel giorno non mi maraviglio, ricordandomi che quel primo spaccio fu sostenuto qui et ritardato assai, ma spero che per quelle mie prime et per piu altre scripte di poi et duplicate, N.S. et V.S. seranno state pienamente advisate di tutti li successi di qui, et le ultime furono di xx del passato, le quali per Taddeo Cavallaro si mandorono, onde al presente poco altre haveno che dirli, ne altro è successo qui degno dadviso.

Questo Re persevera pir[1] (?) mai nel suo desiderio di volere questa per moglie et la chavezza[2] et honora palam et publice come molie. Non credo per ho[c] che sia processo ad altra conjunctione ma che aspetta la risposta et risolutione di quesi (*sua Santita*), dal quale omnino spera havere qualche rimedio onde egli possa satisfare al suo desiderio. Io in ogni proposito el (*et?*) ragionamento con so (*il Re*) et con il Cardinale sempre mi son sforzato[3] di fare la cosa difficile et impossibile, ma so (*sua Maesta*) non da orecchie a questa pa[r]te; et li pare che per li meriti suoi et per la instantia chella ne fa si omnino non li debbia mancare. Al Cardinale in fatto dispiace la cosa [per qua nato ja][4] per quanto io comprendo, ma re

[1] Sic: *qu.* piu che mai?
[2] Sic: *qu.* charezza?
[3] *Storzato* in the cipher.
[4] These words seem to be inaccurate and superfluous.

sia certa chegli non ardirebbe di mostrarsi, ne ci puo provedere; anzi e sforzato a dissimulare et mostrarsi fervente in procurare il desiderio del Re. Io con su[1] parlo liberamente per sapere di a lanimo suo, come io scrissi, et ella finalmente si stringe, ne sa che dire senon che egli non cie altro[2] rimedio che li satisfare aliquo modo al Re, et valeat quantum valere potest; chel tempo poi porlera[3] qualche rimedio. Piu volte neli ragionamenti li ho detto che io non veggio come quesi (*sua Santita*) possi satisfarli si attenta la grandezza[4] di Cesare, la quale non patisce che in cose a lui tanto pertinenti, et dove tanto si tratta del honor, so (*il Re*) gli si faccia torto alcuno; si etiam che essendo cosa di matrimonio, il quale in ecclesia Dei tam firmiter et inconcusse e stato servato illeso anchora chel fusse di persona minima, contra justitia non si debbe, ne po fare cosa alcuna. Alla prima parte replica che Cesare in fatto non curara tanto questa cosa, et che quando ella sara fatta ci saranno poi mille rimedia da restare con lui in bona intelligentia; all' altra parte dice che essendo la cosa saltem dubbiosa et suspetta per quel breve et havendosi molte authoritate, grandissimi theologi, et vevi et morte, in loro favore, super invalidítate dispensationis non seria gran cosa satisfare, per le ragioni altre volte scripte, ad evitandum plura scandala che ne seguiranno se so (*il Re*) sua authorita procedera a questa cosa. Et post multa piu volte come da me li ho detto che io credo che quesi (*sua Santita*) avocarave la causa, et non li mancara di bona justitia, et questo ho fatto a leffetto che assiescata (*assicurata?*) questa via, se forsi se andasse in hanc sententiam, al (*il*) tempo poi, come piu volte ho scripto, parturira qualche cosa cerca il prometterli; et quanto per le nostre commune che portano li ultimi oratori se li scrisse, io non poteddi (*potebbi*) nega[re] loro di scrivere etiam un' altra mia. manu propria; et nondimeno si fara quello che le parra piu expediente.

A questi giorni la Mta. de la Reina spaccio uno per Spagna a procurare chel breve fussi mandato qui, et il messo per camino cadde et si rappe una spalla in certa terra di Francia, onde bisogna hora provedere dunaltra persona et fare una altra expeditione.

Qua di Francia e ritornato quello electo o nominato di Transilvania, detto per nome Joannes Statilius, oratore del Re Giovanni di Hungeria et il giorno de la Epiphania essendo io a pranso con questo R. Cardinale, S.S.R. post prandium in mia presentia diede audientia, et la proposta sua fu in tre capi. Luno et principale fu che dimando sussidio al suo Re di dinari, dicendo chel Christianissimo gli havera dato trenta milia scudi, et dava commissione all orator suo che S. Mta manda con costui, il quale e Mons. di Lange, benche anchora non sia giunto qui, di potere obligare et ritrovare altri septantemilia scudi per soccorro del detto Re. A questa parte il Rmo. gli rispose negative, scusando la impotentia del

[1] For *sua reverencia?*
[2] *alcro* in cipher.
[3] *porlera* MS.: qu. portara?
[4] *grandezzo* in cipher.

Re per la spesa che fa hora per la guerra, et replicando pure l'oratore disse che si pensaria et ne parlaria con sua Mta. et io stimo che quanto a questo sia per fare poco frutto. Ne la seconda parte de la sua proposta dimando consiglio circa il modo che il suo Re harea da tenere col Turco, il quale gli offeriva grosse sussidio et ajuto, ma che dubitava circa tale che tutto poi sarebbe in arbitrio di esso Turco. A questo gli rispose che quando senza prejudicio di quel regno et de Christiani potessi fare qualche accordo col Turco, lo consigliava che pro tempore si accordasse et li desse tributo piu presto che accordarse con ce (*Ferdinando*), quia magnitudo domus Austrie erat bene consideranda et reprimenda. *La terza parte fu* cerca le cose di Germania, et de eligendo novo Rege Romanorum, *alla qual cosa diceva che* quelli principi di Germania descenderebbono per il timore che hanno di Cesare, et di potere procedere ad electionem pretendevano piu ragioni; una che in Francfordia promesse che fra tre anni harebbono un concilio generale, et non lhavea observato; lala (*l'altra*) che havea promesso di ritornare post triennium incontinenti in Germania, et similmente non lhavea osse[r]vato. Il Cardinale gli rispose che era molto bene da advertire di non eleggere il duca Giovanni di Saxonia come heretico, &c., et che lui anco non intendeva molto quelle practiche, che vorrebbe essere piu risoluto del fondamento di questa cosa. Il detto oratore li replico che ogni volta che li Elettori et altri principi che inclinavano a questa cosa contra Cesare et ce (*Ferdinando*) connoscessino havere seco unite queste due majesta, credeva non seria difficil cosa ad elleg[e]re una persona Catholica et indurre il duca Giovanni a[1] contentarsi per interesse suo; et che si potrebbe eleggere, il conte Lodovico Palatino Elettore, il quale, per certe concordate quando si elesse Maximiliano, pretende haverci certe ragione, et in Francfordia nela electione di Carlo ne protesto; overo si potria elegg[e]re il duca Guglielmo di Baviera, il quale e ricco et potente et contrario all ci et ce (*Cesare et Ferdinando*) et havea palam et publice prestato a suo Re cento milia ducati sopra certe gioie, et ne offeriva deli altri pur che havessino pegno sufficiente, et non si fece poi altra resolutione. Quelli di vu (*Francia*) in tutta questa expeditione si rimetteno a quanto si risolvera questo Re, et io credo che questi anchora manderanno una persona che vada con questo oratore et quello di vu (*Francia*) a intender meglio questi andamenti; poi deliberaranno. Tamen di quanto risolveranno et seguira daro adviso.

Questo Rmo. mha detto che le cose di Scotia sono accordate et prorogata la treuga, et che quel Re dimandava la figliuola di questo Ser. Re, a che non pareno molto disposto per essere q[ue]l Re, ut dicunt, molto male allevato. *Io gli ho tocco una parola circa la cosa del* duca d'Albania et trovo che non vi hanno per alcun modo il capo.

Questo Re et Cardinale persisteno in quella opinione che quesi

[1] *o* in cipher.

(*sua Santita*) omnino sua authoritate et sub censuris debbia indicere inducias bienn[i]ales, et debbia venire al convento in Avignone, dove per certo si pigliera optima resolutione al tutto; e li pare che questa sia una grande occasione che hora si offrisce a se (*sua Santita*) di procurare la pace universale. [S]e si inclinara lanimo a questo convento con li debiti modi, potria pensare, se forsi questa materia matrimoniale, havendola avocata a se, si potessi rejicere ad illud tempus, che all'hora la risolveria et si pigleria qualche bona conclusione.

E mi pare di non potere errare scrivendo quanto io intendo et mi van per la mente. Sua Sta. poi con la solita prudentia diterminara quello che piu le parra expediente.

A quanto V.S. me scrive del Balivo di Roano et de la dispositione di N.S. alla neutralita, dummodo, &c., tutto ho fatto intendere a questa Mta. et Rmo. li quali ne restano ben satisfatti et sperano che la restitutione di Ravenna et Cervia si debbia fare a ogni modo per quello che ultimamente hanno operato et scripto, come per lultime mie V.S. haran inteso. Et non havendo hora altro, alli Santi^mi piedi di N.S. et a V.S. di continuo humilmente mi raccomando, quæ diu felicissima valeat. Londini, ix Januarii, M.Dxxix.

E. D. V.
v'ri filius,
L. Car. Campegius.

Add.: Mag. et Ill. viro tanquam patri hon., Dom. Jacobo Salviato, &c. Rome.

II.—Campeggio to Salviati.

Ra (*Quando*) io parti da quesi (*sua Santita*) fui resoluto da se sopra tre cose. La prima fu di procurare chal re si levassi da (*la?*) rena, et re (*questo*) fu il mio primo negotio, ne[l] quale feci ra (*quanto*) mi fu possibile. Et ra (*quando*) vederanno le ragioni che io considerai et addussi loro, forsi si maravigliieranno che io ardissi tanto. Tutto feci pero con ogni modestia. Excluso da re (*questo*) pensiero, come ne diedi adviso, me volsi alla seconda cosa, cioe, di persuadere la religione alla Reina; dove fui resoluto che non vi era speranza; et ultimamente, essendo sovenuta a dopo che havemo comenciato a procedere, Iho tentata di nuovo, ponendole innanzi gli occhi ogni pericolo. Sed omnia incassum; et sta ro (*piu*) dura che mai. Mi restara (*restava?*) solo la terza cosa, cioe di procedere per via di justitia; dove conoscendo il benefiti[o] chel te (*tempo*) poteva parturire, mi sono ingegnato per diverse vie che la cosa si differisca; il che mi para che la sorte mhabbia assai secundato, che fino all' ultimo de Maggio che si comincio, la cosa e differita, et parmi havere satisfatto aquello che quesi (*sua Santita*) desiderava. Io per me desideravo di continuare et scorrere innanza, ma la resolutione di costi che la cosa del breve come incidente spectava a

cognoscersi a noi delegati,[1] la gelosia che per appositionem manus Pontificis non si entendessi avocadare, la instantia si faceva costi per li imperiali dela avocatione, li hanno fatta entrare conti (*con il*) maggior studio a volore (*volere*) con tutta la celerita possibile fare il processo et[2] haverne la [r]esolutione. Circa il che mi trovo[3] in tanti travag[l]i che *se V.S. mi videsse in letto con le podagre crudeli in 7 luoghi et con febbre, benche accidentale per li dolori, attorniato da xv doctori con due some de libri in volere di monstrarmi che tutto concludono sia juridico, et non si possa nec debbia fare altrimente, son certo chella mi haria compassione, convenendomi anchora farmi portare al luogo del juditio, Dio sa con che dispiacer mio et pericolo nel morimento, ascendere et descendere scale et entrare e uscire di nave. Prego Dio chio non habbia a restar per sempre in Anglia.*

E vero che da ve (*V.S.*) per ro (*piu*) sue mi fu scripto, ra (*quanto*) ella sa, al che rispose[4] essa vide per le mie no, et si e seguitor a (*quanto*) sin qui ella ha inteso. Re per re (*questo*) fu mandato il Campano, il quale ultra alia, ra (*quanto*) a re (*questo*) proposito mi disse due cose; luna fu dela decretale, di che e segnito (*seguito ?*) ra (*quanto*) *ve* (*V.S.*) da lui hara inteso; laltra fu che circa la suspensione di non procedere al juditio sive sententia quesi (*sua Santita*) si contentava che io procedessi et si finisse, andando pero sempre intratenuto et mettendo te (*tempo*) in mezo, et che se la sententia veniva contra il Re, io galiardamente et intrepide la dessi; sela veniva per il Re, che io guardassi chella fussa ben justificata ru (*et*) justa; ne mi ricordo che lui mi dicessi altro in re (*questa*) materia, ne credo che lui dica altrimenti. Re (*questo*) ho voluto dire a ve (*V.S.*) perche Feltrense si (*ci*) scrive che quesi (*sua Santita*) gli dice avermi mandato a dire per il Campano che per niente io non dessi sententia, prima che fussi resoluta la pratica dela ru (*pace*), et che venendo il te (*tempo*) dela sententia io dicessi apertamente al Re che io non la potevo dare se non contra di lui, ronre (*et in questo ?*) modo sostenessi la cosa. Io per me no[n] mi ricordo chel Campano mi habbia detto tal parole, ma solo ra (*quanto*) ho detto di sopra. Supplico a quesi (*sua Santita*) ru (*et*) a ve (*V.S.*) che vogliano considerare se io posso per re (*questa*) via sostenere re (*questo*) peso. Ra (*quando*) io connoscero realmente chel re habbi torto, io sono per far la sententia contra di lui intrepide etiam eadem hora io fussi certo dover nesser morto, ru (*et*) non ne dubitate. Ma che se (*sua Beatitudine*) si persuada, come hatto (*ha ditto*) a Feltrense che non possa essere altrimenti, et che seria ruina, &c., in re (*questo*), con debita reverentia, mi pare che se (*S.B.*) forse si inganni, maxime facendosi qui il juditio. La causa, sta in re (*questi*) termini: alli dicedotto, che fu il di dela citatione,

[1] *demejati* in the cipher.
[2] *processo et*—" proceccor " in cipher.
[3] *mi trovo*—" tirovo " in cipher.
[4] Qu. " e che risposi " ?

comparse la Reina personalmente, interposuit appellationem in forma, recuso li judici, cum insertionibus causarum deduxit avocationem cause ad curiam, et sic litis pendentiam, protesto de nullitate omnium agendorum in ampla forma. Li demo termine ad primam, che e stato hoggi alli vinteno, ad audiendum voluntatem nostram super deductis ab ea; et cosi hoggi si e pronuntiato nos esse judices competentes, rejectis omnibus ab ea deductis. Lei ha interposto una amplissima appellatione et supplicationem ad Pontificem et recessit; ma prima ibi coram tribunali genuflexa, benche il Re due volte la sollevasse, dimando licentia al Re che per trattarsi del honore et conscientia sua ru (*et*) dela casa di Spagna, le volessi concedere libero adito di scrivere et mandar messi a [Cesare][1] ru (*et*) a quesi (*sua Santita*), ru (*et*) sogle (*se gli?*) la concessero, cosi credo, mandara con copia di tutto quello si e fatto, per che habbiamo deliberato che de omnibus ad ejus petitionem li sia dato copia. Re credo faranno ogni instantia per la avocatione. Il Cardinale mha detto che vogliono anchor loro expedire, ru (*et*) che io scrivaro supplichi a quesi (*sua Santita*) che non voglia avocare, al che non posso mancare, ma se attendera al scrivere ro (*piu*) privato, et seguira quello li parera. Concludendo a ra (*quanto*) ve (*V.S.*) scrive in cifra, dico che io intendo la mente di quesi (*sua Santita*) essere che non si venga al juditio, et che io vada sostenendo ra (*quanto*) si puo; ma ve (*V.S.*) consideri che ra (*quanto*) al procedere, costoro, accorti del suo errore passato, non e piu possibile intratenerli, senon ra (*quanto*) la natura de la cosa di necessita porta in se; re (*et*) se prima che venga qualche provisione, sera finito il processo, ve (*V.S.*) pensi come da me possa in tanto ardore sostenere di non dare la sententia, dico ra (*quando*) la sententia venissi per il Re. Se io dico che non voglio, o non posso, dar sententia, ve (*V.S.*) sa che in re (*questi*) dui casi la bolla provede che alter possit se ver[2] altra via. Veda dove mi trovoet ra (*quanto*) peso e re (*questo*). Iddio mi ajuti, in quo confido.

Il Re per niente vorria che si concludessi la ru (*pace*) prima che re (*questa*) sua causa fussi expedita, re (*et*) mha detto, che spera anchora chela andera intratenendo; et cosi ogni loro actione mi pare tenda a re (*questo*), ru (*et*) il fundamento e che se prima si concludessi la ru (*pace*) re (*et*) poi seguisse re (*questa*) diss[o]lutione del matrimonio, al che son cosi ardenti che non e d[a] sperare che desistanolo, ci potrebbe havere occasione dare contra di loro, di rompere la ru (*pace*) ro (*et*) havendo il fi[3] accordate le cose sue, et stando da parte, parrebbe loro di star male a combattere soli con lo ci (*Imperatore*); et non bene confidunt de Gallo, si per essere naturale la inimicitia di re (*queste*) due nationi sivi[4] per le pensioni

[1] Omitted in the cipher.
[2] *se vertere?*
[3] Re Francese.
[4] *sive?*

et oblighi che ha il fi[1] co re (*questi*) reruron uoro.[2] *Et non havendo altro alli Sanctiss. piedi di N.S. humilmente mi raccomando, et cosi di continuo a V.S. que diu felix valeat. Londini, xxi Junii MDxxix.*

Add.: Mag. et Ill. viro, &c. D. Jacobo Salviato, Romæ.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE PRECEDING LETTERS.

I.—Campeggio to Salviati.

On the first day of this year I was in possession of your Lordship's letters of November 14th. I am not astonished that you did not receive my letters before that day, for I remember that that first despatch was put off (*sostenuto*) here and much delayed. I hope, however, that through the first letters I sent and many others which I wrote in duplicate afterwards, his Holiness and your Lordship were made fully acquainted with all that happened here. The last letters I wrote were dated on the 20th of last month, and were sent by Taddeo Cavallaro; so that at present I have little else to say, as nothing has happened here worthy of being reported to you.

This King persists more than ever in his desire to marry this lady, and caresses her openly and in public as if she were his wife. Notwithstanding this, I do not think that he has proceeded to any further connection (*ad altra conjunctione*), but that he awaits the answer and decision of his Holiness, from whom he fully expects to obtain some remedy whereby to gratify his desire. On every occasion, and in all my conversations with his Majesty and with the Cardinal, I have constantly endeavoured to make the thing difficult and impossible, but his Highness turns a deaf ear to my arguments; and he seems to think that, in consideration of his merits, and the urgency he uses therein, he cannot possibly fail. As far as I understand, the Cardinal is not at all pleased with the matter, so far as it has gone; but, as a matter of fact, you may be sure that he would not dare to show any resistance, nor can he help himself—nay, more, he is compelled to dissemble and show himself eager to gratify the King's desire. As I have already written to you, I speak freely with *su* (his Lordship), to know his mind, and he generally ends by shrugging his shoulders (*si stringe*), and has nothing else to say but that the only remedy is to satisfy the King's wish in some way or other, and let it stand for what it is worth (*et valeat quantum valere potest*); for time will bring some

[1] Re Francese.

[2] Probably syllables of no meaning, inserted purposely to mislead.

remedy. Many times in conversing with him, I have said that I cannot see how *Quesi* (his Holiness) can satisfy him (the King), mindful as he is of the Emperor's dignity, which could not endure that in things touching his Imperial Majesty so deeply, and when his honour is at stake, *So* (his Highness) should do him any wrong; and besides, as it is a matter concerning matrimony, which in the Church of God has been always so firmly maintained as inviolable, even with persons of the lowest station in life, nothing should be or can be done against justice. To the first part, he replies that the Emperor, in fact, will not care so much about this matter, and that when it is done there will be a thousand remedies to keep on good terms with him; to the other part, he says that the thing being, to say the least, doubtful, and open to suspicion on account of that brief, and having many authorities, great theologians, living and dead, in their favour, as to the invalidity of the dispensation, it would be no great matter to comply, for the reasons which I have explained in writing on former occasions, to avoid numerous scandals which will follow if *So* (his Highness) proceed in this matter on his own authority. And afterwards many more times, as if of my own accord, I said to him that I think his Holiness might advoke the cause, and good grounds will not be wanting for it; and this I did for the purpose that, this way being made sure, if, as it is possible, we were to proceed to this sentence, time then, as I have repeatedly written, will bring round something to promise him. And, as I have written in our common despatches which were sent by the last ambassadors, I could not but comply with their desire, and write yet another letter with my own hand. We shall nevertheless do whatever shall appear to you most expedient.

A few days back, her Majesty the Queen sent a man to Spain to try to have the brief sent hither, and the messenger, whilst journeying through France, fell and dislocated one of his shoulders; it is therefore necessary to find another person and make a new despatch.

The [bishop] elect or nominated of Transylvania, called Joannes Statilius, ambassador of King John of Hungary, has returned here from France, and on the day of the Epiphany, as I happened to be dining with this reverend Cardinal, his most reverend Lordship, after dinner, gave him audience in my presence, and his proposal was divided under three heads. One, and the principal, was to ask for aid in money to his King, saying that the most Christian King had given thirty thousand crowns, and authorized his ambassador, named Mons. de Lange[y]—whom his Majesty sends with him, although he has not yet arrived here—to contract a loan of an additional seven thousand crowns in aid of the said King. To this part his Reverence replied in the negative, alleging the inability of his

King to comply, on account of the expenses he now incurs by the war, and when the ambassador persisted in his demand, he said that the matter would be considered and that he would speak of it to his Majesty; but I think that very little will result from this. In the second part of his proposal, he asked for advice how his King should conduct himself with regard to the Turk, who offered him a large subsidy and aid, but he doubted that about this everything would afterwards depend upon the pleasure of the same Turk. To that he (Wolsey) replied that if, without any prejudice to that kingdom and to the Christians, he could make some arrangement with the Turk, he advised him for the time to come to an understanding, and to pay him a tribute sooner than to arrange matters with *Ce* (Ferdinand), because the greatness of the house of Austria was to be considered, and to be kept in check. The third part was about the affairs of Germany, and about the election of a new King of the Romans; to which he said that these princes of Germany would condescend for the fear they have of the Emperor, and that they pretended several reasons why they could proceed to the election—one, that he had promised that within three years they should have had a General Council at Frankfort, and had not kept his promise; the other, that he had promised that after three years he would immediately return to Germany, and that promise also he had failed to keep. The Cardinal replied to him that they must be mindful not to elect Duke John of Saxony, as he was a heretic, etc.; and that for his part, although he did not well understand those practices, he would like to be better assured of the foundation of this matter. The said ambassador replied to him, that whenever the Electors and other princes who inclined to this opinion against the Emperor and *Ce* (Ferdinand), knew that they had on their side these two Majesties, he thought that it would not be difficult to elect a Catholic person, and induce Duke John to be satisfied for his own interests; and that they could elect the Count Lewis, the Elector Palatine, who, by virtue of certain arrangements made at the time of Maximilian's election, pretends to have some claims thereto, and at Frankfort protested against the election of Charles: or Duke William of Bavaria might be elected, who is rich and powerful and contrary to *Ci* and *Ce* (the Emperor and Ferdinand), and had openly and in public lent to his King one hundred thousand ducats upon certain jewels, and offered more, provided sufficient surety were given; but no other resolution was come to. In all this affair, those of *Vu* (France) will abide by what this King shall decide, and I believe that the people here will yet send some one with this ambassador and that of *Vu* (France), in order to be better acquainted with these movements; then they will consider the matter. However, I will send information of what they decide, and of whatever follows.

This most reverend Cardinal has told me that the affairs of Scotland are settled and the truce proclaimed, and that the King of that country asked in marriage the daughter of this most serene King; to which proposal they do not seem to be much inclined, because it is said that that King is very badly brought up. I have just said a word to him about the Duke of Albany, but I find that their minds are not in the least occupied with that subject.

This King and the Cardinal persist in the opinion that *Quesi* (his Holiness) should announce, with all his authority and subject to censure, a suspension of hostilities for two years, and should come to the meeting at Avignon, where undoubtedly the best resolution will be taken on everything; and it appears to them that the present is a great opportunity offered to *Ne* (his Holiness) to bring about a universal peace. If he will make up his mind to go to that meeting in due fashion, he might think, if perhaps this question of matrimony, having advoked it to himself, could be put off till that time, that he would then decide it and take some good conclusion.

I cannot think I do wrong in writing all I hear and what passes through my mind. His Holiness will then with his usual prudence determine upon what shall seem to him most expedient.

With regard to what your Lordship tells me of the Bailly of Rouen, and of the inclination of his Holiness to remain neutral, provided that, etc., I have explained it all to his Majesty here and to his Reverence, who are very well pleased with it, and hope that the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia must at any rate be made through what they have recently done and written, as I informed your Lordship in my last. And now, having nothing else to add, I humbly recommend myself to the feet of his Holiness and to your Lordship, *quæ diu felicissima valeat.* London, January 9th, 1529.

II.—Campeggio to Salviati.

When I took my leave of *Quesi* (his Holiness) I had instructions from him upon three things. The first was to endeavour to separate the Queen from the King; and this was my first business, in which I did what I could. And when your Lordships shall see the arguments I used and adduced to them, you will perhaps be astonished that I should have been so bold. I did all this, however, with the greatest modesty. Shut out of this suggestion, as I reported, I turned to the second matter, that is, to persuade the Queen to take a religious vow; in which point I became convinced that there was no hope; and, lastly, the Queen being informed that we had begun the proceedings, I made a further attempt, placing before her eyes every danger. But all to no purpose; she is more determined than ever. I had only the third thing left to do, that is, to pro-

ceed by way of justice; and knowing the advantages that time may bring round, I have made every effort by diverse ways to have the matter put off; in which I think I have been well favoured by fortune; for since the last day of May, on which it was begun, the matter has been deferred, and it seems to me that I have done what *Quesi* (his Holiness) desired. As far as I was concerned I wished to continue in this way, but the resolution you have taken at Rome that the matter of the brief, as an incident, was for us as delegates to take cognizance of,—the jealousy lest that by the interference of the Pope it was intended to advoke the cause,—the urgency of the Imperialists at Rome for the avocation,—have decided them to use the greatest diligence to have the trial pushed on, and to obtain a decision with all possible speed. About this I find myself in such trouble and anxiety, that if your Lordship saw me in bed with a fearful attack of the gout in seven places, and with a fever, although only incidental, brought on by the pain, surrounded by fifteen doctors, with two piles of books to show me that all they conclude is according to law, and that one could not, and ought not to act otherwise than they do, I am certain that you would have compassion on me, especially as I am obliged to have myself carried to the place where the trial takes place, God knows with what discomfort to me and what danger in moving, ascending and descending staircases, and embarking and landing from the vessel. I pray God that I may not have to remain for ever in England!

It is true that your Lordship (*vc*) has written to me in many letters all you know, and what I replied you saw by my "*No*" (*qu.*, a symbol for "last letters"?); and we have executed all that your Lordship has heard as yet. In fact, for this reason Campano was sent, who, besides other things, as to this proposal told me two things: one was of the decretal, which gave rise to what your Lordship has no doubt heard from him; the other was that, with regard to the suspension, not to proceed to the judgment, or rather sentence, his Holiness (*quesi*) was willing that I should proceed and finish, advancing, however, cautiously and procrastinating, and that if the verdict was against the King I should pronounce it boldly and without fear; if it was in favour of the King, that I should be careful to see that it was right and fully justified; nor do I remember his having told me anything else about this (*re*), neither do I think that he can say otherwise. I wanted to tell your Lordship of this, because the Bishop of Feltri writes to say that his Holiness told him that he had sent Campano to enjoin me that on no account I should give sentence before the matter of the peace (*ru*) had been settled, and that when the time (*te*) for the sentence arrived I should plainly tell the King that I could not do otherwise than pronounce against him, and in this

manner maintain my ground. I cannot recollect Campano having told me anything of the kind, but only what I have stated above. I beseech his Holiness and your Lordship to consider whether I can by this means bear this burden. When I shall know positively that the King is in the wrong, I shall be found ready to give sentence against him fearlessly, even were I certain to suffer death that moment; and of this do not doubt. But that his Holiness should be convinced, as he said to the Bishop of Feltri, that the thing cannot end otherwise, and that it would be the ruin, etc., in this, with due reverence, it appears to me that his Holiness may be deceived, especially if the judgment is given here. The cause stands thus: On the eighteenth, the day on which the trial was opened, the Queen appeared in person, made a formal appeal, refused the judges, *cum insertionibus causarum deduxit avocationem causæ ad Curiam, et sic litis pendentiam;* she protested *de nullitate omnium agendorum in ampla forma.* We fixed the time *ad primam*, which was to-day, the twenty-first, *ad audiendum voluntatem nostram super deductis ab ea;* and so to-day we have pronounced *nos esse judices competentes, rejectis omnibus ab ea deductis.* She interposed a very full appeal and supplication to the Pope and withdrew; but first she knelt there before the seat of judgment, although the King twice raised her up, asked permission of the King that, as it was a question which concerned the honour and conscience of herself and of the house of Spain, he would grant her full permission to write and send messengers to [the Emperor] and to his Holiness, and if her request be complied with, as I think it will, she will send a copy of all that has been done; because we have authorized that a copy of everything shall be given her at her request. Really I think that they will make the most pressing requests for the avocation. The Cardinal has told me that they too wish to send messengers, and that I should write requests to his Holiness that he would not advoke the cause, which I shall find it necessary to do; but we shall not neglect to write more privately, and whatever appears best to you shall be done. In conclusion, with regard to what your Lordship writes in cipher, I say that I understand the desire of his Holiness to be that we should not go on to pronounce judgment, and that I should keep on procrastinating as long as I can; but your Lordship must bear in mind that as to proceeding, these people knowing what error they have committed in the past, it is no longer possible to entertain them except in so far as the nature of the cause itself demands; and if the process be finished before any provision come, I beg your Lordship to think how I can in the meanwhile avoid giving the sentence, I mean if the judgment be for the King. If I say that I will not, or cannot give sentence, your Lordship knows that in these two cases the bull provides that either party can be tried

(*alter possit se ver*) another way. See the predicament I am in, and what a burden this is. May God, in whom I trust, help me!

The King would not on any account that the peace (*ru*) should be concluded before this cause of his was decided, and he has told me, moreover, that he hopes you will keep it in view; and so it seems to me all their movements tend to this, and the reason is that if the peace be concluded first, and then the dissolution of the marriage should follow, on which they are so determined that there is no hope that they will desist, they may have an opportunity to get the upper hand of them, and break off the peace; but if the King of France (*il fi*) have arranged his affairs, and keep aloof, it might appear disadvantageous to them to fight alone with the Emperor (*lo ci*); and they do not trust much in the French, both because the enmity between these two nations is natural, and may be (*sivi*) on account of the pensions and obligations of the French King (*il fi*) towards these people. Having nothing else to add, I humbly recommend myself to the most holy feet of his Holiness, and also as ever to your Lordship, *quæ diu felix valeat.* London, June 21st, 1529.

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